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THE HISTORY
OF THE
PURITANS,
OR
PROTESTANT NON-CONFORMISTS,
FROM THE
DEATH OF KING CHARLES I.
TO THE KING'S DECLARATION OF INDULGENCE,
IN THE YEAR 1672.
CONTAINING AN ACCOUNT OF
THEIR PRINCIPLES; THEIR ATTEMPTS FOR A FURTHER REFORMATION
IN THE CHURCH; THEIR SUFFERINGS; AND THE LIVES
AND CHARACTERS OF THEIR PRINCIPAL DIVINES.
IN FIVE VOLUMES.

BY **DANIEL NEAL, M. A.**

A NEW EDITION,

REVISED, CORRECTED, AND ENLARGED,

BY **JOSHUA TOULMIN, D. D.**

TO WHICH ARE PREFIXED,

SOME MEMOIRS OF THE LIFE AND WRITINGS OF THE AUTHOR.

VOL. IV.

This know also, that in the last Days perilous Times shall come.

2 Tim. iii. 1.

*They shall put you out of the Synagogues: yea, the Time cometh, that
whosoever killeth you will think that he doeth God Service.*

John xvi. 2.

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BRITAIN

OR

THE HISTORY OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE

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PREFACE.

THIS volume brings the *History of the Sufferings of the Puritans* down to its period;* for though the protestant dissenters have since complained of several difficulties and discouragements, yet most of the penal laws have been suspended; the prosecutions of the *spiritual courts* have been considerably restrained by the kind interposition of the civil powers, and liberty of conscience enjoyed without the hazard of fines, imprisonments, and other terrors of this world.

The times now in review were stormy and boisterous; upon the death of king *Charles I.* the constitution was dissolved: the men at the helm had no legal authority to change the government into a *commonwealth*, the protectorship of *Cromwell* was an *usurpation*, because grafted only on the military power, and so were all the misshapen forms into which the administration was cast till the restoration of the king. In order to pass a right judgment upon these extraordinary revolutions, the temper and circumstances of the nation are to be duly considered; for those actions which in some circumstances are highly criminal, may in a different situation of affairs become necessary. The parties engaged in the civil wars were yet living, and their resentments against each other so much inflamed, as to cut off all hopes of a reconciliation; each dreaded the other's success, well knowing they must fall a sacrifice to those who should prevail. All present views of the king's recovering his father's throne were defeated at the battle of Worcester, the loyalists being then entirely broken and dispersed; so that if some such extraordinary genius as *Cromwell's* had not undertaken to steer the nation through the storm, it had not been possible to hold the government together till Providence should open a way for restoring the constitution, and settling it on its legal basis.

The various forms of government (if they deserve that name) which the officers of the army introduced after the death of *Cromwell*, made the nation sick of their frenzies, and turned their eyes towards their banished sovereign; whose restoration, after all, could not be accomplished without great imprudence on one part, and the most artful dissimulation on the other. The *Presbyterians*, like weak politicians, surrendered at discretion, and parted with their power on no other security than the *royal word*, for which they have been sufficiently reproached; though I am of opinion, that, if the king had been brought in by a treaty, the succeeding parliament would have set it aside. On the other hand, nothing can be more notorious than the deep hypocrisy of general *Monk*, and the solemn assurances given by the bishops

* The reader will observe that the period here referred to is the passing the *act of toleration*, with which Mr. Neal's Fourth volume concludes. But the additions to the original work, by notes and supplements in this edition, have necessarily extended it to a Fifth volume, which comprehends the Author's two last chapters, the papers that form the Appendix to each of his volumes, and other papers. Ed.

and other loyalists, and even by the king himself, of burying all past offences under the foundation of the Restoration; but when they were lifted into the saddle, the haste they made to shew how little they meant by their promises, exceeded the rules of decency as well as honor.— Nothing would satisfy, till their adversaries were disarmed, and in a manner deprived of the protection of the government; the terms of conformity were made narrower and more exceptionable than before the civil wars, the penal laws were rigorously executed, and new ones framed almost every session of parliament for several successive years; the non-conformist ministers were banished five miles from all the corporations in England, and their people sold for sums of money to carry on the king's unlawful pleasures, and to bribe the nation into popery and slavery; till the House of Commons, awakened at last with a sense of the threatening danger, grew intractable, and was therefore dissolved. His majesty, having in vain attempted several other representatives of the people, determined some time before his death to change the constitution, and govern by his sovereign will and pleasure; that the mischiefs, which could not be brought upon the nation by consent of parliament, might be introduced under the wing of the prerogative; but the *Roman catholics*, not satisfied with the slow proceedings of a *disguised Protestant*, or apprehending that the discontents of the people and his own love of ease might induce him some time or other to change measures, resolved to have a prince of their own religion, and more sanguine principles, on the throne, which hastened the crisis of the nation, and brought forward that GLORIOUS REVOLUTION of King WILLIAM and Queen MARY, which put a final period to all their projects.

The nature of my design does not admit of a large and particular relation of all the civil transactions of these times, but only of such a summary as may give light to the affairs of religion; and I could have wished that the memory of both had been entirely blotted out of the records of time, if the animosities of the several parties, and their unchristian principles, had been buried with them; but as the remembering them may be a warning to posterity, it ought to give no offence to any denomination of christians of the present age, who are no ways answerable for the conduct of their ancestors, nor can otherwise share in a censure of it, than as they maintain the same principles, and imitate the same unchristian behavior. At the end of each year I have added the characters of the principal *non-conformist ministers* as they died, partly from the historians of those times, but chiefly from the writings of the late reverend doctor *Calamy*, whose integrity, moderation, and industry, deserve a peculiar commendation. My design was to preserve the memory of the reverend *assembly of divines* at *Westminster*, as well as of the little army of confessors, who afterwards suffered so deeply in the cause of non-conformity.

In passing a judgment on the several parties in church and state, I have carefully distinguished between those who went into all the arbitrary measures of the court, and such as stood firm by the *protestant religion and the liberties of their country*; for it must be allowed, that in

the reign of King *Charles II.* there were even among the clergy some of the worst as well as best of men, as will appear to a demonstration in the course of this history; but I desire no greater stress may be laid upon facts or characters than the quality of the *vouchers* in the margin will support. Where *these* have been differently related, I have relied on the best authorities, and sometimes reported from both sides, leaving the reader to choose for himself: for if *facts* are fairly represented, the historian is discharged. I am not so vain as to imagine this history free from errors; but if any mistakes of consequence are made to appear, they shall be acknowledged with thankfulness to those who shall point them out in a civil and friendly manner; and as I aim at nothing but truth, I see no reason to engage in a warm defence of any parties of christians who pass before us in review, but leave their conduct to the censure of the world. Some few *remarks* of my own are here and there interspersed, which the reader will receive according as he apprehends them to follow from the premises; but I flatter myself, that when he has carefully perused the several volumes of this history, he will agree with me in the following conclusions:

First, *That uniformity of sentiments in religion is not to be attained among christians; nor will a comprehension within an establishment be of service to the cause of truth and liberty without a toleration of all other dutiful subjects.* Wise and good men, after their most diligent searches after truth, have seen things in a different light, which is not to be avoided as long as they have liberty to judge for themselves. If *Christ* had appointed an infallible judge upon earth; or men were to be determined by an implicit faith in their superiors, there would be an end of such differences; but all the engines of human policy that have been set at work to obtain it have hitherto failed of success. Subscriptions, and a variety of oaths and other tests, have occasioned great mischiefs to the church; by these means men of weak morals, and ambitious views, have been raised to the highest preferments, while others of stricter virtue, and superior talents, have been neglected and laid aside; and power has been lodged in the hands of those who have used it in an unchristian manner, to force men to an agreement in sounds and outward appearances, contrary to the true conviction and sense of their minds; and thus a lasting reproach has been brought on the christian name, and on the genuine principles of a protestant church.

2dly. *All parties of christians, when in power, have been guilty of persecution for conscience sake.* The annals of the church are a most melancholy demonstration of this truth. Let the reader call to mind the bloody proceedings of the *popish bishops* in *Queen Mary's* reign; and the account that has been given of the *Star Chamber* and *High Commission Court* in later times; what numbers of useful ministers have been sequestered, imprisoned, and their families reduced to poverty and disgrace, for refusing to wear a *white surplice*, or to comply with a few indifferent ceremonies! What havoc did the *Presbyterians* make with their covenant uniformity; their *jure divino* discipline, and their rigid prohibition of reading the old service book. And though the *Independents* had a better notion of the rights of conscience, how defect-

tive was their instrument of government under *Cromwell*! how arbitrary the proceedings of their triers! how narrow their list of fundamentals! and how severe their restraints of the press! And though the rigorous proceedings of the Puritans of this age did by no means rival those of the prelates before and after the civil wars, yet they are so many species of persecution, and not to be justified even by the confusion of the times in which they were acted.

3dly. *It is unsafe and dangerous to intrust any sort of clergy with the power of the sword; for our Savior's kingdom is not of this world, if it were (says he) then would my servants fight, but now is my kingdom not from hence.* The church and state should stand on a distinct basis, and their jurisdiction be agreeable to the nature of their crimes; those of the church *purely spiritual*, and those of the state *purely civil*; as the king is *supreme* in the state, he is also head, or guardian, of the church in those spiritual rights that Christ has intrusted it with. When the church in former ages first assumed the secular power, it not only rivalled the state, but in a little time lifted up its head above emperors and kings, and all the potentates of the earth: the thunder of its anathemas was heard in all nations, and *in her skirts was found the blood of the prophets and saints, and of all that were slain upon the earth.*— And whenever it recovers the wound that was given it at the Reformation, it will undoubtedly resume the same absolute coercive dominion. It is therefore the interest of all sovereign princes to keep their clergy within the limits that Christ has prescribed them in the *New Testament*, and not to trust them with the power of inflicting corporal pains or penalties on their subjects, which have no relation to the christian methods of conversion.

4thly. *Reformation of religion, or a redress of grievances in the church, has not in fact arisen from the clergy.* I would not be thought to reflect upon that venerable order, which is of great usefulness, and deserved honor, when the ends of its institution are pursued; but so strange has been the infatuation, so enchanting the lust of dominion, and the charms of riches and honor, that the propagation of piety and virtue has been very much neglected, and little else thought of but how they might rise higher in the authority and grandeur of this world, and fortify their strong holds against all that should attack them. In the dawn of the reformation the clergy maintained the pope's supremacy against the king till they were cast in a *præmunire*. In the reign of Queen ELIZABETH there was but one of the whole bench who would join in the consecration of a protestant bishop; and when the reformation was established, how cruelly did those protestant bishops, who themselves had suffered for religion, vex the Puritans, because they could not come up to their standard! How unfriendly did they behave at the Hampton-court conference! At the restoration of King Charles II. and at the late revolution of King William and Queen Mary! when the most solemn promises were broken, and the most hopeful opportunity of accomodating differences among protestants lost, by the perverseness of the clergy towards those very men who had saved them from ruin. So little ground is there to hope for an union among christians, or the propagation of

truth, peace, and charity, from councils, synods, general assemblies, or convocations of the clergy of any sort whatsoever.

5thly. Upon these principles, it is evident that freedom of religion, in subordination to the civil power, is for the benefit of society, and no ways inconsistent with a public establishment. The king may create dignitaries, and give sufficient encouragement to those of the public religion, without invading the liberties of his dissenting subjects. If religious establishments were stripped of their judicial processes and civil jurisdiction, no harm could be feared from them. And as his majesty is defender of the faith in Scotland as well as England, and equally the guardian of both churches, he will, no doubt, hold the balance, and prevent either from rising to such a pitch of greatness as to act independently on the state, or become formidable and oppressive to their neighbors; the former would create *imperium in imperio*; and there is but one step between the church's being independent on the state, and the state becoming dependent on the church. Besides, as freedom of religion is for the true honor and dignity of the crown, it is no less for the service of the community; for the example of the neighboring nations may convince us, that uniformity in the church will always be attended with absolute and despotic power in the state. The meetings of dissenting protestants were formerly called seditious, because the peace of the public was falsely supposed to consist in uniformity of worship; but long experience has taught us the contrary; for, though the non-conformists in those times gave no disturbance to the administration, the nation was far from being at peace; but when things came to a crisis, their joining with the church, against a corrupt court and ministry, saved the religion and liberties of the nation. It must therefore be the interest of a free people to support and encourage liberty of conscience, and not to suffer any one great and powerful religious body to oppress, devour, and swallow up the rest.

Finally, When protestant dissenters recollect the sufferings of their fathers in the last age for the freedom of their consciences, let them be thankful that their lot is cast in more settled times. The liberties of England are the price of a great deal of blood and treasure; wide breaches were made in the constitution in the four reigns of the male line of the STUARTS; persecution and arbitrary power went hand in hand; the constitution was often in convulsive agonies, when the patrons of liberty appeared boldly in the noble cause, and sacrificed their estates and lives in its defence. The Puritans stood firm by the protestant religion, and by the liberties of their country in the reigns of King Charles II. and King James II. and received the fire of the enemy from all their batteries, without moving sedition, or taking advantage of their persecutors, when it was afterwards in their power. Some amendments, in my humble opinion, are still wanting to settle the cause of liberty on a more equal basis, and to deliver wise and good men from the fetters of oaths, subscriptions, and religious tests of all sorts. But whether such desirable blessings are in reserve for this nation, must be left to the determination of an all-wise providence. In the mean time, may protes-

tant dissenters express their gratitude for the protection and ease they enjoy at present, by an undissembled piety towards God ! By a firm and unshaken loyalty to his majesty's person, and wise administration ! By avoiding every thing that tends to persecution or censoriousness for mere differences in religion ! and by the integrity of their own lives and manners ! And while they think it their duty to separate from the *national establishment*, may they distinguish themselves by the exercise of all social virtues, and stand fast in the liberty wherewith the providence of God has made them free ! By such a conduct they will preserve their characters with all sober persons, and will transmit the blessings of the present age to their latest posterity.

DANIEL NEAL.

LONDON, *March 1, 1737-8.*

EDITOR'S ADVERTISEMENT.

THE volume of Mr. *Neal's* "History of the Puritants" now presented to the public, besides the additions made to it in the form of Notes, is considerably enlarged by Supplements to the different chapters. These comprize the continued history of the English BAPTISTS and QUAKERS; and furnish the reader with the substance of Mr. *Crosby's* history of the former, and a full abstract of Mr. *Gough's* work concerning the latter Sect. The Editor hopes, that in this part of his undertaking he has not only done justice, and shewed respect, to two denominations who, in the last century, were treated neither with humanity or equity, but afforded the reader information and entertainment.

Where he has seen reason to animadvert on and correct Mr. *Neal*, it were sufficient to rest his justification on the plea of impartiality and the love of truth. But to the honor of his author he can add, he has only done what was wished by him; who, in his preface to the first volume has said,* "I shall be always thankful to any that will convince me of my mistakes in a friendly manner;" and in that to the third volume has more fully expressed himself in this manner: "In historical debates, nothing is to be received on *trust*, but *facts* are to be examined, and a judgment formed upon the authority by which those *facts* are supported; by this method we shall arrive at truth, and if it shall appear that, in the course of this long history, there are any considerable mistakes, the world may be assured, I will take the first opportunity to retract or amend them."†

The Editor can declare, that it has been his own aim to do full justice to the sects and characters of those who

* P. xiv.

† P. xxiv, xxv.

have, in this work, come before him in review, and he can boldly appeal to his pen itself to prove the sincerity of his declaration. He scarcely would have thought of making this appeal, if in an early stage of his undertaking it had not been insinuated, that it was his design to make this work a vehicle for conveying particular opinions in theology, and that his own sentiments made him an unfit person for the task. He has, indeed, sentiments of his own; but he can estimate goodness and worth wherever they are found. He has sentiments of his own, but he rejoices in the consciousness of a disposition to grant to others a full liberty to avow, defend, and disseminate *their* sentiments, though opposite to his own; and can give them the praise due to their abilities and characters.

It is a pleasure to him, that the examination of the writers, who have censured Mr. *Neal* with severity, has eventually established the authenticity of the history, and the candor and impartiality of the author, in all the main parts of his work. It reflects high and lasting honor on this ecclesiastical history, that if the author were convicted by a *Warburton*, a *Maddox*, and a *Grey*, of partiality, it could be only such a partiality as might arise from a zeal against tyrants and oppressors. The work has, on the whole, a *liberal* cast; it is on the side of civil and religious liberty; it is in favor of the rights of *Englishmen*, against unconstitutional prerogative; it is in favor of the rights of *conscience*, against an imperious and persecuting hierarchy, whether *episcopal* or *presbyterian*; it is in favor of the great interests of mankind; and, to adopt the words of a most able and liberal writer;* “A history that is written without any regard to the chief privileges of human nature, and without feelings, especially of the moral kind, must lose a considerable part of its instruction and energy.”

* Dr. *Kippis*: Preface to the first volume of the 2d edition of the *Biographia Britannica*, p. 21.

CONTENTS OF THE FOURTH VOLUME.

CHAPTER I.

From the Death of King Charles I. to the Coronation of King Charles II. in Scotland.

THE monarchy turned into a commonwealth. Remarks. Opposed by the levellers, and by the Scots. *Cromwell* reduces Ireland: his rapid success. Summary account of the state of Ireland. Conduct of the presbyterians towards the new government. *Cromwell* and the army petition for a toleration. The engagement enforced: to be taken by the whole nation: the presbyterians refuse it. Cavaliers and sectarians take the oath. Reasons against it and for it. Measures of the parliament to support their authority. Scots declaration against the English. Parliament vindicate their proceedings. Scots treaty with the king in Holland. They will include the English presbyterians. Augmentation of the poor livings by tithes and first-fruits. Presbyterian government established. Propagation of the gospel in Wales and in Ireland. A corporation for the propagation of the gospel among the Indians. Ordinances against seditious libels, Ministers forbid to meddle in politics. Remarks. Marquis of *Montague* executed. Conditions of the Scots treaty with the King. He arrives in Scotland.—*Cromwell* marches against the Scots. Battle of Dunbar. Scots ministers invited to return to their churches. *Cromwell's* letter to the governor of the castle. Scots ministers reply. *Cromwell's* answer. The governor's complaint. *Cromwell's* reply. Remarks. Proceedings against the presbyterians in England. *Cromwell* chosen chancellor of Oxford. Penal laws taken away. Ordinances against vice and profaneness; against blasphemous opinions; for strict observation of the sabbath; for maintenance of such clergymen belonging to cathedrals whose offices were abolished. Laws to be translated into English.—Rise of the *quakers*, and of *George Fox*: he is joined by others. They are first called *quakers*; their behaviour; their doctrines.

A SUPPLEMENT.

The *quakers* called *Friends*, and the grounds of the name. Rise of the *Muggletonians*, and history of *Lodowick Muggleton*.

CHAPTER II.

From the Coronation of King Charles II. in Scotland, to the Protectorship of Oliver Cromwell.

Coronation of king *Charles*. He signs the covenant and a declaration. Remarks. Presbyterian plot. Mr. *Love's* trial. The evidence.

A remarkable incident. Mr. *Love's* speech at his execution. The progress of the English army in Scotland. The king marches into England with the Scots army. Preparations of the parliament. The king at Worcester. Battle of Worcester. Low condition of the king and church of England. He neglects the presbyterians, and turns his eyes towards the papists. Low condition of the kirk in Scotland.—English commissioners settle liberty of conscience in that kingdom.—The kirk insulted. State of Scotland. Act of indemnity, and a new counsel of state. Death of Lieut. Gen. *Irton*, of Mr. *Woodcock*, of Mr. *George Walker*, and of Mr. *Wilson*. Low terms of conformity. Petition against tithes. Attempts to regulate law-suits. Propagation of the gospel in Wales. State of the commonwealth. War with the Dutch. Quarrel between the parliament and army. Remarks. Debates about a new form of government. *Cromwell's* ambitious designs. *Cromwell* dissolves the long parliament, and dismisses the council of state. Character of the commonwealth. Remarks on the change of government. *Cromwell* and the council of officers assume the government. The *little parliament*; their proceedings. Liberty of conscience. Ordinance for marriages. *Oliver Cromwell* declared PROTECTOR by a council of officers. Abstract of the new instrument of government. New model of a parliament. Articles relating to religion. Instalment of the protector. Remarks on the instrument of government. Episcopalians tolerated. Protector's council. State of the presbyterians. Copies of Testimonials. Association of the ministers in the country not countenanced by the LONDON presbyterians. The death of Dr. *George Gouge*, and of Dr. *Hill*. •

CHAPTER III.

From the Beginning of the Protectorship of Oliver Cromwell to his Death.

State of the nation. The protector gives peace to the Dutch. His high reputation among foreign nations. French ambassador's speech. The protector's domestic enemies; of the cavaliers, the presbyterians, and the republicans. His friends. Remarks. Scotland and Ireland incorporated with England. Plot of the royalists. Portuguese ambassador's brother executed. A new parliament. The protector's state: his speech. Proceedings of the house. Protector's speech.—The recognition. The protector dissolves the parliament. Plot of the republicans and of the royalists: the protector's vigilance and severity against them by decimation. Affairs of religion. Attempts to settle fundamentals. Committee to draw up the fundaments of religion. The articles. Remarks. Protector for universal liberty. Ordinance appointing commissioners for approbation of public preachers. Their instructions. Remarks. Additional ordinance. Complaints against the *Tryers*. Objections to their management. Their proceedings. Remarks. Mr. *Baxter's* opinion of them. New ordinance for ejecting scandalous ministers. Their instructions. Objections against it. Dr. *Pordage* ejected, and Mr. *Bushnel*. Commissioners for Wales: sad state of that principality. Ordinance for propagating the gospel in

Wales. Numbers ejected. Their crimes. Their method of supplying the vacancies. Petitions against the commissioners. Further complaints against them. Ordinance for uniting small livings, and dividing the greater. Protector for encouraging learning. Visitors for the universities. Their influence. The protector's zeal for the protestant religion. State of the royal family. Death of Mr. *Selden*, of the Rev. Mr. *Gataker*, Mr. *Strong*, Mr. *Pern*, Dr. *Samuel Bolton*, Mr. *Whitaker*, and Mr. *Richard Vines*. The protector appoints major generals. Enters into an alliance with France, and sends admiral *Blake* to the Mediterranean. Jamaica taken from the Spaniards. Proceedings of the provincial assembly. Account of Mr. *Biddle* the Socinian. A severe ordinance against the old sequestered clergy. Protector is willing to dispense with the ordinance. Reasons of his severity against the papists. He is for encouraging the Jews. Arguments for and against it. Remarks. He assists the protestants in the valleys. Original of the society for the sons of the clergy. Death of archbishop *Usher*; of Mr. *Marshall*. The protector calls for a new parliament. They are obliged to recognize the government. Their acts. *Syndercombe's* plot. Spanish Plate fleet taken. History of the *quakers* continued: their extravagancies. History of *James Naylor*, and of his sufferings. Ordinance for the better observation of the sabbath: against papists; their oath. The protector assists the protestants of Nismes. The death of Dr. *Hall*, bishop of Norwich, and of Mr. *Capel*. Debates about the title of king, and the protector's reasons for declining it. Remarks. Parliament's petition and advice. Article relating to religion. The protector's new title. Remarks. The protector's second instalment. His grandeur and wise administration. The protector's treaty with France. Admiral *Blake* destroys the Spanish galleons. His death and character. The protector constitutes an upper house of parliament; bad consequences of it. The protector's speech at the dissolution of the parliament. He purges the army, and projects an union of the whole reformed interest. *Biblia Polyglotta*. The protector resigns his chancellorship, and appoints his son *Henry*, lieutenant of Ireland. Original of the *Royal Society*. Death of Mr. *Langley*, Mr. *Sedgwick*, Mr. *Corbet*, and of Mr. *Cranford*. Dunkirk delivered to the English. Plot of the fifth-monarchy men and of the cavaliers. Dr. *Hewet's* trial. Confession of faith by the *Independents*; their assembly: abstract of their confession; of their discipline; their sentiments of liberty. Remarks. Danger of the hierarchy. Address of the *Anabaptists*. The protector's sickness and death. His character, as a soldier, as a statesman; his public character; his religious and moral character; his enthusiasm. Objections against him considered. His dissimulation, ambition, and cruelty. Sum of his character. Death of Dr. *John Harris*, of Mr. *Sydrach Sympton*, of Dr. *Robert Harris*, and of Mr. *William Carter*.

CHAPTER IV.

Richard, protector, summonses a parliament. Wallingford-house party. *Richard* deposed by the army. Rump parliament restored. *H. Cromwell's* letter from Ireland. Letter to Lieut. Gen. *Fleetwood*. Pe-

tion of the army. *Richard* resigns the protectorship. Presbyterians for restoring the king. Insurrection of Sir *George Booth*. Parliament attempt to reduce the army, and are turned out. Committee of safety. Gen. *Monk* marches into England, for a free parliament. The army restores the parliament, but *Monk* continues his march, and enters the city. The controversy between the city and parliament. *Monk* pulls down their gates, but is reconciled to them. He restores the secluded members of 1648. Proceeding of parliament. Presbytery restored. Presbyterians in full possession of the nation. Character of general *Monk*. State of episcopacy and of the king. Debates about filling the vacant sees. Difficulties that attended it. Sundry expedients proposed. Remarks. The king abjures the protestant religion at the Pyrenness. Proofs of his being a papist before, but denies it to foreign protestants. The king's letter to Mr. *Cawton*. French ministers employed to write that the king is a protestant. *Monk's* letter to the independents. He courts the presbyterians and the Scots kirk. Behavior of the independents. Their rise and resolute progress through the war, and of the officers of the army. Death of bishop *Brownrigge*, of Mr. *Herle*, and of Mr. *Thomas Cawton*. The restoration of King *Charles II.* Presbyterians in full power. Terms on which the Scots and presbyterians would restore the king. Remarks. Of their vain expectations from the court. G. *Monk* corresponds with the king. Convention parliament meets. King's declaration from Breda. The parliament invites the king home without any terms, owing in part to lord *Clarendon*. A deputation of lords and commons, with some ministers, wait on the king. The minister's address and reception. The bishops send to the king with instructions. Forwardness of the elergy. *Richard Cromwell* resigns his chancellorship, and absconds. His character. The king lands, and rides through the city to Whitehall. They avow the justice of the civil war. They give up every thing the court desires. Remarks. Presbyterian ministers made the king's chaplains. The liturgy restored. The sequestered elergy restored, and heads of colleges and fellows. Reformation of the university of Cambridge. New creations in the universities. Vacancies in cathedrals filled up. The old surviving bishops. Translation of bishops. New bishops created. Of the independents, anabaptists, and papists. Of the times before the restoration. Of the times after the restoration. Death of Mr. *Taylor*.

SUPPLEMENT TO CHAP. III. AND IV.

The situation of the Quakers under the protector. The grounds on which they were persecuted. The sufferings of some of them as vagrants, and of others under the pretence of breaking the sabbath. The quakers often violently assaulted by the mob on the sabbath-day. Mr. *Gough's* reflections on this. The sufferings of *George Fox* at Carlisle; his answer to the requisition of colonel *Hacker*. *Cromwell's* message to him, converses with him, and sets him at liberty. *Fox's* sufferings at St. Ives, in Cornwall. His journeys to Wales. Some assaulted by the mob, others punished as vagabonds. The persecution

of *Richard Hubberthorn*. The cruelties of jailers, especially in the case of *James Parnel*. The sufferings of the quakers by fines and distrainments, and the numbers imprisoned. Their temper and consolations. Their mutual kindness and charity. Their moral conduct and integrity. They interfere not in political transactions. The increase of their numbers, and spread of their doctrine. An observation of *Hugh Peters*. The moderation of the mayor of Oxford. The sufferings of *Elizabeth Heavens* and *Elizabeth Fletcher*. The protection afforded to the quakers by general *Monk*. A general reflection. An act of the Scotch presbytery against the Baptists. Their publications. The baptists dismissed from his army by *Cromwell*. A remonstrance on this measure. Their numbers. Independents friends to liberty; particularly *Dr. John Owen*. *John Hale's* Tract on Schism. The persecution and writings of *Mr. John Biddle*. A vote against the *Racovian* catechism.

CHAPTER V.

From the Restoration of King Charles II. to the Conference at the Savoy.

Views of the court and of the bishops: and of the king and duke of York. The presbyterians address for a comprehension. Abstract of their first paper of proposals. Their reception. Abstract of the bishop's reply. Abstract of the presbyterians' defence of their proposals. The beginning of the sufferings of the presbyterians, who apply to the king. An assembly of divines to peruse the king's declaration. Abstract of his declaration. Abstract of the second paper of exceptions and requests of the presbyterians. Opinion of some of the churchmen concerning the declaration, acceptable to most of the presbyterians.—Some accept of preferments. Declaration rejected by the house of commons. Remarks. Presbyterians in despair. Behavior of the court and bishops. The beginning of the persecution of the non-conformists. Methods for that purpose. Act for restoring the sequestered clergy. For confirming marriages in the late times. Attainder of the king's judges. *Cromwell* and others that were dead, taken out of their graves. Trials of the king's judges. Their execution. Remarks. An act for an anniversary observation of the 29th of May.—*Milton* and *Goodwin's* books burnt. Popery revives in England and in Ireland. Insurrection of the fifth-monarchy men. Consequences of *Fenner's* insurrection; disowned by the independents, by the baptists, and by the quakers. The presbyterians in trouble. Bishop *Stillingfleet's* "Irenicum."

An account of *Dr. Henry Hammond*.

The king's marriage. The king's and lord *Clarendon's* speech.—The king's second speech to parliament. Sham plots fathered on the presbyterians. *Farrington's* plot. Corporation-act. Remarks.

CHAPTER VI.

From the Conference at the Savoy, to the Act of Uniformity.

Conference at the Savoy. Opening it. Hardships of the presbytc-

rians. Proceedings of the commissioners. A disputation proposed. The subject of the dispute. The presbyterians descend to intreaties. Behavior of the commissioners; Dr. *Morley*, and bishop *Gauden*—Of the disputants. Of the auditors. Account of archbishop *Tillotson*. Censures of the conference. A convocation. They are ordered to review the liturgy. Alterations in it. Other additions. Liturgy amended, sent up to the king and council, and house of peers. Episcopacy restored in Scotland, against the king's mind. Mr. *Guthrie* executed. Character of the old Scotch presbyterians, and of the Scots bishops and new clergy. Episcopacy restored in Ireland. Conduct of the French protestants. The king's pretended zeal for the hierarchy. In favor of the papists, who declare their principles. The dead bodies of the most considerable persons in the late times dug up. Act against the quakers. State of religion. Extravagancies of the court and nation. Queen-mother at Somerset-house. Sale of *Dunkirk*. Execution of more of the king's judges. Trials of colonel *Lambert* and Sir *H. Vane*. Execution of Sir *H. Vane*. The act of uniformity brought into parliament and passed. An abstract of it.—Remarks. Terms of conformity. Higher than before the civil wars. *Rapin's* remarks. Reflections on bishop *Kennet's* remarks. Mr. *Colliger's* remarks. Authors or promoters of this act. Bishop *Sheldon*; other bishops and clergymen. Conduct of the presbyterians. Their difficulties. Remarks. Some of them quit their livings. Ministers ejected by the act of uniformity. Their hardships greater than the papists at the reformation, or the loyalists in the time of the civil wars. Difficulty of filling the vacancies. The condition of others.—Dr. *Bates's* account of the act of uniformity. Sufferings of the ejected ministers. Mr. *Baxter's* account. Other accounts. Death of Mr. *Ley*, Mr. *Jeanes*, Dr. *Chambers*, Mr. *Ash*, and of Mr. *Edward Bowles*. Acts for regulating the press. Licensers. Objections to *Milton's Paradise Lost*.

CHAPTER VII.

From the Act of Uniformity, to the Banishment of the Earl of Clarendon.

Views of the several parties; of the king and court; of the parliament; of the clergy and bishops; of the inferior clergy, high-church and low-church. Remarks. and those of bishop *Burnet*. The *Non-conformists's* petition for indulgence. The king's declaration concerning it, supported by his speech to the parliament. Address of the commons against it. Remarks. Rise of occasional conformity. The Rev. Mr. *Calamy* sent to Newgate. Sham plot in the North. An act for relief of non-subscribing ministers. Conventicle act, and sad consequences of it to ministers and people. Their cautious conduct. Sufferings of the quakers and others. War with the Dutch.

The charter for incorporating a society for the propagating the gospel in New England. Death and character of bishop *Juxon*. An account of Mr. *Henry Jessey*.

The plague. The ejected ministers venture to preach publicly, which brings them under farther hardships. Lord *Clarendon's* speech for it. The Oxford five-mile act. The oath. Some few take it, but the generality refuse and go into banishment. Names of the non-conformist ministers registered in the bishops' courts. Death of Dr. *Burgess*, and of Dr. *Cheyne*. An account of Mr. *Samuel Fisher*.

The fire of London produces a sort of liberty to the non-conformists. Death of Mr. *Calamy*, of Mr. *Arthur Jackson*, and of Dr. *Spurstow*. The fall of the earl of *Clarendon*; his character.

CHAP. VIII.

From the Banishment of the Earl of Clarendon to the King's Declaration of Indulgence in the year 1672.

The king moves for a general toleration. The parliament petition to put the penal laws in execution. The ill-behavior of the bishops and clergy. The death of Dr. *Seaman*, and of Mr. *George Hughes*. Unhappy state of the nation. Project of a comprehension. Abstract of the proposals. Alterations in the liturgy. An indulgence for such as could not be comprehended. They are quashed by the bishops, and the persecution revived. Mr. *Baxter* and others imprisoned, not agreeable to the king's inclinations. Debates without doors. Various publications. Licentiousness of the court and city, and university. A letter from Mr. *John Wallis* to the Hon. *Robert Boyle*, in a note.—Death of Mr. *Newcomen* and of Mr. *Joseph Allein*. The conventicle act revived. The additional clauses. Remarks. Methods of persecution. Archbishop *Sheldon's* letter to the bishops. Zeal of bishop *Gunning* and others. Distress of the non-conformist ministers. Courage of the *quakers*. The trial of *Wm. Penn* and *Wm. Mead*. Injustice and cruelty of the court. The jury threatened. *Penn* and *Mead* acquitted. The king's design of governing absolutely. Character of the CABAL. Death of Dr. *Tuckney*, and of Mr. *Wm. Bridge*. Causes of the growth of popery. Remedies proposed by the parliament.—Conduct of the court. The duke of *York* abjures the protestant religion. Project of the *Cabal* to make the king absolute. Exchequer shut up. War with the Dutch. Project of a general indulgence: how it was resented. A new declaration of indulgence. Non-conformists not forward to accept it by the dispensing power. A royal licence to a non-conformist minister, in a note. Death of Dr. *Staunton*, and of Mr. *Vavasor Powel*.

SUPPLEMENT TO CHAPTERS V. VI. VII. AND VIII.

SECT. I.

THE HISTORY OF THE BAPTISTS.

THE share the *Baptists* had in the vicissitudes of government.—*Cromwell* endeavors to suppress them. Mr. *Baxter* charges them

with growing insolent. Their petitions to *Charles II.* complaining of their sufferings. The ill-treatment received by *Mr. Helme*, *Mr. Warren*, and *Mr. Fletcher*. The *baptists* excepted in an act for confirming all ministers in their benefices. They are persecuted at Reading, Newport, London, and Dover. The sufferings of *Dr. Grifith* and *Mr. Grantham*. A circumstance which aggravated the proceedings against the *baptists*. Repeated outrages committed on them at the meeting-house in Whitechapel. Other religious assemblies disturbed with violence. Insult and abuse offered to those who were in the prisons. The severe proceedings of the justices in Buckinghamshire, particularly on the act of the 35th of *Eliz.* The case of ten men and two women sentenced to death. The *baptists* are refused the benefit of the common burying-places, and some are taken out of their graves. Their sufferings at Lewes and other places, particularly by fines and distresses. A libel published to fix a stigma on this party. The story of *Mr. Josiah Baxter*. The prosecution of *Mr. John James*; the king's reply to the petition for his life. *Mr. Keach's* sufferings.—His “*New and easy Primer.*” Particular instances of calamities befalling their persecutors. *Dr. Jortin* quoted. The consolations and temper of the persecuted: *e. g.* of some in Reading gaol; of some whose goods were seized; of *Mr. John James*, and of *Mr. Keach*. The publications of the *baptists* in their own defence, and their petitions to the higher powers. A declaration of some on the side of the principles of passive obedience. An address to the king and parliament in a defence of the rights of conscience. The authors of it, and their liberal design. An account of some of them, *viz.* *Mr. Wright*, *Mr. George Hammon*, *Mr. William Jeffrey*, and *Mr. Francis Stanley*. The publication of a piece entitled “*A complaint of the oppressed against the oppressors, and of a plea for toleration.*” *Mr. Atkins' letter* to the magistrates of Dover. A pamphlet entitled “*Behold! a Cry.*” The history of *Robert Wright*; the challenge given him by the *baptists*. A narrative of the proceedings of some justices and some others, in execution of the act against conventicles.

SECT. II.

THE HISTORY OF THE QUAKERS.

THE *Quakers* rejoice in the restoration of *Charles II.* and, by *Mr. Hubberthorn*, lay before him a state of their sufferings. The king promises them protection. The persecution of them soon renewed. Great numbers cast into prison. Old laws revived, and on them they are proceeded against. The case of *Thomas Goodyear* and *Benjamin Staples*. The justices restrained in a degree by higher authority. The severe hardships and cruel treatment to which this people were exposed.

A Case, on which the coroner's jury declined giving a verdict. The king's declaration. The author of a narrative of their sufferings prosecuted. Many die in Newgate. A guard placed at the entrance of the Bull-and-Mouth meeting-house. A severe persecution at Colchester. A generous speech of a *quaker*. The operation of the conventicle act

of 1664. The privileges of the subject violated. The prisons, in the time of the plague, crowded by new commitments. A temporary mitigation of the proceedings against this society. New scenes of persecution opened by the third conventicle act, in 1670. Appeals ineffectual. The word *conventicle*, arbitrarily misconstrued. Unfair methods of fining the preacher. The honorable conduct of some justices, particularly of the lord-mayor of London. An order from the king and council for demolishing the meeting-house in Horsly-down. The cruelty with which it was executed. The meeting-house at Ratcliffe pulled down. *George Fox* committed to the gaol at Lancaster, and discharged by an *habeas-corpus*. His forgiving temper. His fortitude. He is again committed to prison. The rigor and severities of his imprisonment. His life threatened. The effect of his patience and innocence on his keepers, particularly on the governor of Scarborough castle. *Mrs. Margaret Fell* cited before the justices: her magnanimity; committed to Lancaster gaol; tried, and recommitted to prison. The sufferings of *Francis Howgill* and his deportment under them. The case of *Hannah Trigg*. The imprisonment of *Joseph Face*. The exertions of the *quakers* in defence of their cause, and of their suffering brethren; namely, the applications to the king by *Margaret Fell*, *Burrough*, *Hubberthorn*, and *Whitehead*. The letters of the *Fox's* to the king. *George Fox's* address to the king. A narrative of the sufferings of the *quakers*. *George Fox's* testimony against plots. Remonstrances by *Whitehead* and *Coale*. *William Penn* joins the society. His publications. *Mr. Vincent* inveighs against the *quakers*; a public disputation with him. A piece of *George Fox*. The meeting-house in Grace-church-street built. *George Fox's* labors; establishes a regular discipline. Quarterly-meetings; their object. Monthly meetings. The annual meeting. The subjects of the meetings of discipline. Reflections on the discipline of the *quakers*. The travels and history of *Catharine Evans* and *Sarah Cheevers*, into Italy; and of *John Philly* and *William Moore* into Hungary. General character of the *quakers*; their patience: their charity, especially in the time of the plague; their extensive benevolence. Character and death of *Richard Hubberthorn*, of *Edward Burrough*, of *William Ames*, of *John Audland*, of *Richard Farnsworth*, of *Thomas Loe*, *Josiah Coale*, and *Francis Howgill*.

CONTENTS OF THE NOTES.

CHAP. I.

Page 25, The origin of the name Rump Parliament. p. 26, The motto on the arms of the commonwealth. p. 27, Anecdotes concerning *Dr. Dorislaus*, and the respect shewn to his memory by the parliament. p. 28, *Mr. Neal* defended, and the resentment of the death of *Dr. Dorislaus* expressed by the states of Holland. p. 26, *Mr. Neal's* account of

the number of the duke of Ormond's army considered. The cruelties of Cromwell's army. p. 30. The cruelty of Cromwell's orders, and his vindication of himself. p. 31, Mr. Neal's veracity impeached. p. 34, The neglect with which national thanksgivings and fasts were treated. p. 38, The amount of the sale of dean and chapter lands. p. 43, History and character of John Lilburne. An inaccuracy of Mr. Neal corrected. p. 44, An eulogium on the marquis of Montrose. p. 45, Articles of repentance enacted of Charles II. p. 47, Charles II's joy in the defeat of the Scots. The freedom with which Mr. Derham treated Oliver to his face, and the remark of the latter. p. 55, The character of the parents of George Fox, and the virtues of his youth. p. 57, The boldness of George Fox accounted for. Mr. Neal corrected. p. 58, His imprisonment at Nottingham. p. 59, The severe treatment he met with at Mansfield. p. 59. 60, Mr. Neal censured, and the nature of the mittimus on which Fox was imprisoned at Derby. p. 61, The origin of the term quakers, and on the agitations ascribed to them. p. 61-2, Mr. Neal and Mr. Baxter censured, and the quakers defended. p. 63, The opinions of the quakers, and their system. p. 63-4, An inaccuracy corrected, and the strain of George Fox's preaching.

CHAP. II.

Page 67, Mr. Baxter's censure of the Scots. p. 69, The positions in Mr. Jenkins's petition. p. 74, By whom Mr. Love's petition was signed. p. 76, Brief history of Mr. Love. p. 80, The poverty of the queen dowager, and the pension given to Charles II. p. 84, Biographical account of general Ireton; p. 87, The reception given to the ambassadors of the parliament by the Dutch. p. 91, Two instances of the forgiving temper of the quakers. p. 92-3, Mrs Macauley's reflection on the government of the Rump parliament. p. 96, The respectability of the Little parliament. p. 96-7, A list of the names of a Sussex jury. p. 109, Particulars concerning Dr. William Gouge.

CHAP. III.

Page 115, Lord Clarendon's account of the dying behavior of Vowel and Gerhard. p. 125, A reference to Dr. Harris, to prove that Cromwell was not a bigot. p. 136, Mr. Neal corrected in his account of Dr. Pordage. p. 137, Ground of Mr. Bushnel's being ejected from his living. p. 140, The uses to which the tithes were applied. p. 142, Vavasor Powell's character vindicated. p. 145, Cromwell's patronage of Walton's Polyglott, and of Dr Seth Ward. p. 148, Duke of Gloucester's dereliction of protestantism. p. 149, Grotius's eulogium on Selden. Selden's dying words. Le Clerc's reflections on the treatment which Selden received. p. 151, Mr. Gataker's works, &c. p. 154, Mr. Vine's character; anecdotes concerning him. p. 158-59, Mr. Biddle's character and catechism. Mr. Neal corrected, and Mr. Biddle vindicated. p. 160, Dr. Harris's reflection on Cromwell's ordinance against the clergy. p. 161, ordinance reprobated, and Cromwell's breach of his promise to archbishop Usher. p. 162, Cromwell's pre-

sent to the Jewish rabbi. p. 167, Anecdotes concerning archbishop Usher. p. 168-9, His amiable virtues and dying prayer. Cromwell's respect for him; the value of his library. p. 170, Mr. Marshall's character as a preacher. p. 175, The preaching of the *quakers* vindicated. p. 176, A defence of the *quakers*. p. 177, The unfair treatment James Naylor met with, and the injustice of the reflections cast on the *quakers* on his account. p. 178, The illiberal conduct of those who attempted his conviction. p. 179, The severity of the sentence passed on him. Mr. Neal censured. The conduct of some ministers towards James Naylor. His Dying sentiments: his repentance, and farther remarks on the sentence against him. p. 184, Cromwell's conduct towards the French protestants. p. 185, The history of a tumult at Abingdon. p. 187, Bishop Hall's poetry. p. 188-9, A biographical account of Mr. John Hales. p. 191, Cromwell's wishes to be king, and his conversation with Fleetwood and Desborough. p. 196, A reference to Dr. Grey. The state of the nation under Cromwell. p. 198, The age of admiral Blake. p. 199, An anecdote of Blake. The insult offered to him and others after they had been buried. p. 200, A reference to Dr. Grey. p. 204, A particular concerning Walton's Polyglot. p. 205, A reference to Dr. Grey. p. 207 The character of Mr. Langley. p. 208, A reference to Dr. Grey. p. 209, The merit of the English army in the siege of Dunkirk. A story relative to the surrender of it, and to the conduct of cardinal Mazarine confuted. p. 210, An history of the origin of various churches of the Independents in Norfolk and Suffolk. p. 216, A practice of the *Independents* at the first formation of their churches. The covenant of the church at Watesfield. p. 221, The address of the *baptists* to the protector. p. 222, The flights of Goodwin and Sterry. Date of the battle of Marston-Moor. p. 223, Reflections on the storms on the day of Cromwell's death and of his body being taken up out of the grave. Expences of his funeral and the pomp of it. p. 224, Sir John Reresby's description of Cromwell. His biographers. p. 227, Cromwell's disinterestedness. Sincerity of his religion at first. p. 229, Cromwell's sensibility. p. 231, Dr. Robert Harris' charity.

CHAP. IV.

Page 233, Addresses to Richard Cromwell. p. 239, Character of Fleetwood. p. 240, Dr. Harris's reflections on Richard Cromwell's resignation of the protectorship. p. 241, Resolutions to pay the debts of Richard Cromwell, and to settle on him an annuity. p. 242, Chester disfranchised. p. 247, A reference to Dr. Grey. p. 249, Mr Neal corrected. p. 253, Account of Dr. Barwick. p. 266, Character of Dr. Brownrigge. p. 267, The same, and an anecdote of it. p. 269, Character of Mr. Thomas Cawton. p. 275, Compliments paid to Sir John Greenville, and lord Mordaunt. p. 278, Mr. Daniel Dyke's discernment and judgment on the conduct of Charles II. p. 281, Richard Cromwell's retirement. p. 290, An account of Dr. Frewen. Charities and benefactions of Dr. Duppa. p. 294, A story authenticated,

and Mr. Selden's reply to a certain alderman. p. 294, An account of Mr. Francis Taylor's son p. 307, The cruel treatment of Elizabeth Heavens and Elizabeth Fletcher. p. 311, A quotation from Milton.

CHAP. V.

Page 324, The framers of Charles II's declaration. p. 334, The terms on which the bishops renewed their leases. p. 335, The generosity and munificence of the bishops stated. p. 337, Who drew up the service for the 30th of January. The error of the parliament's proceeding against Charles I. The case of colonel Ingoldsby. p. 339, Mr. Graunger's reflection on the deportment of the regicides at their execution. p. 340, Mr. Horace Walpole's reflection on the execution of a king. p. 341, A query from Dr. Grey. p. 342, His censure of Milton, and the cause of Milton's being included in the act of indemnity. p. 344, THE ORIGIN OF A STANDING ARMY. p. 345, The injustice of the proclamation issued out in consequence of Venner's insurrection. p. 346, The apology of the *baptists* Venner's acquittal of them. p. 347, Sufferings of the *baptists*, particularly of Mr. Vavasor Powel, and Mr. John Bunyan. p. 348, The address of the *quakers*. p. 349, Mr. Neal vindicated: favor shewn to the *quakers*. p. 350, A conciliatory and liberal design of Mr. Boyle and Sir Peter Pett. p. 353, Bishop Stillington's change of sentiment. p. 354, The date of Charles II's marriage; the influence of lord Clarendon in that event, and other circumstances concerning it. p. 355, The chancellor's advice previous to the general election. The pomp with which the king went to open the sessions of parliament. p. 356, Acts of Charles II's first parliament. p. 359, Remarks on the oath of non-resistance.

CHAP. VI.

Page 361, The number of bishops at the Savoy conference. p. 362, No *baptists* admitted to that conference. p. 363, The effect of the numerous demands of the *presbyterians*. p. 365, The questions concerning baptism involved in the debates of the Savoy. p. 369, Moderation and liberality of the *baptists*. The *episcopalians* and *presbyterians* perplexed by a proposal from the lord chancellor. p. 374, Reflections on the infallibility of princes in religious matters. p. 375, The directions of the rubric, in King James's review, concerning the lessons. A mistake of bishop Kennet. p. 377, Mr. Neal corrected. p. 377, 378, Additions to the liturgy. p. 380, Mistakes of Mr. Neal and Dr. Grey. p. 386, Some account of Oliver Cromwell's mother, of Thomas May, and Col. Meldrum. p. 389, A severe act passed against the *quakers*. p. 390, Sufferings of the *quakers*. p. 391, 92 An account of Mr. Thomas Lushington, and of Mr. Denne. p. 392, The duke of York's great argument for adhering to popery. The sale of Dunkirk, and lord Clarendon's share in it. p. 395, A mistake of Mr. Neal. The principle on which the act of uniformity included school-masters. p. 398,

The influence of the corporation-act and the act of uniformity, on the state of the *quakers*. p. 399, The limitation of the time allowed for subscription. p. 401. The proviso for the aid of the ejected ministers. References to bishop Kennet. p. 403. Bishop Saunderson's sentiments concerning the act of uniformity. p. 407, Dr. Walker's work, and the answers to it. p. 408, The sequestered clergy deprived of their fifths, p. 410, Bishop Kennet's opinion of the ejected ministers. p. 411, The amount of his pleas to extenuate their calamities. p. 412, An observation of Mr. Philip Henry.

CHAP. VII.

Page 426, The duty of members of parliament. p. 426, Remarks on the address of the commons on Charles II's proposal of indulgence. p. 430. The design of subscription fixed by the legislature. p. 437, An incident that happened in the time of the plague. p. 440, A design to impose the oath in the Oxford five-mile act on the whole nation. p. 441, A reflection on that act. p. 443, The character of Dr. Cornelius Burgess. p. 444, Dr. Johnson's life of Dr. Cheynel. p. 447, An anecdote of Hubert. p. 448, Character of Mr. Edmund Calamy; the freedom with which he treated general Monk; his imprisonment and discharge. p. 449, Anecdotes of Mr. A. Jackson. p. 450, Lord Clarendon vindicated; his reflection on the palace built for him. p. 451, 2. True cause of lord Clarendon's fall. His leaving the kingdom. His employment and greatness in his exile. His character drawn by Carte and Dr. Grey. An anecdote concerning him.

CHAP. VIII.

Page 456, Dr. Seaman's library. Anecdote of Mr. Hughes's mother. p. 467, The writer of the Assembly's catechism. An inaccuracy corrected. p. 470, Reflections on the conventicle act. p. 471, Mr. Neal defended. p. 473, Bishop Henshaw's persecuting spirit. p. 475, Bishop Burnet censured, and the principles of the *quakers* stated. p. 478, The recorder's of London speech on the trial of William Penn. The conduct and character of Sir John Vaughan. p. 479, Anecdotes of Dr. Tuckney. p. 481, Mr. William Bridges's influence and sentiments on religion. p. 483, The duchess of York dies a papist. p. 485, The bishops alarmed; the clergy preach against popery. Dr. Tillotson's answer to archbishop Sheldon. p. 489, Dr. Staunton, where a fellow. p. 491, An account of Mr. Vavasor Powel.

THE HISTORY OF

THE CITY OF LONDON

BY

JOHN STOW, Citizen of London.

1618

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By Authority.

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
PURITANS.

CHAP. I.

*From the Death of King CHARLES I. to the Coronation
of King CHARLES II. in Scotland.*

1648.

UPON the death of the late king, the legal constitution was dissolved, and all that followed till the restoration of King *Charles II.* was no better than an *usurpation* under different shapes ; the house of commons, if it may deserve that name, after it had been purged of a third part of its members,* relying upon the *act of continuation*, called themselves the *supreme authority of the nation*, and began with an act to disinherit the prince of *Wales*, forbidding all persons to proclaim him king of *England*, on pain of high treason. The house of lords was voted useless ; and the office of a king unnecessary, burthensome, and dangerous. The form of government for the future was declared to be

* According to *Eachard*, not above a fifth part of the commons were left. On account of the reduced and mutilated state of the house, they were called the *Rump Parliament*. This name was first given to them by *Walker*, the author of the *History of Independency*, by way of derision, in allusion to a fowl, all devoured but the rump ; and they were compared to a man “ who would never cease to whet and whet his knife, till there was no steel left to make it useful.” *Dr. Grey*, and *Rapin*. Ed.

a free commonwealth; the executive power lodged in the hands of a *council of state* of forty persons,† with full powers to take care of the whole administration for one year; new keepers of the *great seal* were appointed, from whom the judges received their commissions, with the name, stile, and title of, *custodes libertatis Angliæ autoritate parliamenti*; i. e. *keepers of the liberties of England by authority of parliament*. The coin was stamped on one side with the arms of England between a *laurel* and a *palm*, with this inscription, *the commonwealth of England*; and on the other, a *cross* and *harp*, with this motto, *God with us*.* The oaths of allegiance and supremacy were abolished, and a new one appointed, called the *ENGAGEMENT*, which was, *to be true and faithful to the government established, without king or house of peers*. Such as refused the oath were declared incapable of holding any place or office of trust in the commonwealth; but as many of the excluded members of the house of commons as would take it, resumed their places.

Such was the foundation of this new constitution, which had neither the consent of the people of England, nor of their representatives in a free parliament. “And if ever there was an usurped government, mutilated, and founded only in violence, (says *Rapin*§) it was that of this parliament.” But though it was unsupported by any other power than that of the army, it was carried on with the most consummate wisdom, resolution, and success, till the same military power that set it up, was permitted by divine providence with equal violence to pull it down.

The new commonwealth in its infant state met with opposition from divers quarters: the *levellers* in the army gave out, that the people had only changed their yoke, not shaken it off; and that the *RUMP*’s little finger (for so the house of commons was now called) would be heavier than the king’s loins. The agitators therefore petitioned the house to dissolve themselves, that new representatives

† According to *Whitlocke*, who gives their names, the council consisted of thirty-eight persons only. ED.

* On which a man of wit observed, “that God and the commonwealth were not both on a side.” Dr. *Grey*. ED.

§ Vol. ii. p. 573, folio.

might be chosen. The commons, alarmed at these proceedings, ordered their general officers to cashier the petitioners, and break their swords over their heads, which was done accordingly. But when the forces passed under a general review at Ware, their friends in the army agreed to distinguish themselves by wearing something white in their hats;† which *Cromwell* having some intelligence of beforehand, commanded two regiments of horse who were not in the secret, to surround one of the regiments of foot; and having condemned four of the ringleaders in a council of war, he commanded two of them to be shot to death by their other two associates, in sight of the whole army; and to break the combination, eleven regiments were ordered for Ireland; upon which great numbers deserted, and marched into Oxfordshire; but general *Fairfax* and *Cromwell*, having overtaken them at Abingdon, held them in treaty till colonel *Reynolds* came up, and after some few skirmishes dispersed them.

The Scots threatened the *commonwealth* with a formidable invasion, for upon the death of king *Charles I.* they proclaimed the prince of *Wales* king of Scotland, and sent commissioners to the Hague, to invite him into that kingdom, *provided he would renounce popery and prelacy, and take the solemn league and covenant.* To prevent the effects of this treaty, and cultivate a good understanding with the Dutch, the parliament sent Dr. *Dorislaus*§ an eminent civilian, concerned in the late king's trial, agent to the *States-General*; but the very first night after his arrival, May 3, 1649, he was murdered in his own chamber by twelve desperate cavaliers in disguise, who rushed in

† Whitlocke, p. 387, 389.

§ This person was a native of Holland, and doctor of the civil law at Leyden. On his coming to England he was patronised by *Fulk* lord *Brook*, who appointed him to read lectures on history in Cambridge. But, as in the opening of his course he decried monarchy, he was silenced; he then resided sometime near to Maldon in Essex, where he had married an English woman. He was, afterwards, a judge advocate first, in the king's army, and then in the army of the parliament, and at length one of the judges of the court of admiralty. The parliament ordered 250l. for his funeral; settled on his son 200l. per annum for his life, and gave 500l. a-piece to his daughters. Wood's *Athenæ Oxon*, vol. ii. p. 228, and Whitlocke's *Memorials*, p. 390. Ed.

upon him while he was at supper, and with their drawn swords killed him on the spot.† Both the parliament and states of Holland resented this base action|| so highly, that the young king thought proper to remove into France; from whence he went to the Isle of Jersey, and towards the latter end of the year fixed at Breda; where the Scots commissioners concluded a treaty with him, upon the foot of which he ventured his royal person into that kingdom the ensuing year.

But to strike terror into the *cavaliers*, the parliament erected another *high court of justice*, and sentenced to death three illustrious noblemen, for the part they had acted in the last civil war; duke *Hamilton*, the earl of *Holland*, and lord *Capel*, who were all executed March 9, in the Palace-Yard at Westminster: duke *Hamilton* declared himself a presbyterian; and the earl of *Holland* was attended by two ministers of the same persuasion; but lord *Capel* was a thorough loyalist, and went off the stage with the courage and bravery of a Roman.

But the chief scene of great exploits this year was in Ireland, which *Cromwell*, a bold and enterprising commander, had been appointed to reduce; for this purpose he was made lord-lieutenant for three years, and having taken leave of the parliament, sailed from Milford-haven about the middle of August, with an army of fourteen thousand men of resolute principles, who before the embarkation observed a day of fasting and prayer; in which, Mr. *Whitlocke* remarks, after three ministers had prayed, lieutenant-general *Cromwell* himself, and the colonels *Gough* and *Harrison*, expounded some parts of scripture excel-

† *Whitlocke*, p. 386.

|| Dr. *Grey* cannot easily believe that the murder of *Dorislaus* was resented by the states of Holland: because they had bravely remonstrated by their two ambassadors against the king's death: he cannot, therefore, be easily induced to think, that, after this, they could resent the death of one of his execrable murderers. But Dr. *Grey* does not consider what was due in this case to the honor of their own police, and to the reputation and weight of their own laws. Mr. *Neal* is justified in his representations by *Whitlocke*; who says, "that letters from the Hague reported, that the states caused earnest inquisition to be made after the murderers of Dr. *Dorislaus*; promised 1000 guilders to him who should bring any of them; and published it death to any who should harbor any one of them." *Memorials*, p. 290. Ed.

lently well, and pertinently to the occasion. The army was under a severe discipline ; not an oath was to be heard throughout the whole camp, the soldiers spending their leisure hours in reading their bibles, in singing psalms, and religious conferences.

Almost all Ireland was in the hands of the royalists and Roman catholics, except Dublin and Londonderry ; the former of these places had been lately besieged by the duke of Ormond with twenty thousand men,* but the garrison being recruited with three regiments from England, the governor colonel *James*, surprised the besiegers, and after a vigorous sally, stormed their camp, and routed the whole army, which dispersed itself into Drogheda, and other fortified places. CROMWELL upon his arrival, was received with the acclamations of a vast concourse of people, to whom he addressed himself from a rising ground, with hat in hand, in a soldier-like manner, telling them “ he was come to cut down and destroy the barbarous and bloodthirsty Irish, with all their adherents ;§ but that all who

* Dr. Grey controverts Mr. Neal’s account of the number of the duke of Ormond’s army, on the authority of lord Clarendon and Mr. Carte : the former says, that Jones sallied out with a body of 6000 foot and 1900 horse, and that the army encamped at Rathmines was not so strong in horse and foot : the latter, that Jones’s forces amounted to only 4000 foot and 1200 horse, which was a body nearly equal to the whole Irish army, if it had been all engaged. These authorities are set against Mr. Neal. On the other hand, Whitlocke informs us that, previously to this defeat, letters from Ireland represented the duke of Ormond as approaching Dublin with 12000 foot and 2400 horse ; and letters from Chester reported him 40,000 strong before Dublin. Ludlow says, that his forces were double in number to those of Jones. Borlase says, that Jones with very few forces, comparatively, fell on the besiegers, killed 4000, and took 2517 prisoners. The plunder of the field, we are told, was so rich, that the camp was like a fair, presenting for sale cloth, silk, and all manner of clothes. The parliament settled 1000*l.* per annum in land on Jones, for his services. Whitlocke’s *Memoirs*, p. 393, 401, 404. Ludlow’s *Memoirs*, p. 101, 4to. ed. And Harris’s *Life of Cromwell*, p. 228. *Ed.*

§ Dr. Grey spends here more than ten pages in detailing, from lord Clarendon, various acts of oppression, cruelty, and murder, perpetrated by individuals of Cromwell’s army ; to shew that they were not less barbarous and bloodthirsty than the inhuman wretches concerned in the Irish massacre. Such deeds, undoubtedly, shock humanity ; and ought to shock every party. But the guilt lieth originally at the door of those who were the *first* aggressors ; whose conduct furnished the *precedent*, and provoked *retaliation*. *Ed.*

were for the protestant religion, and the liberties of their country, should find suitable encouragement from the parliament of England and himself, in proportion to their merits." Having refreshed his forces he marched directly to Drogheda, which was garrisoned with 2500 foot and 300 horse, and was therefore thought capable of holding out a month; but the general neglecting the common forms of approach, battered the walls with his cannon, and having made two accessible breaches, like an impetuous conqueror, entered the town in person at the head of colonel *Ewer's* regiment of foot, and put all the garrison to the sword.— From thence he marched to Wexford, which he took likewise by storm, and after the example of Drogheda, put the garrison to the sword; the general declaring, that *he would sacrifice all the Irish papists to the ghosts of the English protestants whom they had massacred in cold blood.*|| The conquest of these places struck such a terror into the rest, that they surrendered upon the first summons; the name of *Cromwell* carrying victory on its wings before himself appeared, the whole country was reduced by the middle of May, except Limerick, Galway, and one or two other places, which *Ireton* took the following summer. Lord *Inchequin* deserted the remains of the royal army, and *Ormond* fled into France. Lieutenant-general *Cromwell* being called home to march against the Scots, arrived at London about the middle of May, and was received by the parliament and city with distinguished respect and honor, as a soldier who had gained more laurels, and done more

|| Great reproach, on this account, has fallen on the name of *Cromwell*. He reconciled himself to the execution of such severe orders, for putting to the sword and giving no quarter, by considering them as necessary to prevent the effusion of blood for the future, and as the instrument of the righteous judgment of God upon those barbarous wretches who had imbrued their hands in so much innocent blood. If ever such measures are justifiable, "it is in such a case as this," observes Dr. Harris, "where the known disposition and behavior of the sufferers are remarkably barbarous, inhuman, and cruel." Such horror, we are told, had the barbarities committed by the Irish, in the beginning of the rebellion and during the course of the war, impressed on every English breast, that even the humane and gentle Fairfax expressed in warm and severe terms his disapprobation at granting them quarter. Harris's *Life of Cromwell*, p. 229, and Macanlay's *History of England*, vol. v. p. 15, note, 8vo. ed. *Ed.*

wonders in nine months, than any age or history could parallel.

It is a remarkable account the lieutenant-general gives in one of his letters, of the behavior of the army after their arrival in Ireland; "their diligence, courage, and behavior is such, (says he) through the providence of God, and strict care of the chief officers, that never men did obey orders more cheerfully, nor go upon duty more courageously. Never did greater harmony and resolution appear to prosecute this cause of God, than in this army. Such a consent of heart and hands; such a sympathy of affections, not only in carnal but in spiritual bonds, which tie faster than chains of adamant! I have often observed a wonderful consent of the officers and soldiers upon the grounds of doing service to God, and how miraculously they have succeeded. The mind of man being satisfied, and fixed on God, and that his undertaking is for God's glory, it gives the greatest courage to those men, and prosperity to their actions."*

To put the affairs of Ireland together: the roman catholics charged the ill success of their affairs upon the duke of *Ormond*, and sent him word, "that they were determined not to submit any longer to his commands, it not being fit that a catholic army should be under the direction of a protestant general; but that if he would depart the kingdom, they would undertake of themselves to drive *Ireton* out of Dublin." After this they offered the kingdom to the duke of *Lorrain*, a bigotted papist, who was wise enough to decline the offer,|| and then quarrelling among themselves they were soon driven out of all the strong holds of the kingdom, and forced to submit to the mercy of the conqueror. All who had borne arms in the late insurrection, were shipped away into France, Spain, or Flanders, never to return on pain of death. Those who had a hand in murdering the protestants at the time of the massacre, were brought from several parts of the country, and

* Whitlocke, p. 434.

|| Dr. Grey insinuates here a reflection on Mr. Neal's veracity; by remarking that he produces no authority for the assertion. But that Ireland was offered to the guardianship of the duke of Lorrain has been since mentioned, as an incontrovertible fact, by Dr. Harris and Mrs. Macaulay. *Ed.*

after conviction upon a fair trial, were executed. The rest of the natives, who were called *Tories*, were shut up in the most inland counties, and their lands given partly in payment to the soldiers who settled there, and the rest to the first adventurers. || Lord *Clarendon* relates it thus : “Near one hundred thousand of them were transported into foreign parts, for the service of the kings of France and Spain; double that number were consumed by the plague, famine, and other severities exercised upon them in their own country; the remainder were by *Cromwell* transplanted into the most inland, barren, desolate, and mountainous part of the province of Connaught, and it was lawful for any man to kill any of the Irish, that were found out of the bounds appointed them within that circuit. Such a proportion of land was allotted to every man, as the *protector* thought competent for them; upon which they were to give formal releases of all their titles to their lands in any other provinces; if they refused to give such releases, they were still deprived, and left to starve within the limits prescribed them; out of which they durst not withdraw; so that very few refused to sign those releases, or other acts which were demanded. It was a considerable time before these Irish could raise any thing out of their lands to support their lives; but necessity was the spring of industry.” Thus they lived under all the infamy of a conquered nation till the restoration of King *Charles II.* a just judgment of God for their barbarous and unheard-of cruelties to the Irish protestants!

To return to England: the body of the presbyterians acted in concert with the Scots, for restoring the king’s family upon the foot of the covenant; several of their ministers carried on a private correspondence with the chiefs of that nation, and instead of taking the engagement to the present powers, called them *usurpers*, and declined praying for them in their churches; they also declared against a general toleration, for which the army and parliament contended.

When lieutenant-general *Cromwell* was embarking for Ireland, he sent letters to the parliament, recommending

the removal of all the penal laws relating to religion ; upon which the house ordered a committee to make report concerning a method for the ease of tender consciences, and an act to be brought in to appoint commissioners in every county, for the approbation of able and well-qualified persons to be made ministers, who cannot comply with the present ordinance for *ordination of ministers*.*

Aug. 16, General *Fairfax* and his council of officers presented a petition to the same purpose, praying "that all penal statutes formerly made, and ordinances lately made, whereby many conscientious people were molested, and the propagation of the gospel hindered, might be removed. Not that they desired this liberty should extend to the setting up popery, or the late hierarchy ; or to the countenancing any sort of immorality or profaneness ; for they earnestly desired, that drunkenness, swearing, uncleanness, and all acts of profaneness, might be vigorously prosecuted in all persons whatsoever."|| The house promised to take the petition into speedy consideration, and after some time passed it into a law.

But to bring the presbyterian clergy to the test, the *engagement* which had been appointed to be taken by all civil and military officers within a limited time, on pain of forfeiting their places, was now required to be sworn and subscribed by all ministers, heads of colleges and halls, fellows of houses, graduates, and all officers in the universities ; and by the masters, fellows, school-masters, and scholars of Eaton college, Westminster, and Winchester schools ; no minister was to be admitted to any ecclesiastical living, no clergyman to sit as member of the assembly of divines, nor be capable of enjoying any preferment in the church, unless he qualified himself by taking the *engagement* within six months, publicly in the face of the congregation.†

Nov. 9, it was referred to a committee, to consider how the *engagement* might be subscribed by all the people of the nation of eighteen years of age and upwards. Pursuant to which a bill was brought in, and passed, Jan. 2, to debar all who should refuse to take and subscribe it,

* Whitlocke, p. 405.

|| Ibid. p. 404.

† Walker, p. 146.

from the benefit of the law ; and to disable them from suing in any court of law or equity.

This was a severe test on the presbyterians, occasioned by the *apprehended rupture* with the Scots ; but their clergy inveighed bitterly against it in their sermons, and refused to observe the days of humiliation appointed by authority for a blessing upon their arms. Mr. *Baxter* says,† that he wrote several letters to the soldiers, to convince them of the unlawfulness of the present expedition : and in his sermons declared it a sin to force ministers to pray for the success of those who had violated the covenant, and were going to destroy their brethren. That he both spoke and preached against the *engagement*, and dissuaded men from taking it. At Exeter, says Mr. *Whitlocke*, the *ministers* went out of town on the fast-day, and shut up the church doors ; and *all the magistrates* refused the *engagement*. At Taunton the fast was not kept by the presbyterian ministers ; and at Chester they condemned the *engagement* to the pit of hell ; as did many of the London ministers, who kept days of private fasting and prayer, against the present government. Some of them (says *Whitlocke*) joined the royalists, and refused to read the ordinances of parliament in their pulpits, as was usual in those times ; nay, when the Scots were beaten, they refused to observe the day of thanksgiving,‡ but shut up their churches and went out of town ; for which they were summoned before the committee and reprimanded ; but the times being unsettled, no further notice was taken of them at present.

Most of the sectarian party (says Mr. *Baxter**) swallowed the *engagement* ; and so did the king's old cavaliers, very few of them being sick of the disease of a scrupulous conscience : some wrote for it, but the moderate episcopal men and presbyterians generally refused it. Those of Lancashire and Cheshire published the following reasons against it :

† Life, p. 64, 66.

‡ Lord *Grey*, at the desire of some who were zealously attached to the parliament, complained, in a letter to the lord president of the council of state, of the neglect of the ministers, in Leicestershire and another county, in this instance : and urged the importance of noticing their contempt of the thanksgiving day, expressed by their non-observance of it. Dr. *Grey's* Appendix, No. 8. Ed.

* Life, p. 64, 65.

(1.) "Because they apprehended the oath of allegiance, and the solemn league and covenant, were still binding.

(2.) "Because the present powers were no better than *usurpers*.

(3.) "Because the taking of it was a prejudice to the right heir of the crown, and to the ancient legal constitution." To which it was answered, "that it was absurd to suppose the oath of allegiance, or the solemn league and covenant to be in force after the king's death; for how could they be obliged to preserve the king's person, when the king's person was destroyed, and the kingly office abolished; and as to his successor, his *right* had been forfeited and taken away by parliament." With regard to the *present powers*, it was said, "that it was not for private persons to dispute the rights and titles of their supreme governors. Here was a government *de facto*, under which they lived; as long therefore as they enjoyed the protection of the government, it was their duty to give all reasonable security that they would not disturb it, or else to remove." The body of the common people being weary of war, and willing to live quiet under any administration, submitted to the engagement, as being little more than a promise not to attempt the subversion of the present government, but many of the presbyterian clergy chose rather to quit their preferments in the church and university, than comply; which made way for the promotion of several independent divines, and among others, of Dr. *Thomas Goodwin*, one of the dissenting brethren in the assembly, who by order of parliament, Jan. 8. 1749-50, was appointed president of Magdalen college, Oxford, with the privilege of nominating fellows and demies in such places as should become vacant by death, or by the possessors refusing to take the *engagement*.*

The parliament tried several methods to reconcile the presbyterians to the present administration; persons were appointed to treat with them, and assure them of the protection of the government, and of the full enjoyment of their ecclesiastical preferments according to law; when this could not prevail, an order was published, that ministers in their pulpits should not meddle with state affairs.

* Whitlocke, p. 453.

After this the celebrated *Milton* was appointed to write for the government, who rallied the seditious preachers with his satyrical pen in a severe manner; at length, when all other methods failed, a committee was chosen to receive informations against such ministers as in their pulpits vilified and aspersed the authority of parliament, and an act was passed, that all such should be sequestered from their ecclesiastical preferments.†

The presbyterians supported themselves under these hardships by their alliance with the Scots, and their hope of a speedy alteration of affairs by their assistance; for in the remonstrance of the general assembly of that kirk, dated July 27, they declare, that “the spirit which has acted in the councils of those who have obstructed the work of God, despised the covenant, corrupted the truth, forced the parliament, murdered the king, changed the government, and established such an unlimited toleration in religion, cannot be the spirit of righteousness and holiness. They therefore warn the subjects of Scotland against joining with them, and in case of an invasion to stand up in their own defence. The English have no controversy with us, (say they) but because the kirk and state have declared against their unlawful *engagement*; because we still adhere to our covenant, and have borne our testimony against their *toleration*, and taking away the king’s life.”* But then they warn their people also against *malignants*, “who value themselves upon their attachment to the young king, and if any from that quarter should invade the kingdom, before his majesty has given satisfaction to the parliament and kirk, they exhort their people to resist them, as abettors of an absolute and arbitrary government.”

About two months after this, the parliament of England published a declaration on their part, wherein they complain of the revolt of the English and Scots presbyterians, and of their taking part with the enemy, because their discipline was not the exact standard of reformation. “But we are still determined (say they||) not to be discouraged in our endeavors to promote the purity of religion, and the liberty of the commonwealth; and for the satisfaction of our presbyterian brethren, we declare, that *we will con-*

† Whitlocke, p. 387. * Vol. Pamph. No. 24, p. 6. || Ibid. No. 24.

tinue all those ordinances which have been made for the promoting a reformation of religion, in doctrine, worship, and discipline, in their full force; and will uphold the same, in order to suppress popery, superstition, blasphemy, and all kinds of prophaneness. Only we conceive ourselves obliged to take away all such acts and ordinances as are penal and coercive in matters of conscience. And because this has given so great offence, we declare as in the presence of God, that by whomsoever this liberty shall be abused, we will be ready to testify our displeasure against them, by an effectual prosecution of such offenders."

The Scots commissioners were all this while treating with the king in Holland, and insisting on his subscribing the solemn league and covenant; his establishing the Westminster *confession*, the directory, and the presbyterian government in both kingdoms. The king being under discouraging circumstances, consented to all their demands with regard to Scotland, and as to England referred himself to a free parliament: but the Scots not satisfied with his majesty's exceptions as to England, replied, that, "such an answer as this would grieve the whole kirk of Scotland, and all their covenanting brethren in England and Ireland, who under pain of the most solemn perjury stand bound to God and one another, to live and die by their covenant, as the chief security of their religion and liberties, against popish and prelatical malignants. Your majesty's father (say they) in his last message to our kirk offered to ratify the solemn league and covenant. He offered likewise at the Isle of Wight to confirm the directory, and the presbyterial government in England and Ireland, till he and his parliament should agree upon a settled order of the church. Besides, your majesty having offered to confirm the abolishing of episcopacy, and the service book in Scotland, it cannot certainly be against your conscience to do it in England." But the king would advance no farther till he had heard from the queen mother, who sent him word, that it was the opinion of the council of France, that he should agree with the Scots upon the best terms he was able, which he did accordingly, as will be related the next year.

The fifth provincial assembly of London met the begin-

ning of May [1649] at Sion college, the reverend Mr. *Jackson*, of St. Michael Wood-street, moderator. A committee was appointed to prepare materials for proof of the *divine right* of presbyterial church government. The proofs were examined and approved by this, and the assembly that met in November following, of which Mr. *Walker* was moderator, Mr. *Calamy* and Mr. *Jackson* assessors, and Mr. *Blackwell* scribe. The treatise was printed, and asserts,

(1.) That there is a church government of divine institution.

(2.) That the civil magistrate is not the origin or head of church government. And,

(3.) That the government of the church by synods and classes is the government that Christ appointed. It maintains separation from their churches to be *schism*; that ministers formerly ordained by bishops need not be re-ordained: And for private christians in particular churches to assume a right of sending persons forth to preach, and to administer the sacraments, is in their opinion insufferable.

The parliament did all they could to satisfy the male-content presbyterians, by securing them in their livings, and by ordering the dean and chapter lands to be sold,* and their names to be extinct, except the deanry of Christ church, and the foundations of Westminster, Winchester, and Eaton schools. The bishops lands, which had been sequestered since the year 1646, were now by an ordinance of June 8, 1649, vested in the hands of new trustees, and appropriated to the augmentation of poor livings in the church. § The first-fruits and tenths of all ecclesiastical livings, formerly payable to the crown, were vested in the same hands, free from all incumbrances, on trust, that they should pay yearly all such salaries, stipends, allowances and provisions, as have been settled and confirmed by parliament, for preaching ministers, school-mas-

* The money raised by the sale of those lands amounted to a very considerable sum. The return of the value of the lands, contracted for to the 29th of August 1650, made to the committee for the sale of them, fixed it at the sum of 948,409l. 18s. 2½d. of which, on the 31st of August, the total of the purchasers' acquittances amounted to 658,501l. 2s. 9d. Dr. Grey, vol. iii. Appendix, p. 48. Ed.

§ Scobel, p. 41, 413.

ters, or professors in the universities; provided the assignment to any one do not exceed one hundred pounds. It is further provided, that the maintenance of all incumbents shall not be less than one hundred pounds a year, and the commissioners of the great seal are empowered to enquire into the yearly value of all ecclesiastical livings, to which any cure of souls is annexed; and to certify into the court of Chancery, the names of the present incumbents who supply the cure, with their respective salaries; how many chapels belong to parish churches, and how the several churches and chapels are supplied with preaching ministers; that so some course may be taken for providing for a better maintenance where it is wanting. Dr. Walker says,* the value of bishops lands forfeited and sold amounted to a million of money; but though they sold very cheap, they that bought them had a very dear bargain in the end.

Upon debate of an ordinance concerning public worship, and church government, the house declared, that the presbyterial government should be the established government. And upon the question, whether tithes should be continued, it was resolved, that they should not be taken away, till another maintenance equally large and honorable should be substituted in its room.

The inhabitants of the principality of Wales were destitute of the means of christian knowledge, their language was little understood, their clergy were ignorant and idle; so that they had hardly a sermon from one quarter of a year to another. The people had neither bibles nor catechisms; nor was there a sufficient maintenance for such as were capable of instructing them. The parliament taking the case of these people into consideration, passed an act, Feb. 22, 1649, *for the better propagation and preaching of the gospel in Wales, for the ejecting scandalous ministers and school-masters, and redress of some grievances*; to continue in force for three years. What was done in pursuance of this ordinance will be related hereafter; but the parliament were so intent upon the affair of religion at this time, that Mr. Whitlocke says, they devoted Friday in every week to consult ways and means for promoting it.

Nor did they confine themselves to England, but as soon as lieutenant-general *Cromwell* had reduced Ireland, the parliament passed an ordinance, March 8, 1649, for the encouragement of religion and learning in that country; "they invested all the manors and lands late of the archbishop of Dublin, and of the dean and chapter of *St. Patrick*, together with the parsonage of Trym belonging to the bishopric of Meath, in the hands of trustees, for the maintenance and support of Trinity college in Dublin; and for the creating, settling, and maintaining another college in the said city, and of a master, fellows, scholars, and public professors: and also for erecting a free-school, with a master, usher, scholars, and officers, in such manner as any five of the trustees, with the consent of the lord-lieutenant, shall direct and appoint. The lord-lieutenant to nominate the governor, masters, &c. and to appoint them their salaries; and the trustees, with the consent of the lord-lieutenant, shall draw up statutes and ordinances, to be confirmed by the parliament of England."

The university of Dublin being thus revived, and put upon a new foot, the parliament sent over six of their most acceptable preachers to give it reputation, appointing them two hundred pounds a year out of the bishop's lands; and till that could be duly raised, to be paid out of the public revenues: and for their further encouragement, if they died in that service, their families were to be provided for. By these methods learning began to revive, and in a few years religion appeared with a better face than it had ever done before in that kingdom.

A prospect being opened for spreading the Christian religion among the Indians, upon the borders of New-England, the parliament allowed a general collection throughout England, and erected a corporation for this service, who purchased an estate in land of between five and six hundred pounds a year; but on the restoration of King *Charles II.* the charter became void, and colonel *Beddingfield*, a roman catholic officer in the king's army, of whom a considerable part of the land was purchased, seized it for his own use, pretending he had sold it under the real value, in hopes of recovering it upon the king's return. In order to defeat the colonel's design, the society solicited

the king for a new charter, which they obtained by the interest of the lord chancellor. It bears date Feb. 7, in the 14th year of his majesty's reign, and differs but little from the old one. The honorable *Robert Boyle*, Esq. was the first governor. They afterwards recovered colonel *Bedingfield's* estate, and are at this time in possession of about five hundred pounds a year, which they employ for the conversion of the Indians in America.

But all that the parliament could do was not sufficient to stop the mouths of the loyalists and discontented presbyterians; the pulpit and press sounded to sedition; the latter brought forth invectives every week against the government; it was therefore resolved to lay a severe fine upon offenders of this kind, by an ordinance bearing date Sept. 20, 1649, the preamble to which sets forth, that "Whereas divers scandalous and seditious pamphlets are daily printed, and dispersed with officious industry by the malignant party, both at home and abroad, with a design to subvert the present government, and to take off the affections of the people from it, it is therefore ordained,

"THAT the author of every seditious libel or pamphlet shall be fined ten pounds, or suffer forty days imprisonment. The printer five pounds, and his printing press to be broken. The bookseller forty shillings; the buyer twenty shillings, if he conceals it, and does not deliver it up to a justice of peace. It is further ordained, that no news-paper shall be printed, or sold without license, under the hand of the clerk of the parliament, or the secretary of the army, or such other person as the council of state shall appoint. No printing-presses are to be allowed but in London, and in the two universities. All printers are to enter into bonds of three hundred pounds, not to print any pamphlet against the state without license, as aforesaid; unless the author's or licenser's name, with the place of his abode be prefixed. All importers of seditious pamphlets are to forfeit five pounds, for every such book or pamphlet. No books are to be landed in any other port but that of London, and to be viewed by the master and wardens of the company of *stationers*. This act to continue in force for two years."*

* Scobel, p. 88. Cap. 60.

But the pulpit was no less dangerous than the press; the presbyterian ministers in their public prayers and sermons, especially on fast-days, keeping alive the discontents of the people. The government therefore, by an ordinance, abolished the monthly fast, which had subsisted for about seven years, and had been in a great measure a fast for strife and debate; but declared at the same time, that they should appoint occasional fasts, from time to time for the future, as the providences of God should require.*

In the midst of all these disorders, there was a very great appearance of sobriety, both in city and country; the indefatigable pains of the presbyterian ministers in catechising, instructing, and visiting their parishioners, can never be sufficiently commended. The whole nation was civilized, and considerably improved in sound knowledge, though bishop *Kennet* and Mr. *Eackard* are pleased to say, that *heresies and blasphemies against heaven were swelled up to a most prodigious height*. “I know (says Mr. *Baxter*) you may meet with men, who will confidently affirm, that in these times all religion was trodden under foot, and that heresy and schism were the only piety; but I give warning to all ages, that they take heed, how they believe any, while they are speaking for the interest of their factions and opinions against their real or supposed adversaries.” However, the parliament did what they could to suppress and discountenance all such extravagancies; and even the officers of the army, having convicted one of their *quarter-masters* of blasphemy in a council of war, sentenced him to have his tongue bored through with an hot iron, his sword broke over his head, and to be cashiered the army.

But bishop *Kennet* says, even the *Turkish alcoran* was coming in; that it was translated into *English*, and said to be licensed by one of the ministers of *London*. Sad times! Was his lordship then afraid, that the *alcoran* would prevail against the bible? or that the doctrines of Christ could not support themselves against the extravagant follies of an impostor? But the book did no harm, though the commons immediately published an order for suppressing it; and since the restitution of *monarchy* and *episco-*

* Whitlocke, p. 393.

§ Life, p. 86.

pacy, we have lived to see the life of *Mahomet* and his *Koran* published without mischief or offence.

His lordship adds, that the papists took advantage of the liberty of the times, *who were never more numerous and busy*; which is not very probable, because the parliament had banished all papists twenty miles from the city of London, and excepted them out of their acts of indulgence and toleration; the spirit of the people against popery was kept up to the height; the mob carried the pope's effigies in triumph, and burnt it publicly on Queen *Elizabeth's* birth-day; and the ministers in their pulpits pronounced him antichrist; but such is the *zeal* of this right reverend historian! ‡

‡ In this place we may notice, that colonel Lilburne, who in the reign of Charles I. felt the severe effects of regal and episcopal anger, now incurred the displeasure of a republican government. On October 26, 1646, he was tried for transgressing the new statute of treasons enacted by the commonwealth. He was acquitted by the jury; and Westminster-hall, on the verdict being given, resounded with the acclamations of the people. A print was struck on the occasion, representing him, standing at the bar on his trial: at the top of it was a medal of his head with this inscription, "John Lilburne, saved by the power of the Lord, and the integrity of his jury, who are judges of law as well as fact, October 6, 1646." On the reverse were the names of the jury. He was a very popular character; as appears from the many petitions presented to the house in his favor, during his imprisonment; one of which came from a number of women. When some were sent to seize his books, he persuaded them "to look to their own liberties, and let his books alone;" and on his trial, he behaved with singular intrepidity. After he was discharged by the jury, he was, by the order of parliament, committed to the Tower. He seems to have been a bold and consistent oppugner of tyranny, under whatever form of government it was practised. He died a quaker, at Eltham, August 28, 1658. The following character was given of him by Sir Thomas Wortley, in a song, at the feast kept by the prisoners in the Tower, in August 1647.

"John Lilburne is a stirring blade,
And understands the matter;
He neither will king, bishops, lords,
Nor th' house of commons flatter.
John loves no power prerogative,
But that deriv'd from Sion;
As for the mitre and the crown,
Those two he looks awry on."

Granger's History of England, vol. iii. p. 78, 8vo. Whitlocke's Mem. p. 383, 384, and 405. Dr. Grey, vol. i. p. 167, and vol. iii. p. 17. *Ed*

The beginning of this year, the marquis of *Montross* was taken in the north of Scotland by colonel *Straughan** with a small body of troops, and hanged at Edinburgh on a gallows thirty feet high; his body was buried under the gallows, and his quarters set upon the gates of the principal towns in Scotland; but his behaviour was great and firm to the last. The marquis appeared openly for the king in the year 1643. and having routed a small party of covenanters in Perthshire, acquired considerable renown; but his little successes were very mischievous to the king's affairs, being always magnified beyond what they really were:† His vanity was the occasion of breaking off the treaty of Uxbridge, and his fears lest King *Charles II.* should agree with the Scots, and revoke his commission before he had executed it, now hurried him to his own ruin.

The young king being in treaty with the Scots covenanters at Breda, was forced to stifle his resentment for the death of the marquis, and submit to the following hard conditions :

(1.) "That all persons excommunicated by the kirk should be forbid the court.

(2.) "That the king, by his solemn oath, and under his hand and seal, declare his allowance of the covenant.

(3.) "That he confirm those acts of parliament, which enjoin the covenant. That he establish the presbyterian worship and discipline, and swear never to oppose, or endeavor to alter them.

* This is not accurate. Colonel *Straughan*'s forces in conjunction with others, fell on lord *Montross*'s party, routed them, and took 600 prisoners: but the marquis himself escaped, though with difficulty, for his horse, pistols, belt, and scabbard, were seized: and two or three days after the fight, he was taken sixteen miles from the place of engagement, in a disguise, and sorely wounded: having been betrayed, some say by lord *Aston*, but, according to bishop *Burnet*, by *Mackland*, of *Assin*. Dr. *Grey*, and *Whitlocke's* Memorials, p. 438, 9. *Ed.*

† If his successes were magnified beyond the truth, his character has also been handed down with the highest eulogiums. The marquis of *Montross*, "says Mr. *Granger*," was comparable to the greatest heroes of antiquity. We meet with many instances of valor in this active reign; but *Montross* is the only instance of heroism. Amongst other circumstances of indignity, which accompanied his execution, the book of his exploits, a small octavo written in elegant Latin, which is now very scarce, was tied appendant to his neck. Dr. *Grey*, and *Granger's* History of England, vol. ii. p. 245, 6. 8vo. *Ed.*

(4.) "That all civil matters be determined by parliament; and all ecclesiastical affairs by the kirk.

(5.) "That his majesty ratify all that has been done in the parliament of Scotland in some late sessions, and sign the covenant upon his arrival in that kingdom, if the kirk desire it."*

The king arrived in Scotland June 23, but before his landing, the commissioners insisted on his signing the covenant, and upon parting with all his old counsellors, which he did, and was then conducted by the way of Aberdeen and St. Andrews to his house at Faulkland. July 11, his majesty was proclaimed at the cross at Edinburgh, but the ceremony of his coronation was deferred to the beginning of the next year. In the mean time, the English commonwealth was providing for a war, which they saw was unavoidable, and general *Fairfax* refusing to act against the Scots, his commission was immediately given to *Cromwell*, with the title of *Captain-general in chief of all the forces raised, and to be raised by authority of parliament, within the commonwealth of England*. Three days after, (viz.) June 29, he marched with eleven thousand foot, and five thousand horse, towards the borders of Scotland, being resolved not to wait for the Scots invading England, but to carry the war into their country. The Scots complained to the English parliament of this conduct, as a breach of the act of pacification, and of the covenant; but were answered, that they had already broken the peace by their treaty with *Charles Stuart*, whom they had not only received as their king, but promised to *assist in recovering the crown of England*. Their receiving the king was certainly their right as an independent nation; but whether their engaging to assist him in recovering the crown of England, was not declaring war, must be left to the reader.

July 22, the general crossed the Tweed, and marched his army almost as far as Edinburgh without much opposition, the country being deserted by reason of the terror of

* Besides taking the covenant, it was enacted of the king also to acknowledge twelve articles of repentance, in which were enumerated the sins of his father and grandfather, and the idolatry of his mother; and in which were declarations, that he sought the restitution of his rights for the sole advantage of religion, and in subordination to the kingdom of Christ. Mrs. Macaulay's History of England, vol. v. p. 62, 8vo. *Ed.*

the name of *Cromwell*, and the reports that were spread of his cruelty in Ireland. Not a Scotsman appeared under sixty, nor a youth above six years old, to interrupt his march. All provisions were destroyed, or removed, to prevent the subsistence of the army, which was supplied from time to time by sea; but the general having made proclamation, that no man should be injured in his person or goods, who was not found in arms, the people took heart, and returned to their dwellings.

The Scots army, under the command of general *Lesley*, stood on the defensive, and watched the motions of the English all the month of August; the main body being intrenched within six miles of Edinburgh, to the number of thirty thousand of the best men, that ever Scotland saw; general *Cromwell* did every thing he could to draw them to a battle, till by the fall of rain, and bad weather, he was obliged to retreat to *Musselborough*, and from thence to *Dunbar*, where he was reduced to the utmost straits, having no way left but to conquer or die. In this extremity, he summoned the officers to prayer; after which, he bid all about him take heart, for God had heard them; then walking in the earl of *Roxborough's* gardens, that lay under the hill upon which the Scots army was encamped, and discovering by perspective glasses, that they were coming down to attack him, he said *God was delivering them into his hands*. That night proving very rainy, the general refreshed his men in the town, and ordered them to take particular care of their firelocks, which the Scots neglected, who were all the night coming down the hill. Early next morning Sept. 3, the general with a strong party of horse beat their guards, and then advancing with his whole army, after about an hour's dispute, entered their camp and carried all before him; about four thousand Scots fell in battle, ten thousand were made prisoners, with fifteen hundred arms, and all their artillery and ammunition; the loss of the English amounting to no more than about three hundred men.

It is an odd reflection lord *Clarendon*§ makes upon this victory: "Never was victory obtained (says his lordship)

|| Life of *Cromwell*, p. 178. Burnet's Hist. vol. i. p. 74, Edinb. edit. § Vol. III. p. 577.

with less lamentation ; for as *Cromwell* had great argument of triumph, so the king was glad of it, as the greatest happiness that could befall him, in the loss of so strong a body of his enemies.”|| Such was the encouragement the Scots had to fight for their king !

Immediately after this action, the general took possession of *Edinburgh*, which was in a manner deserted by the clergy ; some having shut themselves up in the castle, and others fled with their effects to *Sterling*, the general, to deliver them from their fright, sent a trumpet to the castle, to assure the governor that the *ministers* might return to their churches, and preach without any disturbance from him, for he had no quarrel with the Scots nation on the score of religion. § But the ministers replied, that having no security for their persons, they thought it their duty to reserve themselves for better times. Upon which the general wrote to the governor,

“ THAT his kindness offered to the ministers in the castle, was without any fraudulent reserve ; that if their master’s service was their principal concern, they would not be so excessively afraid of suffering for it. That those divines had misreported the conduct of his party, when they charged them with persecuting the ministers of Christ in England ; for the ministers in England (says he) are supported, and have liberty to preach the gospel, though not to rail at their superiors at discretion ; nor

|| Dr. *Grey* adds the reason which lord *Clarendon* assigns for the king’s rejoicing in this victory : which was, his apprehension that if the Scots had prevailed, they would have shut him up in prison the next day : whereas, after this defeat, they looked upon the king as one they might stand in need of, gave him more liberty than they had before allowed. permitted his servants to wait on him, and began to talk of a parliament, and of a time for his coronation. ED.

§ It is a proof of this, that while *Oliver Cromwell* was at *Edinburgh*, he attended divine worship in the great church there, when Mr. *William Derham* preached, and called *Oliver* an usurper to his face. He was so far from resenting this, that he invited Mr. *Derham* to visit him in the evening, when they supped together in great harmony. *Oliver* observed, however, “ that it was well known to him, how much he and his brethren disliked him : but they might assure themselves that, if any of the *Stewart* line came to the throne, they would find their little fingers greater than his loins.” Dr. *Gibbons’* Account of the *Cromwell* Family, annexed to his Funeral Sermon for *William Cromwell, Esq.*—p. 47. ED.

under a pretended privilege of character, to over-top the civil powers, or debase them as they please.—No man has been disturbed in England or Ireland for preaching the gospel; nor has any minister been molested in Scotland, since the coming of the army hither—speaking truth becomes the ministers of Christ; but when ministers pretend to a glorious reformation, and lay the foundation thereof in getting to themselves *power*, and can make worldly mixtures to accomplish the same, such as the late agreement with their king; they may know that the *Sion* promised is not to be built with such *untempered mortar*. And for the unjust invasion they [the ministers] mention, time was, when an army out of Scotland came into England, not called by the supreme authority—we have said in our papers, with what hearts, and upon what account we came, and the Lord has heard us, though you would not, upon as solemn an appeal as any experience can parallel—I have nothing to say to you, but that I am,

“*Sir, your humble servant,*

“O. CROMWELL.”‡

The Scots ministers, in their reply to this letter, objected to the general, *his opening the pulpit doors to all intruders, by which means, a flood of errors was broke in upon the nation*. To which the general replied, “we look on ministers as helpers of, not lords over the faith of God’s people: I appeal to their consciences, whether any denying of their doctrines, or dissenting from them, will not incur the censure of a SECTARY; and what is this but to deny christians their liberty, and assume the infallible chair? where do you find in scripture, that preaching is included within your function? though an approbation from men has order in it, and may be well, yet he that hath not a better than that, hath none at all.

“I hope he that ascended up on high may give his gifts to whom he pleases; and if those gifts be the seal of mission, are not you envious, though *Eldad* and *Medad* prophesy? You know who has bid us covet earnestly the best

‡ Life of Cromwell, p. 182.

gifts, but chiefly, that we may *prophesy* ; which the apostle explains to be a speaking to instruction, edification, and comfort, which the instructed, edified, and comforted, can best tell the energy and effect of.

“ Now, if this be evidence, take heed you envy not for your own sakes, lest you be guilty of a greater fault than *Moses* reproved in *Joshua*, when he envied for his sake. Indeed you err through mistake of the scriptures. Approbation is an act of convenience in respect of order not of necessity, to give faculty to preach the gospel.

“ Your pretended fear, lest error should step in, is like the man that would keep all the wine out of the country lest men should be drunk. It will be found an unjust and unwise jealousy, to deny a man the liberty he hath by nature, upon a supposition he may abuse it. When he doth abuse it, then judge.”§

The governor complained to the *general*, that the parliament at *Westminster* had fallen from their principles, not being true to the ends of the covenant. And then adds with the ministers, that men of secular employments had usurped the office of the ministry, to the scandal of the reformed churches.

In answer to the first part of this expostulation, general *Cromwell* desired to know, whether their bearing witness to themselves, was a good evidence of their having prosecuted the ends of the covenant? “ to infer this (says he) is to have too favorable an opinion of your own judgment and impartiality. Your doctrines and practice ought to be tried by the word of God, and other people must have a liberty of examining them upon these heads, and of giving sentence.”||

As to the charge of indulging the use of the pulpit to the laity, the *general* admits it, and adds, “ are ye troubled that Christ is preached? does it scandalize the reformed churches, and Scotland in particular? is it against the covenant? away with the covenant if it be so. I thought the covenant and these men would have been willing, that any should speak good of the name of Christ; if

§ Whitlocke, p. 458. Collier's Ecclesiastical History, p. 863.

|| Collier's Ecclesiastical History, p. 864.

not, it is no covenant of God's approving; nor the kirk you mention so much the spouse of Christ."

The *general*, in one of his letters, lays considerable stress upon the success of their arms, after a most solemn appeal to God on both sides. To which the Scots governor replied, *we have not so learned Christ, as to hang the equity of a cause upon events.* To which *Cromwell* answers, "We could wish that blindness had not been upon your eyes to those marvellous dispensations which God has lately wrought in England. But did not you solemnly appeal and pray? Did not we do so too? And ought not we and you to think with fear and trembling on the hand of the great God in this mighty and strange appearance of his, and not slightly call it an event? Were not your expectations and ours renewed from time to time whilst we waited on God to see how he would manifest himself upon our appeals? And shall we after all these our prayers, fastings, tears, expectations, and solemn appeals, call these bare events? The Lord pity you—"

From this correspondence the reader may form a judgment of the governing principles of the Scots and English at this time; the former were so inviolably attached to their covenant, that they would depart from nothing that was inconsistent with it. The English, after seeking God in prayer, judged of the goodness of their cause by the appearance of providence in its favor; most of the officers and soldiers were men of strict devotion, but went upon this mistaken principle, that God would never appear for a bad cause after a solemn appeal to him for decision. However, the Scots lost their courage, and surrendered the impregnable castle of Edinburgh into the hands of the conqueror, December 24, the garrison having liberty to march out with their baggage to Burnt-Island in Fife; and soon after the whole kingdom was subdued.

The provincial assembly of London met this year as usual, in the months of May and November, but did nothing remarkable; the parliament waited to reconcile them to the *engagement*, and prolonged the time limited for taking it; but when they continued inflexible, and instead of submitting to the present powers, were plotting with the

Scots, it was resolved to clip their wings, and make some examples, as a terror to the rest. June 21, the committee for regulating the universities was ordered to tender the *engagement* to all such officers, masters, and fellows, as had neglected to take it, and upon their refusal to displace them. Accordingly in the university of Cambridge, Mr. *Vines*, Dr. *Rainbow*, and some others, were displaced, and succeeded by Mr. *Sydrach Sympson*, Mr. *Jo. Sadler*, and Mr. *Dell*. In the university of Oxford, Dr. *Reynolds* the vice-chancellor refused the engagement, but after some time offered to take it, in hopes of saving his deanry of Christ church; but the parliament resenting the example, took advantage of his forfeiture, and gave the deanry to Dr. *John Owen*, an independent divine, who took possession of it March 18, 1650-1. §

Upon the resignation of the vice-chancellor, Dr. *Daniel Greenwood*, principal of Brazen-Nose college, and a presbyterian divine, was appointed his successor, October 12, and on the 15th of January following OLIVER CROMWELL, now in Scotland, was chosen unanimously, in full convocation, *chancellor of the university* in the room of the earl of *Pembroke* lately deceased. ‡ When the doctors and masters who were sent to Edinburgh, acquainted him with the choice, he wrote a letter to the university, in which after a modest refusal of their favor, he adds, “if these arguments prevail not, and that I must continue this honor till I can personally serve you, you shall not want my prayers, that piety and learning may flourish among you, and be rendered useful and subservient to that great and glorious kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ; of the approach of which, so plentiful an effusion of the holy spirit upon those hopeful plants among you is one of the best presages—” When the general’s letter was read in convocation, the house resounded with cheerful acclamations. Dr. *Greenwood* continued vice-chancellor two years, but was then displaced for his disaffection to the government, and the honor was conferred on Dr. *Owen*. Thus by degrees, the presbyterians lost their influence in the universities, and delivered them up into the hands of the independents.

§ Baxter’s Life, p. 64.

‡ Wood’s Fasti, p. 92, or Athen. Oxon. vol. ii. p. 772.

To strengthen the hands of the government yet further, the parliament, by an ordinance bearing date Sept. 20, took away all the penal statutes for religion.* The preamble sets forth, “that divers religious and peaceable people, well affected to the commonwealth, having not only been molested and imprisoned, but brought into danger of abjuring their country, or in case of return to suffer death as felons, by sundry acts made in the times of former kings and queens of this nation, against recusants not coming to church, &c. they therefore enact and ordain,

“THAT all the clauses, articles, and proviso’s, in the ensuing acts of parliament, viz. 1st *Eliz.* 23d *Eliz.* 35th *Eliz.* and all and every branch, clause, article, or proviso, in any other act or ordinance of parliament, whereby any penalty or punishment is imposed, or meant to be imposed on any person whatsoever, for not repairing to their respective parish churches; or for not keeping of holy days; or for not hearing common-prayer, &c. shall be, and are hereby wholly repealed and made void.

“And to the end that no profane or licentious persons may take occasion, by the repeal of the said laws, to neglect the performance of religious duties, it is further ordained, that all persons not having a reasonable excuse, shall on every Lord’s day, and day of public thanksgiving or humiliation, resort to some place of public worship; or be present at some other place, in the practice of some religious duty, either of prayer or preaching, reading or expounding the scriptures.—”

By this law the doors were set open, and the state was at liberty to employ all such in their service as would take the oaths to the civil government, without any regard to their religious principles.

Sundry severe ordinances were made for suppressing vice, error, and all sorts of profaneness and impiety. May 10, it was ordained, “that *incest* and *adultery* should be made felony; and that *fornication* should be punished with three months imprisonment for the first offence; and that the second offence should be *felony* without benefit of clergy. Common *bawds*, or persons who keep lewd houses, are to be set in the pillory; to be whipped, and mark-

* Scobel, p. 131.

ed in the forehead with the letter B, and then committed to the house of correction for three years for the first offence; and for the second to suffer death; provided the prosecution be within twelve months.”§

June 28, it was ordained, “that every *nobleman* who shall be convicted of profane cursing and swearing, by the oath of one or more witnesses, or by his own confession, shall pay for the first offence thirty shillings to the poor of the parish; a *baronet*, or *knight*, twenty shillings; an *esquire* ten shillings; a *gentleman* six shillings and eight pence; and all inferior persons three shillings and four pence. For the second offence they are to pay double, according to their qualities above-mentioned. And for the tenth offence they are to be judged common swearers and cursers, and to be bound over to their good behavior for three years. The like punishment for women, whose fines are to be determined according to their own or their husband’s quality.”||

August 9, an ordinance was passed, for *punishing blasphemous and execrable opinions*. The preamble takes notice, that “though several laws had been made for promoting reformation in doctrines and manners, yet there were divers men and women who had lately discovered monstrous opinions, even such as tended to the dissolution of human society; the parliament therefore, according to their declaration of Sept. 27, 1649, in which they said, they should be ready to *testify their displeasure against such offenders, by strict and effectual proceedings against those who should abuse and turn into licentiousness, the liberty given in matters of religion*, do therefore ordain and enact,

“THAT any persons not distempered in their brains, who shall maintain *any mere creature to be God*, or to be *infinite, almighty, &c.* or *who shall deny the holiness of God*; or shall maintain, that all acts of wickedness and unrighteousness are not forbidden in holy scripture; or that God approves them. Any one who shall maintain, that acts of drunkenness, adultery, swearing, &c. are not in themselves shameful, wicked, sinful, and impious; or that

§ Scobel, p. 121.

|| Ibid. p. 123.

there is not any real difference between moral good and evil, &c. all such persons shall suffer six months imprisonment for the first offence ; and for the second shall be banished ; and if they return without license shall be treated as felons.”§

Though several ordinances had been made heretofore for the strict observance of the Lord’s day, the present house of commons thought fit to enforce them by another, dated April 19, 1650, in which they ordain, “that all goods cried, or put to sale on the Lord’s day, or other days of humiliation and thanksgiving appointed by authority, shall be seized. No waggoner or drover shall travel on the Lord’s day on penalty of ten shillings for every offense. No persons shall travel in boats, horses, or coaches, except to church, on penalty of ten shillings. The like penalty for being in a tavern. And where distress is not to be made, the offender is to be put into the stocks six hours. All peace-officers are required to make diligent search for discovering offenders ; and in case of neglect, the justice of peace is fined five pounds, and every constable twenty shillings.” Such was the severity of these times.†

The parliament having ordered the sale of bishops lands, and the lands of deans and chapters, and vested the money in the hands of trustees, as has been related, appointed this year, April 5, part of the money to be appropriated for the support and maintenance of such late bishops, deans, prebendaries, singing men, choristers, and other members, officers, and persons destitute of maintenance, whose respective offices, places and livelihoods, were taken away, and abolished, distributing and proportioning the same according to their necessities. How well this was executed I cannot determine ; but it was a generous act of compassion, and more than the church of England would do for the non-conformists at the restoration.*

A motion being made in the house about translating all law books into the English language, Mr. *Whitlocke* made a learned speech on the argument, wherein he observes, that “*Moses* read the law to the Jews in the Hebrew language ; that the laws of all the Eastern nations

§ Seobel, p. 124.

† Ibid. p. 119.

* Ibid. p. 114.

were in their mother tongue ; the laws of *Constantinople* were in Greek ; at Rome they were in Latin ; in France, Spain, Germany, Sweden Denmark, and other places, their laws are published in their native language. As for our own country, (says he) those who can read the Saxon character may find the laws of our ancestors in that language. Pursuant to this regulation, *William*, duke of *Normandy*, commonly called the *Conqueror*, commanded the laws to be published in English, that none might pretend ignorance. He observes further, that by 36 *Eliz. cap. 3*, it was ordered, that all pleadings should be in English ; and even in the reigns of those princes, wherein our statutes were enrolled in French, the sheriffs were obliged to proclaim them in English, because the people were deeply concerned to know the laws of their country, and not to be kept in ignorance of the rule by which their interests and duty were directed.”§

The arguments in this speech were so forcible, that the house agreed unanimously to a bill, wherein they ordain, “ that all books of law be translated into English ; and all proceedings in any court of justice, except the court of *Admiralty*, after *Easter* term 1651, shall be in English only ; and all writs, &c. shall be in a legible hand, and not in court-hand, on forfeiture of twenty pounds for the first offence, half to the commonwealth, and the other half to them that will sue for the same.”† And though this regulation ceased at the restoration, as all other ordinances did that were made in these times, the late parliament has thought fit to revive it.

From this time we may date the rise of the people called **QUAKERS**, in whom most of the enthusiasts of these times centered : Their first leader was *George Fox*, born at *Drayton* in *Lancashire* 1624 ; his father being a poor weaver,|| put him apprentice to a country shoe-maker, but hav-

§ Whitlocke, p. 460.

† Scobel, p. 155.

|| It is to be wished, that Mr. Neal had not used this epithet, poor.— It is not in the author, whom he quotes, was needless, and has the appearance of contempt. The parents of Fox were truly respectable : his father, Christopher Fox, of such a virtuous life, that his neighbors called him *righteous Christer* ; his mother, of the stock of martyrs, and a woman of qualifications superior to the generality of her circumstan-

ing a peculiar turn of mind for religion, he went away from his master, and wandered up and down the country like an hermit, in a leathern doublet; at length his friends hearing he was at London, persuaded him to return home, and settle in some regular course of employment; but after he had been some months in the country, he went from his friends a second time, in the year 1646, and threw off all further attendance on the public service in the churches: The reasons he gave for his conduct were, because it was revealed to him, that a learned education at the university was no qualification for a minister, but that all depended on the anointing of the Spirit, and that God who made the world did not dwell in temples made with hands. In the year 1647, he travelled into Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire, walking through divers towns and villages, which way soever his mind turned, in a solitary manner. He fasted much, (says my author) and walked often abroad in retired places, with no other companion but his bible. He would sometimes set in an hollow tree all day, and frequently walked about the fields in the night, like a man possessed with deep melancholy; which the writer of his life calls the *time of the first working of the Lord upon him*.|| Towards the latter end of this year, he began first

ees in life: They were both members of the national church, distinguished by piety, and cherished the religious turn of mind which their son discovered in his earliest years. Virtuous and sober manners, a peculiar stayedness of mind and gravity of demeanor marked his youth. His chief employment under his master, who also dealt in wool and cattle, was to keep sheep, which was well suited to his disposition both for innocence and solitude. He acquitted himself with a fidelity and diligence, that conduced much to the success of his master's affairs. It was a custom with him to ratify his dealing with the word, *verily*; to which he so firmly and conscientiously adhered, that those who knew him would remark, "if George says *verily*, there is no altering." Mr. Neal's expression, "he went away from his master," may be understood as intimating a clandestine and dishonorable leaving his master's service: which was not the case. He did not begin his solitary travels, till after his apprenticeship was finished, and he had returned home to his parents. The leathern dress was adopted by him, on account of its simplicity and its durableness, as it required little repairing, which was convenient to him in his wandering and unsettled course of life. Sewel's Hist. p. 6, 12; and Gough's Hist. of the Quakers, vol. i. p. 60. *Ed.*

to set up for a teacher of others, about Duckinfield and Manchester; the principal argument of his discourse being, *that people should receive the inward divine teachings of the Lord, and take that for their rule.*

In the year 1648, there being a dissolution of all government both civil and ecclesiastical, *George Fox* waxed bold,* and travelled through the counties of Leicester, Northampton, and Derby, speaking to the people in market-places, &c. about the *inward light of Christ within them.*|| At this time (says my author†) he apprehended the Lord had forbid him *to put off his hat to any one, high or low*; he was required also to speak to the people without distinction in the language of THOU and THEE. He was not to bid people good-morrow, or good-night; neither might he bend his knee to the chief magistrate in the nation; the women|| that followed him would not make a courtesy to their superiors, nor comply with the common forms of speech. Both men and women affected a plain and simple dress, distinct from the fashion of the times. They neither gave nor accepted any titles of respect or honor, nor would they call any man master on earth. They refused to take an oath on the most solemn occasion. These and the like peculiarities, he supported by such passages of scripture as these, *Swear not at all; how can ye believe*

* The circumstances of this period, as stated by Gough, will shew the propriety of our author's language here, and preclude the suspicion that has fallen on him, of intending to insinuate that the boldness of *George Fox* was criminal, and that the dissolution of government had rendered him licentious. At this time the independents and republicans had accomplished their purpose: regal dominion, the peculiar privileges of the nobility, and the office of bishops, were abolished. Their professed principles were in favor of civil and religious liberty. The places of public worship seem, for a season, to have been open to teachers of different denominations, and not uncommonly appropriated to theological discussion and disputation between the teachers or members of various sects. These propitious circumstances furnished *Fox* and others with opportunities of disseminating their opinions: and a fair opportunity, naturally, inspires and emboldens to any undertaking. *Gough's History*, vol. i. p. 72. *Ed.* † *History of the Quakers*, p. 18.

|| The words of *Sewel* are, "That every man was enlightened by the divine light of Christ." The term used, by this historian, for the followers of *Fox*, is *fellow-believers*, without any reference to their sex; nor does his narrative shew, that they consisted more of women than men; which *Mr. Neal's* expression seems to intimate. *Ed.*

who receive honor one of another, and seek not the honor which comes from God only? But these marks of distinction which *George Fox* and his followers were so tenacious of, unhappily brought them into a great deal of trouble, when they were called to appear before the civil magistrate.

In the year 1649, he grew more troublesome, and began to interrupt the public ministers in time of divine service : His first essay of this kind was at Nottingham, where the minister preaching from these words of *St. Peter*, *We have a more sure word of prophecy*, &c. told the people, that they were to try all doctrines, opinions, and religions, by the holy scriptures. Upon which *George Fox* stood up in the midst of the congregation and said, *Oh no ! it is not the scripture, but it is the holy spirit, by which opinions, and religions, are to be tried ; for it was the spirit that led people into all truth, and gave them the knowledge of it.* And continuing his speech to the disturbance of the congregation, the officers were obliged to turn him out of the church, and carry him to the sheriff's house ; next day he was committed to the castle, but was quickly released without any other punishment.† After this he disturbed the

† Mr. Neal's account of this imprisonment of *George Fox* is censured by a late historian, as not strictly true, nor supported by his authority, Sewel, and through a partial bias a very palliative narration. The fact more exactly and fully stated is this : that *Fox* was not taken immediately from the church to the sheriff's house, but to prison, and put into a place so filthy and intolerably noisome, that the smell thereof was very grievous to be endured. At night he was carried before the mayor, aldermen and sheriffs of the town, and after examination was recommitted. But one of the sheriffs, whose name was Reckless, being much affected with the sentiments he had advanced, removed him to his own house. During his residence there, Mr. *Fox* was visited by persons of considerable condition ; the sheriff, as well as his wife and family, was greatly affected with his doctrine ; insomuch that he and several others exhorted the people and the magistrates to repentance. This provoked the latter to remove *Fox* back to the common prison, where he lay till the assizes. When he was to have been brought before the judge, the officer was so dilatory in the execution of his business, that the court was broken up before he was conducted to it. He was, on this, again ordered into the common jail, and detained there some time longer. As far as appears, he was imprisoned, detained in prison and released at the mere will and pleasure of the magistrates of Nottingham, without any legal cause assigned. "Such arbitrary exertion of power," well observes my author, "ill agrees with a regard for chartered privileges and equal liberty."—Gough's Hist. of the Quakers, vol. i. 83, 4. Sewel's Hist. p. 21, 22. Ed.

minister of Mansfield in time of divine service, for which he was set in the stocks, and turned out of the town.† The like treatment he met with at Market-Bosworth, and several other towns.§ At length the magistrates of Derby confined him six months in prison, for uttering divers blas-

† Mr. Neal is considered as passing over this treatment of Fox in too "cursory a manner:" and is blamed for placing his conduct in the most invidious light it would bear, disturbing the minister. But, surely, if Mr. Fox spoke while the minister was preaching, without waiting till he had finished his discourse, it was *disturbing* him by an unreasonable interruption. But this circumstance is not to be clearly ascertained by Sewel. The treatment which Fox met with was iniquitous and violent to an extreme degree. The hearers of the minister "converted the place of divine worship into a scene of lawless riot, and the time set apart for the service of God into an enormous abuse of a fellow-creature; manifesting their religion to be such," observes Mr. Gough with great propriety, "at the time when it should most affect their minds, as admitted of injury, revenge, and violating the peace and order of society. For they assaulted Mr. Fox in a furious manner, struck him down, and beat him cruelly with their hands, bibles, and sticks, whereby he was grievously bruised. After they had thus vented their rage, they haled him out, and put him into the stocks, where he sat some hours: and then they took him before a magistrate, who, seeing how grossly he had been abused, after much threatening, set him at liberty. But still the rude multitude, insatiate in abuse, stoned him out of the town, though hardly able to go, or well to stand, by reason of their violent usage." It should be remarked here, that the magistrate's conduct was extremely culpable, in not inflicting a *punishment* on these disturbers of the peace, for this unjust and violent attack on a man who had done them no harm, but meant to do them good; and in not affording to him his *protection*. Gough's Hist. vol. i. p. 84—86. *Ed.* § Sewel, p. 22.

|| This was the language of the mittimus, by which Fox and another were committed to the house of correction: we regret that Mr. Neal should have adopted it, without giving his reader the grounds on which the severe epithet was applied to their opinions. After the service of a lecture, at which Mr. Fox had attended, was finished, he spoke what was on his mind, and was heard without molestation: when he had done, an officer took him by the hand, and carried him before the magistrates. Being asked, "why he came thither?" he answered, that "God had moved him to it:" and added, that "God did not dwell in temples made with hands; and that all their preaching, baptism, and sacrifices, would never sanctify them; but that they ought to look unto Christ in them, and not unto men, for it is Christ that sanctifies." As they were very full of words sometime disputing, and sometime deriding, he told them, "they were not to dispute of God and Christ, but to obey him." At last they asked him, "if he was sanctified?" he replied, "yes:" "if he had no sin?" his answer was, "Christ my Savior hath taken away my sin, and in him there is no sin." Te

phemous opinions,|| pursuant to a late act of parliament for that purpose. By this time there began to appear some other visionaries, of the same make and complexion with *George Fox*, who spoke in places of public resort; being moved (as they said) by the Holy Ghost; and even some women, contrary to the modesty of their sex, went about streets, and entered into churches, crying down the *teachings of men*, and exhorting people to attend to the light within themselves.

It was in the year 1650, that these wandering lights first received the denomination of *QUAKERS*, upon this ground, that their speaking to the people was usually attended with convulsive agitations, and shakings of the body. All their speakers had these *tremblings*, which they gloried in, asserting it to be the character of a good man *to tremble before God*. When *George Fox* appeared before *Gervas Bennet*, Esq. one of the justices of Derby, October 30, 1650, he had one of his agitations, or fits of *trembling* upon him, and with a loud voice and vehement emotion of body, bid the justice and those about him *tremble at the word of the Lord*; whereupon the justice gave him and his friends, the name of *QUAKERS*, which, being agreeable to

the next question, "How he and his friends knew Christ was "in them?" he replied, "by his spirit, which he hath given us." Then they were asked, "if any of them were Christ?" to which insidious query he answered, "nay, we are nothing; Christ is all." He was next interrogated, "If a man steal, is it no sin?" to which his reply was, "All unrighteousness is sin." With what candor, with what propriety, with what truth, could the charge of *blasphemy* be grounded on these declarations, especially by the magistrates who examined and committed him? The names to the mittimus were *Ger. Bennet* and *Nath. Barton*: both of them were independents, the latter an officer and preacher: men whose own tenets implied a supernatural influence, and admitted no interference of the civil magistrate in spiritual concerns, but were pointed in favor of universal toleration: one of whom could himself have no commission to preach but on the ground of *God's moving him to it*. These were the men who accused *Fox* of *blasphemy*, and imprisoned him: "a remarkable instance," observes *Mr. Gough*, "of the inconsistency of men with themselves in different stations of life:" a remarkable instance, it may be added, how the law may be wrested and justice perverted by passion and prejudice. *Mr. Neal's* manner of relating this transaction, unhappily, conceals the criminal conduct of these magistrates, and is too much calculated to perpetuate the prejudice which misled and governed them. *Sewel's History*, p. 24, and *Gough's History* vol. i. p. 90—94. Ep.

their common behavior, quickly became the distinguishing denomination of this people.*

At length they disturbed the public worship by appearing in ridiculous habits, with emblematical or typical representations of some impending calamity; they also took the liberty of giving ministers the reproachful names of *hirelings, deceivers of the people, false prophets, &c.* Some of them went through divers towns and villages *naked*, denouncing judgments and calamities upon the nation. Some have famished and destroyed themselves by deep melancholy; and others have undertaken to raise their friends from the dead. Mr. *Baxter* says, § many *franciscan friars* and other papists have been disguised speakers in their assemblies; but little credit is to be given to such reports. †

* The above paragraph has given great offence, and is severely censured by Mr. *Gough*, as “an opprobrious description approaching to scurrility.” The plain fact, as it stands in *Sewel*, has none of those circumstances of agitations, a loud voice and vehement emotions, with which Mr. *Neal* has described it, and for which he has quoted no authority. *Fox*, according to *Sewel*, having bid the justice and those about him to “tremble at the word of the Lord,” Mr. *Bennet* took hold of this weighty saying with such an airy mind, that from thence he took occasion to call him, and his friends, scornfully, *QUAKERS*. This name was eagerly taken up and spread among the people. As to the convulsive emotions with which, it is said, the preaching of these christians, was accompanied, it is but fair to hear their advocate. “We readily admit,” says Mr. *Gough*, “these promulgators of primitive christianity had no university education, were not trained in schools of oratory. It was plain truth and righteousness they sought to follow and recommend in a plain simple way, without the studied decorations of fine language, or the engaging attractions of a graceful motion; they spoke not to the head, or to the eye, but to the hearts of their auditors. Being themselves animated, and deeply affected in spirit with the inward feeling of the power of that truth, to the knowledge of which they aimed to bring others, that thereby they might be saved; an unaffected warmth of zeal in recommending righteousness, and testifying against vice and wickedness might produce a warmth of expression and action also, which to an invidious eye might appear convulsive: but their convulsions did not bereave them of understanding; they spake with the spirit and with the understanding also, of things which they knew, and testified of things which they had seen. And their doctrine was often effectual to open the understanding of their hearers, to see clearly the state of their minds, both what they were and what they ought to be.” *Gough's Hist.* vol. i. p. 96, note. *Ed.*

§ *Baxter's Life*, p. 77.

† If but little credit is to be given to such reports, it may be asked, why are they introduced: when, if not refuted, they tend to mislead

It cannot be expected that such an unsettled people should have an uniform system of rational principles. Their first and chief design, if they had any, was to reduce all revealed religion to allegory; and because some had laid too great stress upon rites and ceremonies, these would have neither order nor regularity, nor stated seasons of worship, but all must arise from the inward impulse of their spirits. Agreeable to this rule, they declared against all sorts of clergy, or settled ministers; against people's assembling in *steeple houses*; against fixed times of public devotion, and consequently against the observation of the sabbath. Their own meetings were occasional, and when they met, one or another spake as they were moved *from within*, and sometimes they departed without any one's being moved to speak at all.

the reader, and to fix a reproach on an innocent people? Is it becoming the candor and dignity of an historian, by recording, to appear to give them a sanction? As to the case in hand, Mr. Baxter, on whose authority Mr. Neal speaks, though he was a great and excellent man, was not entirely exempt from the influence of prejudice and credulity. In general, stories to the discredit of a new, despised and hated sect are, often, eagerly adopted and spread with circumstances of aggravation. So it happened to the first christians. This has befallen the methodists in our own times. And the quakers, being particular objects of priestly indignation, had reason to complain of this. They were often confounded with an ephemeron sect, whose principles were totally incompatible with theirs, called *ranters*, and whose practices outraged all decency and order. An active preacher amongst the quakers, Mr. Edward Burroughs, and the celebrated Barclay, wrote against the practices of these people. Gough's History, vol. i. p. 128-9, note: and vol. iii. p. 15. *Ed.*

|| This is not accurate, or is applicable only to the infancy of the sect, For, though they did not esteem one house more holy than another, and believed all times equally the Lord's, and that all days should be sabbaths or times of continual rest and abstinence from evil; yet as soon as their numbers were sufficient for the purpose, they held fixed and regular meetings for worship, particularly on the first day of the week, which they chose as more convenient, because more generally accepted than any other. In 1654, meetings were settled in many places in the north, and also in the city of London, which were held in private houses, till the body growing too large to be accommodated in them, a house known by the name of "Bull-and-Mouth, in Martin's-Le-Grand" near Aldersgate-street, was hired for a meeting-house. And no body of christians were more open, steady, and regular, than they have been in their public associations for worship or discipline. Sewel's History, p. 80, 81. Gough's Hist. vol. i. p. 144 and 509. *Ed.*

The doctrines they delivered were as vague and uncertain as the principle from which they acted. They denied the holy scriptures to be the only rule of their faith, calling it a *dead letter*, and maintaining that every man had a *light* within himself, which was a sufficient rule. They denied the received doctrine of the trinity and incarnation. They disowned the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's supper; nay, some of them proceeded so far as to deny a Christ *without them*; or at least, to place more of their dependence upon a Christ *within*. They spake little or nothing (says Mr. *Baxter**) about the depravity of nature; about the covenant of grace; about pardon of sin and reconciliation with God; or about moral duties.† But the dis-

¶ The account which Mr. *Neal* gives of the sentiments and practices of the quakers in this and the preceding paragraph, is not drawn up with the accuracy and precision, not to say, candor, which should mark the historic page. It has too much the appearance of the loose, desultory representation, which those who had not investigated their principles, nor looked into their writings, would exhibit of this sect. It is, I think, introduced at an improper place, in too early a period of their history; when Mr. *Neal* himself has related only what concerned *George Fox*, and before his followers were formed into a body. At that time it was not to be expected, that their principles should be made into a system; and their doctrines being delivered as the assertions of individuals only, and deriving their completion from their different tastes, capacities, and views, would to the public eye wear the aspect of variety and uncertainty. But long before Mr. *Neal* wrote, their principles had assumed a systematic form. *Penn* had published his key, and *Robert Barclay* his "Catechism and Confession of Faith," and that elaborate work his "Apology." The propositions illustrated and defended in this treatise exhibit a concise view of the chief principles of the quakers; and that they may speak for themselves we will give them in the Appendix No xii. ED.

* *Baxter*, p. 77.

† This quotation is not correct. Mr. *Baxter's* words, concerning the strain of their preaching, are these. "They speak much for the dwelling and working of the spirit in us; but little of justification, and the pardon of sin, and our reconciliation with God through Jesus Christ." Here is nothing said about their neglecting to insist on "moral duties." The great object of *Fox's* zeal, we are told, was a heavenly temper and a life of righteousness: and his endeavors to propagate true religion and righteousness were not confined to public or private meetings, but exerted in other places as occasion offered; particularly, in courts of judicature, to admonish to justice, and caution against oppression: In markets, to recommend truth, candor, and fair dealings, and to bear his testimony against fraud and deceitful merchandise: At public

turbance they gave to the public religion for a course of years was so insufferable, that the magistrates could not avoid punishing them as disturbers of the peace; though of late they are become a more sober and inoffensive people; and by the wisdom of their managers, have formed themselves into a sort of body politic, and are in general very worthy members of society.

[Though Mr. *Neal*, here and in the sequel of his history, calls that body of christians, of whom he has written in the preceding pages, QUAKERS; and this is the denomination by which they are, to the present day, distinguished from other religious societies; yet it should be noticed, that, as this name was given them in scorn, they do not assume it, but through necessity and for distinction's sake. The name which they adopt amongst themselves, and by which they speak of their own party, is that of *Friends*. A title undoubtedly to be preferred, as conveying no ludicrous idea in it, and expressive of union, affection, and a common interest. In the use of this term they think themselves sanctioned by the example of the primitive christians; as Acts xxvii. 3; where it is said, that "*Julius*, the centurion, courteously entreated *Paul*, and gave him liberty to go unto the friends:" *prostous philous*: and 3 John 14, "The friends, *oi philoi*, salute thee, and greet the friends, *tous philous*, by name."†

About this time arose a sect, not noticed by Mr. *Neal*, called *Muggletonians*, from their founder *Lodowick Muggleton*, who was by trade a taylor. Mr. *Granger* calls

houses of entertainment, to warn against indulging intemperance, by supplying their guests with more liquor than would do them good: At schools and in private families, to exhort to the training up of children and servants to sobriety, in the fear of their Maker; to testify against vain sports, plays, and shows, as tending to draw people into vanity and libertinism, and from that state of circumspection and attentive consideration, wherein our salvation is to be wrought out, forewarning all of the great day of account for all the deeds done in the body. This was certainly insisting on moral duties, and bringing home the principles of righteousness to the various circumstances of human life, with much propriety and energy. Gough's History, vol. i. p. 67, 75. Ed.

† Sewel's History, p. 696.

him a notorious schismatic. His pretensions were, that he and one *John Reeves* were the two witnesses spoken of Rev. xi. 3 ; and though the latter died soon after, the former still advanced his claims to a prophetic character ; asserting, in a paper which he published, “ that he was the chief judge in the world, in passing sentence of eternal death and damnation upon the souls and bodies of men : that in obedience to his commission he had already cursed and damned many hundreds to all eternity : that, in doing this, he went by as certain a rule as the judges of the land do when they pass sentence according to law : and that no infinite spirit of Christ, nor any God, could or should be able to deliver from his sentence and curse.” *Richard Farnsworth*, a convert of *George Fox*, and an active, intelligent minister amongst the *quakers*, remonstrated with *Muggleton*, from the press, on the profaneness and criminality of these extravagant claims, but without effect. He is also said to have regarded himself as above ordinances of every kind, not excepting prayer and preaching : to have rejected creeds and all church-discipline and authority ; and to have acknowledged but one person in the god-head. He met with followers, who recorded many of his prophecies : but incurred the pillory and six months imprisonment by his writings, which were burnt by the common hangman. He died March 12, 1697, 8, aged 90. ||]

|| Sewel’s History of the quakers, p. 399, 400 ; and Granger’s History of England, vol. iv. p. 209, 10.

CHAP. II.

*From the Coronation of King CHARLES II. in Scotland,
to the Protectorship of OLIVER CROMWELL.
1651.*

THE coronation of king *Charles* by the Scots, which had been deferred hitherto, being now thought necessary to give life to their cause, was solemnized at Scone on *New-years-day* 1651, with as much magnificence as their circumstances would admit;§ when his majesty took the following oath: “I *Charles*, king of Great-Britain, France, and Ireland, do assure and declare by my solemn oath, in the presence of Almighty God, the searcher of all hearts, my allowance and approbation of the national covenant, and of the solemn league and covenant; and faithfully oblige myself to prosecute the ends thereof in my station and calling; and that I myself and successors, shall consent and agree to all the acts of parliament enjoining the national covenant, and the solemn league and covenant, and fully establish presbyterian government, the directory of worship, confession of faith, and catechisms, in the kingdom of Scotland, as they are approved by the general assembly of this kirk, and parliament of this kingdom; and that I will give my royal assent to all acts of parliament passed, or to be passed, enjoining the same in my other dominions; and that I shall observe these in my own practice and family, and shall never make opposition to any of these, or endeavor any change thereof.” This oath was annexed to the covenant itself, drawn up in a fair roll of parchment, and subscribed by him in the presence of the nobility and gentry.*

His majesty also signed a declaration, in which he acknowledged the sin of his father in marrying into an idol-

§ The ceremonial of this coronation is given at length by Dr. *Grey*, vol. iii. p. 111—124. ED.

* Oldmixon's *History of the Stuarts*, p. 391.

atrous family; and that the blood shed in the late wars lay at his father's door.† He expressed a deep sense of his own ill education, and of the prejudices he had drunk in, against the cause of God, of which he was now very sensible. He confessed all the former parts of his life to have been a course of enmity to the word of God. He repented of his *commission* to *Montross*. He acknowledged his own sins, and the sins of his father's house, and says, he will account them his enemies who oppose the *covenants*, both which he had taken without any sinister intention of attaining his own ends. He declares his detestation and abhorrence of all popery, superstition, idolatry, and prelacy, and resolves not to tolerate them in any part of his dominions. He acknowledges his great sin in making peace with the *Irish rebels*, and allowing them the liberty of their religion, which he makes void, resolving for the future rather to choose affliction than sin; and though he judges charitably of those who have acted against the covenant, yet he promises not to employ them for the future till they have taken it. In the conclusion, his majesty confesses over again his own guilt; and tells the world, the state of the question was now altered, in as much as he had obtained mercy to be on God's side, and therefore hopes the Lord will be gracious, and countenance his own cause, since he is determined to do nothing but with advice of the kirk.

Our historians, who complain of the prevarication of *Cromwell*, would do well to find a parallel to this in all history; the king took the covenant three times with this tremendous oath, *by the Eternal and Almighty God, who liveth and reigneth for ever, I will observe and keep all that is contained herein*. Mr. *Baxter* admits,* that the Scots were in the wrong in tempting the young king to speak and publish that, which they might easily know was con-

† History of the Stuarts, p. 387. Burnet, vol. i. p. 78, Edingb. edit.

* "It seemed to me and many others," says Mr. Baxter, "that the Scots miscarried divers ways: 1. In imposing laws upon their king, for which they had no authority: 2. In forcing him to dishonor the memory of his father by such confessions: 3. In tempting him to speak and publish that which they might easily know was contrary to his heart, and so to take God's name in vain: 4. And in giving *Cromwell* occasion to charge them all with dissimulation." *Baxter's Life*, p. 66. *Ed.*

trary to the thoughts of his heart ; but surely his majesty was no less to blame, to trample upon the most sacred bonds of religion and society. He complied with the rigors of the Scots discipline and worship : He heard many prayers and sermons of great length. “I remember (says bishop *Burnet**) in one fast day, there were six sermons preached without intermission. He was not allowed to walk abroad on Sundays ; and if at any time there had been any gaiety at court, as dancing, or playing at cards, he was severely reprov'd for it, which contributed not a little to beget in him an aversion to all strictness in religion.” And the Scots were so jealous that all this was from *necessity*, that they would suffer none of his old friends to come into his presence and councils, nor so much as to serve in the army.

While the Scots were raising forces for the king's service, a private correspondence was carried on with the English presbyterians ; letters were also written, and messengers sent from London to the king and queen-mother in France, to hasten an accommodation with the Scots, assuring them, that the English presbyterians would then declare for him the first opportunity. Considerable sums of money were collected privately to forward an expedition into England ; but the vigilance of the commonwealth discovered and defeated their designs. The principal gentlemen and ministers concerned in the correspondence, were some disbanded officers who had served the parliament in the late wars ; as major *Adams*, *Alford* and *Huntingdon* ; colonel *Vaughan*, *Sowton*, *Titus*, *Jackson*, *Bains*, *Barton* ; captain *Adams*, *Potter*, *Far*, *Massy*, *Starks* ; and Mr. *Gibbons*. The ministers were Dr. *Drake*, Mr. *Case*, *Watson*, *Heyrick*, *Jenkins*, *Jackson*, *Jacquel*, *Robinson*, *Cawton*, *Nelson*, *Haviland*, *Blackmore*, and Mr. *Love*. These had their private assemblies at major *Adams's* colonel *Barton's*, and at Mr. *Love's* house, and held a correspondence with the king, who desired them to send commissioners to Breda, to moderate the Scots demands, which service he would reward when God should restore him to his kingdoms.

But so numerous a confederacy was hardly to be concealed from the watchful eyes of the new government, who

and their spies in all places. Major *Adams*, being apprehended on suspicion, was the first who discovered the conspiracy to the *council of state*. On his information warrants were issued out, for apprehending most of the gentlemen and ministers abovementioned; but several absconded, and withdrew from the storm. The ministers who were apprehended were Dr. *Drake*, Mr. *Jenkins*, *Jackson*, *Robinson*, *Watson*, *Blackmore*, and *Haviland*, who after some time were released on their petition for mercy, and promising submission to the government for the future; but Mr. *Love* and *Gibbons* were made examples, as a terror to others. Mr. *Jenkins's* petition being expressed in very strong terms* was ordered to be printed; it was entitled, *The humble petition of William Jenkins, prisoner, declaring his unfeigned sorrow for all his late miscarriages, and promising to be true and faithful to the present government; with three queries, being the ground of his late petition, and submission to the present powers.*

The reverend Mr. *Love* was brought before a new *high court of justice* erected for this purpose, as was the custom of these times for *state criminals*, when Mr. attorney-general *Prideaux*, June 20, exhibited against him the following charge of high treason; “that at several times in the years 1649, 1650, and 1651, and in several places, he, with the persons abovementioned, had maliciously combined, and contrived to raise forces against the present government—that they had declared and published *Charles Stuart*, eldest son of the late king, to be king of England, without consent of parliament—that they had aided the Scots to invade this commonwealth—that the said *Christopher Love*, at divers times between the 29th of March 1650, and the first of June 1651, at London and other

* The most remarkable positions in this petition were: That the parliament, without the king, were the supreme authority of the nation: that God's providences are antecedent declarations of his will and approbation; and appeared as evidently in removing the king and investing their honors with the government, as in taking away and bestowing any government, in any history of any age of the world: that the refusal of subjection to their authority was such an opposing the government set up by the sovereign Lord of heaven and earth, as none can have peace either in acting or suffering for: and that it was a duty to yield to this authority all active and cheerful obedience, in the Lord, for conscience sake. Dr. Grey's Remarks, vol. iii. p. 127. Ed.

places, had traitorously and maliciously maintained correspondence and intelligence by letters and messages with *Charles Stuart*, son of the late king, and with the queen his mother, and with sundry of his council—that he did likewise hold correspondence with divers of the Scots nation, and had assisted them with money, arms, and other supplies in the present war, as well as colonel *Titus*, and others of the English nation, in confederacy with them, to the hazard of the public peace, and in breach of the laws of the land.”

To this charge Mr. *Love*, after having demurred to the jurisdiction of the court, pleaded *not guilty*. The witnesses against him were eight of the above-mentioned gentlemen. The reverend Mr. *Jackson* was summoned, but refused to be sworn, or give evidence, because he looked on Mr. *Love* to be a good man; saying, he should have a hell in his conscience to his dying day, if he should speak any thing that should be circumstantially prejudicial to Mr. *Love's* life. The court put him in mind of his obligation to the public, and that the very safety of all government depended upon it. But he refused to be sworn, for which the court sent him to the Fleet, and fined him five hundred pounds.

But it appeared by the other witnesses, that Mr. *Love* had carried on a criminal correspondence both with the king and the Scots. With regard to the king it was sworn, that about a month after his late majesty's death, several of them met at a tavern at Dowgate, and other places, to concert measures to forward the king's agreement with the Scots, for which purpose they applied by letters to the queen, and sent over colonel *Titus* with one hundred pounds to defray his expences. The colonel, having delivered his message, sent back letters by colonel *Alsford*, which were read in Mr. *Love's* house; with the copy of a letter from the king himself, Mr. *Love* being present.—Upon these and such like facts, the council for the commonwealth insisted, that here was a criminal correspondence to *restore the king*, contrary to the ordinance of Jan. 30, 1648, which says, “that whosoever shall proclaim, declare, publish, or any ways promote *Charles Stuart*, or any other person, to be king of *England*, without consent of parliament, shall be adjudged a traitor, and suffer the pains of death as a traitor.”

The other branch of the charge against Mr. *Love*, was his correspondence with the Scots, and assisting them in the war against the parliament. To support this article, captains *Potter*, *Adams*, and Mr. *Jacquel*, swore that letters came from Scotland to colonel *Bamfield* with the letter L upon them, giving a large narrative of the fight at Dunbar, and of the Scots affairs for three months after till Christmas. There came also letters from the earls of *Argyle*, *Lothian*, and *Loudon*, who proposed the raising ten thousand pounds to buy arms, and to hire shipping, in order to land five thousand men in England. The letters were read at Mr. *Love's* house ; but the proposals being disliked, only forty pounds were raised for the expences of the messenger. At another time a letter was read from general *Massey*, in which he desires them to provide arms, and mentions his own and colonel *Titus's* necessities ; upon which it was agreed to raise two or three hundred pounds by way of contribution, and every one present wrote down what he would lend, among whom was Mr. *Love*, who not only contributed himself, but carried about the paper to encourage others. This was construed by the council for the commonwealth, sufficient to bring Mr. *Love* within the ordinance of July 4, 1649, which says, " that if any shall procure, invite, aid, or assist, any foreigners or strangers to invade England or Ireland ; or shall adhere to any forces raised by the enemies of the parliament, or commonwealth, or keepers of the liberties of England, all such persons shall be deemed and adjudged guilty of high treason."

Mr. *Love*, in his defence, behaved with a little too much freedom and boldness ; he set too high a value upon his sacred character, which the court was inclined to treat with neglect. He objected to the witnesses, as being forced into the service to save their lives. He observes, that to several of the facts there was only one witness ; and that some of them had sworn falsely, or at least their memories had failed them in some things ; which might easily happen at so great a distance of time. He called no witnesses to confront the evidence, but at the close of his defence confessed ingenuously, that there had been several meet-

ings of the abovenamed persons at his house, that a commission was read, but that he had dissented from it. He acknowledged further, that he was present at the reading of letters, or of some part of them, "but I was ignorant (says he) of the danger that I now see I am in. The act of Aug. 2, 1650, makes it treason to hold any correspondence with Scotland, or to send letters thither though but in a way of commerce, the two nations being at war; now here my council acquaints me with my danger, that I being present when letters were read in my house, am guilty of a concealment and therefore as to that, I humbly lay myself at your feet and mercy."

And to move the court to shew mercy to him, he endeavored to set out his own character in the most favorable light; "I have been called a *malignant and apostate*, (says he) but, God is my witness, I never carried on a malignant interest; I shall retain my covenanting principles, from which by the grace of God I will never depart; neither am I an *incendiary* between the two nations of England and Scotland, but I am grieved for their divisions; and if I had as much blood in my veins as there is water in the sea, I could account it well spent to quench the fire that our sins have kindled between them. I have all along engaged my life and estate in the parliament's quarrel, against the forces raised by the late king, not from a prospect of advantage, but from conscience and duty; and I am so far from repenting, that were it to do again, upon the same unquestionable authority, and for the same declared ends, I should as readily engage in it as ever; though I wish from my soul, that the ends of that just war had been better accomplished.

"Nor have my sufferings in this cause been inconsiderable; when I was a scholar in Oxford, and *M. A.* I was the first, who publicly refused to subscribe the canons imposed by the late archbishop, for which I was expelled the convocation house. When I came first to London, which was about twelve years ago, I was opposed by the bishop of London, and it was about three years before I could obtain so much as a lecture. In the year 1640, or 1641, I was imprisoned in Newcastle, for preaching against the service-book from whence I was removed hither by

habeas corpus, and acquitted. In the beginning of the war between the late king and parliament, I was accused for preaching treason and rebellion, merely because I maintained, in a sermon at Tenterden in Kent, the lawfulness of a defensive war. I was again complained of by the commissioners at Uxbridge for preaching a sermon, which I hear is lately reprinted; and if it be printed according to the first copy, I will own every line of it. After all this, I have been three times in trouble since the late change of government. Once I was committed to custody, and twice cited before the committee for plundered ministers, but for want of proof was discharged. And now last of all, this great trial is come upon me; I have been kept several weeks in close prison, and am now arraigned for my life, and like to suffer from the hands of those for whom I have done and suffered so much, and who have lifted up their hands with me in the same covenant; and yet I am not conscious of any personal act proved against me, that brings me within any of your laws as to treason.

“Upon the whole, though I never wrote nor sent letters into Scotland, yet I confess their proceedings with the king are agreeable to my judgment, and for the good of the nation; and though I disown the commission and instructions mentioned in the indictment, yet I have desired an agreement between the king and the Scots, agreeably to the covenant; for they having declared him to be their king, I have desired and prayed as a private man, that they might accomplish their ends upon such terms as were consistent with the safety of religion and the covenant.”

He concludes with beseeching the court, that he may not be put to death for state reasons. He owns he had been guilty of a *concealment*, and begs the mercy of the court for it, promising for the future to lead a quiet and peaceable life. He puts them in mind, that when *Abiathar* the priest had done an unjustifiable action, king *Solomon* said, he would not put him to death at that time, *because he bore the ark of the Lord God before David his father; and because he had been afflicted in all wherein his father had been afflicted.*—“Thus (says he) I commit myself and my all to God, and to your judgments and consciences. with the

words of *Jeremiah* to the rulers of Israel, *As for me, behold I am in your hands, do with me as seemeth good and meet to you ; but know ye for certain, that if ye put me to death, ye shall surely bring innocent blood upon yourselves. But I hope better things of you, though I thus speak."*

The court allowed *Mr. Love* the benefit of council learned in the law, to argue some exceptions against the indictment ; but after all that *Mr. Hales* could say for the prisoner, the court after six days hearing, on the 5th of July, pronounced sentence of death against him as a traitor.

Great intercessions* were made for the life of this reverend person, by the chief of the presbyterian party in London ; his wife presented several moving petitions ; and two were presented from himself, in one of which he acknowledges the justice of his sentence, according to the laws of the commonwealth ; in the other he petitions, that if he may not be pardoned, his sentence may be changed into banishment ; and that he might do something to deserve his life, he presented with his last petition a narration of all that he knew relating to the plot, which admits almost all that had been objected to him at his trial.

But the affairs of the commonwealth were now at a crisis, and King *Charles II.* having entered England at the head of sixteen thousand Scots, it was thought necessary to strike some terror into the presbyterian party, by making an example of one of their favorite clergymen. *Mr. Whitlocke* says,† that colonel *Fortescue* was sent to general *Cromwell* with a petition on behalf of *Mr. Love*, but that both the general and the rest of the officers declined meddling in the affair ; bishop *Kennet* and *Mr. Eachard* say, the general sent word in a private letter to one of his confidants, that he was content that *Mr. Love* should be reprieved, and upon giving security for his future good behavior pardoned ; but that the post-boy being stopped upon the road by some cavaliers belonging to the late king's army, they searched his packet, and finding this letter of reprieve for *Mr. Love*, they tore it with indignation, as thinking

* Not only by his wife and friends, says *Mr. Granger*, but by several parishes in London and by fifty-four ministers. *History of England*, vol. iii. .43.8vo. *Ed.*

† *Memoirs*, p. 474.

him not worthy to live, who had been such a firebrand at the treaty at Uxbridge.† If this story be true, Mr. *Love* fell a sacrifice to the ungovernable rage of the cavaliers, as Dr. *Dorislaus* and Mr. *Ascham* had done before.

The mail arriving from Scotland, and no letter from *Cromwell* in behalf of Mr. *Love*, he was ordered to be executed upon Tower-hill, August 22, the very day the king entered Worcester at the head of his Scots army. Mr. *Love* mounted the scaffold with great intrepidity and resolution, and taking off his hat two several times to the people, made a long speech, wherein he declares the satisfaction of his mind in the cause for which he suffered; and then adds, “I am for a regulated, mixed monarchy, which I judge to be one of the best governments in the world. I opposed in my place the forces of the late king, because I am against screwing up monarchy into tyranny, as much as against those who would pull it down into anarchy. I was never for putting the king to death, whose person I did promise in my covenant to preserve; and I judge it an ill way of curing the body politic, by cutting off the political head. I die with my judgment against the *engagement*; I pray God forgive them that impose it, and them that take it, and preserve them that refuse it.

Neither would I be looked upon as owning this present government; I die with my judgment against it. And *lastly*, I die cleaving to all those oaths, vows, covenants, and protestations, that were imposed by the two houses of parliament. I bless God I have not the least trouble on my spirit, but I die with as much quietness of mind as if I was going to lie down upon my bed to rest. I see men thirst after my blood, which will but hasten my happiness and their ruin; for though I am but of mean parentage, yet my blood is the blood of a christian, of a minister, of an innocent man, and (I speak it without vanity) of a martyr—I conclude with the speech of the apostle: *I am now ready to be offered up, and the time of my departure is at hand, but I have finished my course, I have kept the faith: henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness—and not for me only, but for all them that love the ap-*

† Compl. Hist. p. 202. Eachard, p. 689.

pearance of our Lord Jesus Christ, through whose blood I expect salvation, and remission of sins. And so the Lord bless you all."

After this he prayed with an audible voice for himself and his fellow-sufferer, Mr. *Gibbon*, for the prosperity of England, for his covenanting brethren in Scotland. and for an happy union between the two nations, *making no mention of the king*. He then rose from his knees, and having taken leave of the ministers, and others who attended him, he laid his head upon the block, which the executioner took off at one blow, before he had attained the age of forty years.† Mr. *Love* was a zealous presbyterian, a popular preacher, and highly esteemed by his brethren. His funeral sermon was preached by Dr. *Manton*, and published under the title of *The Saints triumph over death*; but his memory has suffered very much by lord *Clarendon's* character,* who represents him as guilty of as much "treason against the late king as the pulpit could contain; and delighting himself with the recital of it to the last, as dying with false courage, or (as he calls) in a raving fit of satisfaction, for having pursued the ends of the sanctified obligation the *covenant*, without praying for the king, any further than he propagated the covenant."

To return to more public affairs. After the battle of *Dunbar*, general *Cromwell*, through the inclemency of the weather, and his great fatigues, was seized with an ague which hung upon him all the spring, but as the summer advanced he recovered, and in the month of July marched his army towards the king's at *Sterling*; but not thinking it advisable to attempt his camp, he transported part of his

† Mr. Love was born at Cardiff in Glamorganshire: became a servitor of New-Inn, Oxford, 1635, aged 17. In 1642 he proceeded master of arts. He was, at the beginning of his ministry, preacher to the garrison of Windsor, then under the command of colonel John Venn, and was called by the royalists VENN's principal fireman at Windsor. He was, afterwards, successively minister of St. Ann's near Aldersgate, and St. Lawrence-Jewry, in London. He was the author of sermons and some pieces of practical divinity, which gained him a considerable reputation. He was buried with great lamentation on the north side of the chancel of St. Lawrence-Jewry. Wood's Athen. Oxon. vol. ii. p. 74, and Granger's History, vol. iii. p. 43, 8vo. Ed.

* Vol. iii. p. 434.

forces over the Frith into Fife, who upon their landing defeated the Scots, killing two thousand, and taking twelve hundred prisoners. After that, without waiting any longer on the king, he reduced Johnstown, and almost all the garrisons in the north.

While the general was employed in these parts, the Scots committee, that directed the marches of their army, fearing the storm would quickly fall upon themselves, resolved to march their army into England, and try the loyalty of the English presbyterians; for this purpose colonel *Massey* was sent before into Lancashire, to prepare them for a revolt; and the king himself entered England by the way of Carlisle, August 6, at the head of sixteen thousand men; but when the *committee of ministers* that attended the army, observed that the king and his friends, upon their entering England, were for dropping the *covenant*, they sent an express to *Massey*, without the king's knowledge, (says lord *Clarendon**) requiring him to publish a declaration, to assure the people of their resolution to prosecute the ends of the covenant. The king had no sooner notice of this, but he sent to *Massey*, forbidding him to publish the declaration, and to behave with equal civility towards all men who were forward to serve him; "but before this inhibition, (says his lordship) the matter had taken air in all places, and was spread over the whole kingdom, which made all men fly from their houses, or conceal themselves, who wished the king well." But his lordship is surely mistaken, for the king's chief hopes under *Massey* were from the presbyterians, who were so far from being displeased with his majesty's declaring for the covenant, that it gave them all the spirit he could wish for; but when it was known that the covenant was to be laid aside, *Massey's* measures were broken, many of the Scots deserted and returned home; and not one in ten of the English would hazard his life in the quarrel.† Mr. *Baxter*,‡ who was a much better judge of the temper of the people than his lordship, says, "the English knew that the Scots coming into England was rather a flight than a march. They considered likewise, that the implacable cavaliers had made no

* Vol. iii. p. 400, 406.

† Rapin, vol. ii. p. 585, folio.

‡ Life, p. 68.

preparation of the people's minds, by proposing any terms of a future reconciliation. That the prelatical divines were gone further from the presbyterians by Dr. *Hammond's* new way, than their predecessors ; and that the cause they contended for being not concord but government, they had given the presbyterian clergy and people no hopes of finding any abatement of their former burthens ; and it is hard to persuade men to venture their lives in order to bring themselves into a prison or banishment." However, these were the true reasons, says Mr. *Baxter*,* that no more came into the king at present ; and had the presbyterians observed them at the restoration, they had made better terms for themselves than they did.

The parliament at Westminster were quickly advised of the king's march, and by way of precaution expelled all delinquents out of the city ; they raised the militia ; they mustered the trained bands, to the number of fourteen thousand ; and in a few weeks had got together an army of near sixty thousand brave soldiers. Mr. *Eachard* represents the parliament as in a terrible panic, and projecting means to escape out of the land ; whereas, in reality, the unhappy king was the pity of his friends, and the contempt of his enemies. General *Cromwell* sent an express to the parliament, to have a watchful eye over the presbyterians, who were in confederacy with the Scots, and told them, that the reason of his not interposing between the enemy and England was, because he was resolved to reduce Scotland effectually before winter. He desired the house to collect their forces together, and make the best stand they could till he could come up with the enemy, when he doubted not but to give a good account of them. At the same time he sent major-general *Lambert* with a strong body of horse to harrass the king's forces, whilst himself with the body of the army, hastened after, leaving lieutenant-general *Monk* with a sufficient force to secure his conquests, and reduce the rest of the country, which he quickly accomplished. Bishop *Burnet* says,|| there was an order and discipline among the English, and a face of gravity and piety that amazed all people ; most of them were independents and baptists, but all gifted men, and preached

* P. 689.

|| Burnet, p. 80,

as they were moved, but never above once disturbed the public worship.

The earl of *Derby* was the only nobleman in England who raised 1500 men for the young king, who before, he could join the royal army, was defeated by colonel *Lilburn*, near Wigan in Lancashire, and his forces entirely dispersed. The earl being wounded retired into Cheshire, and from thence got to the king, who had marched his army as far as Worcester, which opened its gates, and gave him an honorable reception; from thence his majesty sent letters to London, commanding all his subjects between the age of sixteen and sixty to repair to his royal standard; but few had the courage to appear, the parliament having declared all such rebels, and burnt the king's summons by the hands of the common hangman. His majesty's affairs were now at a crisis. *Lambert* was in his rear with a great body of horse, and *Cromwell* followed with ten thousand foot, which, together with the forces that joined him by order of parliament, made an army of thirty thousand men. The king, being unable to keep the field, fortified the city of Worcester, and encamped almost under the walls. September 3, *Cromwell* attacked Powick bridge, within two miles of the city, which drew out the king's forces and occasioned a general battle, in which his majesty's army was entirely destroyed; four thousand being slain, seven thousand taken prisoners, with the king's standard, and one hundred and fifty-eight colors. Never was a greater rout and dispersion, nor a more fatal blow to the royal cause. The account which the general gave to the parliament was, "that the battle was fought with various success for some hours, but still hopeful on our part, and in the end became an absolute victory, the enemy's army being totally defeated, and the town in our possession, our men entering at the enemy's heels, and fighting with them in the streets, took all their baggage and artillery. The dispute was long and very often at push of pike from one defence to another. There are about six or seven thousand prisoners, among whom are many officers and persons of quality. This, for ought I know, may be a crowning mercy." All possible diligence was used to seize the person of the king: it was declared high trea-

son to conceal him, and a reward of a thousand pounds was set upon his head; but providence ordained his escape, for after he had travelled up and down the country six or seven weeks, under various disguises, in company with one or two confidants, and escaped a thousand dangers, he got a passage cross the channel at Brighthelmston in Sussex, and landed at Dieppe in Normandy, Oct. 21, the morning after he embarked; from whence he travelled by land to Paris, where his mother maintained him out of her small pension† from the court of France.

The hopes of the royalists were now expiring, for the islands of Guernsey and Jersey, with all the British plantations in America, were reduced this summer to the obedience of the parliament, in so much that his majesty had neither fort nor castle, nor a foot of land in all his dominions. The liturgy of the church of England was also under a total eclipse, the use of it being forbid not only in England, but even to the royal family in France, which had hitherto an apartment in the Louvre separated to that purpose; but after the battle of Worcester an order was sent from the queen regent to shut up the chapel, it being the king's pleasure not to permit the exercise of any religion but the roman catholic in any of his houses; nor could chancellor *Hyde* obtain more than a bare promise, that the queen of England would use her endeavors, that the protestants of the family should have liberty to exercise their devotions in some private room belonging to the lodgings.

Upon the king's arrival in France, he immediately threw off the mask of a presbyterian, and never went once to the protestant church at Charenton, though they invited him in the most respectful manner; but lord *Clarendon* dissuaded him, because the *hugonots* had not been hearty in his interest, and because it might look disrespectful to the

† This must be understood only of the king's first arrival: for her pension was so small and so ill paid, that when cardinal *de Retz* visited her on a time, in the month of January, the princess *Henrietta* could not rise for want of a fire. When her son arrived, she had not money enough to buy him a change of linen for the next day. The French court was obliged to provide for his necessities, and settled on him a pension of 6000 livres per month. Dr. Grey, vol. iii. p. 134, 5. *Clarendon's History*, vol. iii. p. 441. *Ed.*

old church of England. In truth, there being no further prospect of the king's restoration by the presbyterians, the eyes of the court were turned to the Roman catholics, and many of his majesty's retinue changed their religion, as appears by the *Legenda Ligneæ*, published about this time, with a list of fifty-three new converts, among whom were the following names in red capitals; the *Countess of Derby*, *Lady Kilmichin*, *Lord Cottington*, *Sir Marm. Langdale*, *Sir Fr. Doddington*, *Sir Theoph. Gilby*, *Capt. Tho. Cook*, *Tho. Vane*, *D. D. De Cressy*, *preb. of Windsor*, *Dr. Bayley*, *Dr. Cosins, jun.* *D. Goffe*, and many others, not to mention the *king himself*, of whom father *Huddleston* his confessor writes in his treatise, intitled, *A short and plain way to the faith of the Church*, published 1685, that he put it into the king's hands in his retirement, and that when his majesty had read it, he declared he could not see how it could be answered.* Thus early, says a reverend prelate of the church of England, was the king's advance towards popery, of which we shall meet with a fuller demonstration hereafter.||

General *Monk*, whom *Cromwell* left in Scotland with six thousand men, quickly reduced that kingdom, which was soon after united to the commonwealth of England, the deputies of the several counties consenting to be governed by authority of parliament, without a king or house of lords.§ The power of the kirk was likewise restrained within a narrow compass; for though they had liberty to excommunicate offenders, or debar them the communion, they might not seize their estates, or deprive them of their civil rights and privileges. No oaths or covenants were to be imposed but by direction from Westminster; and as all fitting encouragement was to be given to the ministers of the established kirk, so others not satisfied with their form of church government had liberty to serve God after their own manner; and all who would live peaceably, and yield obedience to the commonwealth, were protected in their several persuasions. This occasioned a great commotion among the clergy, who complained of the loss of their cov-

* Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 444.

|| Kennet, p. 200. 210 Rapin, vol. ii. p. 586, folio.

§ Whitlocke, p. 503, 504, 498.

enant, and church discipline; and exclaimed against the toleration, as opening a door to all kinds of error and heresy; but the English supported their friends against all opposition.

The laird of *Drum*, being threatened with excommunication for speaking against the kirk, and for refusing to swear that its discipline was of *divine authority*, fled to the English for protection, and then wrote the assembly word, that their oppression was equal to that of the late bishops, but that the commonwealth of England would not permit them to enslave the consciences of men any longer. The presbytery would have proceeded to extremities with him, but *Monk* brandished his sword over their heads, and threatened to treat them as enemies to the state, upon which they desisted for the present.* Soon after this, commissioners chiefly of the independent persuasion, were sent into Scotland, to visit the universities, and to settle liberty of conscience in that kingdom, against the coercive claim of the kirk, by whose influence a declaration was presented to the assembly at Edinburgh, July 26, in favor of the *congregational discipline, and for liberty of conscience*; but the stubborn assembly-men, instead of yielding to the declaration, published a paper called a *Testimony against the present encroachments of the civil power upon the ecclesiastical jurisdiction*, occasioned by a proclamation of the English commissioners appointing a committee for visiting their universities, which they take to be a special flower of the kirk prerogative. The synod of Fife also protested against the public resolutions of the civil power; but the sword of the English kept them in awe; for when the synod of Perth cited before them several persons for slighting the admonitions of the kirk, Mr. *Whitlocke* says,† that upon the day of appearance, their wives, to the number of about one hundred and twenty, with clubs in their hands, came and besieged the church where the synod sat; that they abused one of the ministers who was sent out to treat with them, and threatened to excommunicate them; and that they beat the clerk and dispersed the assembly; upon which thirteen of the ministers met at a village about four miles distant, and having agreed that no more synods should be held in that

* Whitlocke, p. 500, 505, 515.

† P. 511, 512.

place, they pronounced the village accursed. When the general assembly met again at Edinburgh next summer, and were just entering upon business, lieutenant-colonel *Cotterel* went into the church, and standing up upon one of the benches, told them that no ecclesiastical judicatories were to sit there, but by authority of the parliament of England; and without giving them leave to reply, he commanded them to retire, and conducted them out of the west gate of the city with a troop of horse and a company of foot; and having taken away the commissions from their several classes, enjoined them not to assemble any more above three in a company.

But with all these commotions, bishop *Burnet* observes,* that the country was kept in great order; the garrisons in the Highlands observed an exact discipline, and were well paid, which brought so much money into the kingdom, that it continued all the time of the usurpation in a flourishing condition; justice was carefully administered, and vice was suppressed and punished; there was a great appearance of devotion; the sabbath was observed with uncommon strictness; none might walk the streets in time of divine service, nor frequent public houses; the evenings of the Lord's days were spent in catechising their children, singing psalms, and other acts of family devotion, in so much that an acquaintance with the principles of religion, and the gift of prayer, increased prodigiously among the common people.

The war being now ended, the parliament published an act of indemnity for all crimes committed before June 30, 1648, except pirates, Irish rebels, the murderers of Dr. *Dorilaus* and Mr. *Ascham*, and some others, provided they laid hold of it, and took the engagement before Feb. 1, 1652. In the close of the year they chose a new council of state out of their own body for the next year, and continued themselves, instead of dissolving and giving way to a new parliament; the neglect of which was their ruin.

On the 26th of Sept. lieutenant-general *Ireton* died at Limerick in Ireland, after he had reduced that city to the obedience of the commonwealth. He was bred to the law, and was a person of great integrity, bold and intrepid in

* History, vol. i. p. 84, Edin. edition.

all his enterprizes, and never to be diverted from what he thought just and right by any arguments or persuasions. He was a thorough commonwealth's man. Bishop *Burnet* says, he had the principles and temper of a *Cassius*,* and was most liberal in employing his purse and hazarding his person in the service of the public. He died in the midst of life of a burning fever,§ after ten days sickness. His body being brought over into England was laid in state at Somerset-House, and buried in Westminster-Abbey with a pomp and magnificence suited to the dignity of his station; but after the restoration of the royal family, his body was taken out of the grave with *Cromwell's* and buried under the gallows.

About the same time died Mr. *Francis Woodcock*, born in Chester 1613, and educated in Brazen-Nose college, Oxford, where he took a degree in arts, entered into orders, and had a cure of souls bestowed upon him.‡ In the

* History, vol. i. p. 63, Edin. edition.

§ Lord Clarendon ascribes the death of Ireton to the infection of the plague, which was gotten into his army. He was of Trinity college in Oxford, and on leaving the university he studied at the Middle-Temple. He and Lambert distinguished themselves at the battle of Naseby, and were both concerned in drawing up the remonstrance of the army to the parliament. Ireton had the greatest hand in preparing the ordinance for the king's trial, and the precept for proclaiming the high court of justice, in which he sat as a judge. His authority was so great, that he was entirely submitted to in all the civil as well as martial affairs: though his parts were considered by some as more fitted for modelling a government, than for the conduct of an army. The Oxford historian describes him as of a turbulent and saucy disposition, nurtured to mischief, and a profound, thorough-paced dissembler under the mask of religion. His corpse was carried from the ship, in which it was brought to Bristol, in a hearse of velvet, attended by the mayor, aldermen, and council in their formalities, and the governor and officers, to the Castle: from whence it was removed to London with great pomp. The parliament settled on his widow and children 2000l. per ann. out of the lands belonging to George duke of *Bucks*. His daughter, who married Thomas Bendish, esq. of Gray's-inn, was a most singular character, and bore a greater resemblance, in countenance and disposition, to her grandfather, *Oliver Cromwell*, than did any of his descendants. A curious sketch of her character, drawn by the Rev. Samuel Say, is preserved in the second volume of "Letters" published by Mr. Duncombe. Dr. Grey, vol. iii. p. 141, &c. Lord Clarendon's History, vol. iii. p. 467. Wood's Athen. Oxon. p. 81, 82. Whitlocke's Mem. p. 491, 494, and Granger's History, vol. ii. p. 259, and vol. iii. p. 16, 17. *Ed.*

‡ Athen. Oxon. vol. ii. p. 81, 82.

beginning of the civil wars he sided with the parliament, and was one of the assembly of divines, being then lecturer of St. Lawrence-Jewry. He was afterwards, by ordinance of parliament dated July 10, 1646, made parson of St. Olave's Southwark; having the esteem of being a good scholar, and an excellent preacher. He died in the midst of his days and usefulness, *ætatis* 38.

Mr. *George Walker* proceeded *B. D.* in St. John's college, Cambridge. He was famous for his skill in the oriental languages, and was an excellent *logician* and *theologist*; being very much noted for his disputations with the jesuit *Fisher*, and others of the Romish church; and afterwards for his strict sabbatarian principles. He was a member of the assembly of divines, where he gained great reputation by his munificent and generous behaviour.

Mr. *Thomas Wilson* was born in Cumberland 1601, and educated in Christ's college, Cambridge, where he proceeded in arts. He was first minister of Capel in Surry, and after several other removes fixed at Maidstone in Kent, where he was suspended for refusing to read the book of sports, and not absolved till the Scots troubles in 1639. In 1643 he was appointed one of the assembly of divines at Westminster, being reputed a good linguist, and well read in ancient and modern authors. He was of a robust constitution, and took vast pains in preaching and catechising; he had a great deal of natural courage, and was in every respect a cheerful and active christian, but he trespassed too much upon his constitution, which wore him out when he was little more than fifty years old. He died comfortably and cheerfully toward the end of the year 1651. Sir *Edward Deering* gave him this character in the house of commons; "Mr. *Wilson* is as orthodox in doctrine, and laborious in preaching, as any we have, and of an unblemished life."

The terms of conformity in England were now lower than they had been since the beginning of the civil wars; the covenant was laid aside, and no other civil qualification for a living required, but the *engagement*, so that many episcopal divines complied with the government; for though they might not read the liturgy in form, they might frame their prayers as near to it as they pleased. Many

episcopal assemblies were connived at, where the liturgy was read, till they were found plotting against the government; nor would they have been denied an open toleration, if they would have given security for their peaceable behavior, and not meddling with politics.

The parliament having voted, in the year 1649, that *tithes should be taken away* as soon as another maintenance for the clergy could be agreed upon, several petitions came out of the country, praying the house to bring this affair to an issue: One advised, that all the tithes over the whole kingdom might be collected into a treasury, and that the ministers might be paid their salaries out of it. Others looking upon tithes unlawful, would have the livings valued, and the parish engaged to pay the minister. This was suspected to come from the sectaries, and awakened the fears of the established clergy. Mr. *Baxter* printed the Worcester *petition* on the behalf of the ministers,* which was presented to the house by colonel *Bridges* and Mr. *Foley*; and Mr. *Boreman*, B. D. and fellow of Trinity-college, Cambridge, published *The Countryman's Catechism, or the Church's Plea for Tithes*, dedicated to the nobility, gentry, and commons of the realm; in which he insists upon their *divine right*. But the clergy were more afraid than hurt; for though the commons were of opinion with Mr. *Selden*, that tithes were abolished with the old law, yet the committee not agreeing upon an expedient to satisfy the lay-impropriators, the affair was dropt for the present.

Upon complaint of *the expence and tediousness of law-suits*, it was moved in the house, that courts of justice might be settled in every county, and maintained at the public charge; and that all controversies between man and man might be heard and determined free, according to the laws of the land; and that clerks of all courts and committees might do their duty without delay, or taking any thing more than their settled fees. Accordingly, a committee was appointed to consider of the inconveniences and delays of law-suits, and how they might be remedied. The committee came to several resolutions upon this head; but the dissolution of the parliament, which happened the next year, prevented their bringing it to perfection.

* *Baxter's Life*, p. 415.

An act had passed in the year 1649, for *propagating the gospel in Wales*; and commissioners were appointed for ejecting ignorant and scandalous ministers, and placing others in their room; pursuant to which, Mr. *Whitlocke* writes, § “that by this time there were one hundred and fifty good preachers in the thirteen Welch counties, most of whom preached three or four times a week; that in every market-town there was placed one, and in most great towns two school-masters, able, learned, and university men; that the tithes were all employed to the uses directed by act of parliament; that is, to the maintenance of godly ministers; to the payment of taxes and officers; to school-masters; and the fifths to the wives and children of the ejected clergy:” Of which we shall meet with a more particular relation in its proper place.

The commonwealth was now very powerful, and the nation in as flourishing a condition (says Mr. *Rapin**) as under Queen *Elizabeth*. The form of government indeed was altered contrary to law, and without consent of the people, the majority of whom were disaffected preferring a mixed monarchy to an absolute commonwealth; but the administration was in the hands of the ablest men England had beheld for many years; all their enemies were in a manner subdued, and the two kingdoms incorporated into one commonwealth: but still there were two things that gave them uneasiness; one was the growing power of the army, who were now at leisure, and expected rewards suitable to their successes; the other, the necessity they were under to dissolve themselves in a little time, and put the power into other hands.

With regard to the army, it was resolved to reduce the land forces, and augment the fleet with them, in order to secure the nation against the Dutch; for the parliament, having a desire to strengthen their hands, by uniting with the commonwealth of Holland, sent over *Oliver St. John*, and Sir *Walter Strickland*, with proposals for this purpose; but the Dutch treated them with neglect,|| as their

§ *Memoirs*, p. 518.

* Vol. ii. p. 586, folio edition.

|| Dr. Grey, evidently with a view to controvert Mr. Neal's representation, as well as from prejudice against these ambassadors and the power from whom they received their commission, says, “the states of Hol-

younger sister, which the parliament resenting, demanded satisfaction for the damages the English had sustained at Amboyna, and other parts of the East-Indies; and to cramp them in their trade, passed the famous act of navigation, *prohibiting the importing goods of foreign growth in any but English bottoms; or such as were of the country from whence they came.* Upon this the Dutch sent over ambassadors, desiring a clause of exception for themselves, who were the carriers of Europe; but the parliament in their turn treated them coldly, and put them in mind of the murder of their envoy Dr. *Dorislaus*. Both commonwealths being dissatisfied with each other, prepared for war; and *Van Trump* the Dutch admiral, with a convoy of merchantmen, meeting admiral *Blake* in the channel, and refusing him the flag, an engagement ensued May 17, which continued four hours till the night parted them. The Dutch excused the accident, as done without their knowledge; but the parliament was so enraged, that they resolved to humble them. In these circumstances it was thought reasonable to augment the fleet out of the land forces, who had nothing to do, and would in a little time be a burthen to the nation.

CROMWELL, who was at the head of the army, quickly discovered that the continuance of the war must be his ruin, by disarming him of his power, and reducing him from a great general to the condition of a private gentleman. Besides, Mr. *Rapin* observes, that he had secret information of a conspiracy against his life; and without all question, if the army had not agreed to stand by their general, his ruin had been unavoidable; the officers therefore determined to combine together, and not suffer their men to be disband-

land treated them with much more regard and civility than was due to them:" and gives, as proofs of this, two of their own letters, in his Appendix, No. 50, and 51. But all which these letters prove is, that the first reception given to these gentlemen was both respectful and pompous. Mr. Neal is to be understood of the attention paid to their proposals: with respect to which the conduct of the Dutch was cold and evasive. And even the persons of the ambassadors did not escape insults, which the states did not properly resent. Mr. Strickland's life was threatened. A plot was formed to assassinate Mr. St. John: and an affront was offered to him by prince Edward, one of the palatinate, as he was passing the streets. Mrs. Macaulay's History, vol. v. p. 83-4, note, and Ludlow's Memoirs, 4to. 1771, p. 148. *Ed.*

ed or sent to sea, till the arrears of the whole army were paid; for this purpose they presented a petition to the house, which they resented, and instead of giving them soft language, and encouragement to hope for some suitable rewards for their past services, ordered them to be reprimanded, for presuming to meddle in affairs of state that did not belong to them. But the officers proving as resolute as their masters, instead of submitting, presented another petition, in which having justified their behavior, they boldly strike *at the parliament's continuance*, and put them in mind how many years they had sat; that they had engrossed all preferments and places of profit to themselves and their friends; that it was a manifest injury to the gentlemen of the nation, to be excluded the service of their country, and an invasion of the rights of the people, to deprive them of the right of frequent choosing new representatives; they therefore insist upon their settling a new council of state for the administration of public affairs; and upon their fixing a peremptory day for the choice of a new parliament.

This was a new and delicate crisis; the civil and military powers being engaged against each other, and resolved to maintain their respective pretensions: If *Cromwell*, with the sword in his hand, had secured the election of a free representative of the people, and left the settlement of the nation to them, all men would have honored and blessed him, for the people were certainly weary of the parliament. But when the *officers* had destroyed this form of government, they were not agreed what to establish, whether a *monarchy*, or a *new republic*; the general, being for a mixed monarchy, had no doubt, some ambitious views to himself, and therefore called together some select friends of several professions to advise on the affair, when Sir *Tho. Widdrington*, lord chief justice *St. John*, and the rest of the lawyers, declared for monarchy, as most agreeable to the old constitution, and proposed the duke of *Gloucester* for king; but the officers of the army then present declared for a republic. *Cromwell* himself, after much hesitation, gave his opinion for something of a monarchical power, as most agreeable to the genius of the English, if it might be accomplished with safety to their rights and privileges as Englishmen and christians.

Some time after *Cromwell* desired Mr. *Whitlocke's* opinion upon the present situation of affairs: "My lord (says he) it is time to consider of our present danger, that we may not be broken in pieces by our particular quarrels after we have gained an entire conquest over the enemy." *Whitlocke* replied, "that all their danger was from the army, who were men of emulation, and had now nothing to do." *Cromwell* answered, "that the officers thought themselves not rewarded according to their deserts; that the parliament had engrossed all places of honor and trust among themselves; that they delayed the public business, and designed to perpetuate themselves; that the officers thought it impossible to keep them within the bounds of justice, law, or reason, unless there was some authority or power to which they might be accountable." *Whitlocke* said, he believed the parliament were honest men, and designed the public good, though some particular persons might be to blame, but that it was absurd for the officers who were private men, and had received their commissions from the parliament, to pretend to control them." "But, says *Cromwell*, what if a man should take upon him to be king?" *Whitlocke* answered, "that the remedy was worse than the disease; and that the general had already all the power of a king without the envy, danger, and pomp of the title." "But, says he, the title of KING would make all acts done by him legal; it would indemnify those that should act under him at all events, and be of advantage to curb the insolence of those whom the present powers could not control." *Whitlocke* agreed to the general's reasons, but desired him to consider, "Whether the title of KING would not lose him his best friends in the army, as well as those gentlemen who were for settling a free commonwealth; but if we must have a king, (says he) the question will be, whether it shall be *Cromwell* or *Stuart*?"† The general asking his opinion upon this, *Whitlocke* proposed a private treaty with the king of Scots, with whom he might make his own terms, and raise his family to what pitch of greatness he pleased; but *Cromwell* was so apprehensive of the danger of this proposal, that he broke off the conversation

† *Whitlocke*, p. 523, &c.

with some marks of dissatisfaction, and never made use of *Whitlocke* with confidence afterwards.

Thus things remained‡ throughout the whole winter; the army having little to do after the battle of Worcester drew near to London, but there was no treaty of accommodation between them and the parliament; *one* would not disband without their full pay; nor the *other* dissolve by the direction of their own servants, but voted the expedience of filling up their numbers, and that it should be high treason to petition for their dissolution. When the *general* heard this, he called a council of officers to Whitehall, who all agreed that *it was not fit the parliament should continue any longer*. This was published in hopes of frightening the house to make some advances towards a dissolution; but when colonel *Ingoldsby* informed the general next morning, that they were concluding upon an act to prolong the session for another year, he rose up in a heat, and with a small retinue of officers and soldiers marched to the parliament-house April 20, and having placed his men without doors, went into the house, and heard the debates. After some time he beckoned to colonel *Harrison*, on the other side of the house, and told him in his ear, that he thought the parliament was ripe for dissolution, and that this was the time for doing it. *Harrison* replied, that the work was dangerous, and desired him to think better of it. Upon this he sat down about a quarter of an hour, and then said, *this is the time, I must do it*; and rising up in his place, he told the house, that he was come to put an end to their power, of which they had made so ill an use; that some of them were whore-masters, looking towards *Harry Martin* and *Sir Peter Wentworth*; others

‡ Here may be inserted, from *Whitlocke*, two anecdotes, which afford a pleasing specimen of the temper of the *quakers* under ill-treatment. Feb. 3, 1653, they were assaulted and beaten by some people in the north. Feb. 13, 1654, a similar outrage was offered to others of them, at Hasington in Northumberland, for speaking to the ministers on the sabbath-day: so that one or two of them were almost killed. The *quakers* fell on their knees and prayed to God to forgive the people, as those who knew not what they did; and remonstrated with them so as to convince them of the evil of their conduct, on which they ceased from their violence, and began to reproach each other with being the occasions of it: and, in the last instance, beat one another more than they had before the *quakers*. *Memorials*, p. 564, 599. *Ed.*

were drunkards, and some corrupt and unjust men, who had not at heart the public good, but were only for perpetuating their own power. Upon the whole, he thought they had sat long enough, and therefore desired them to retire and go away. When some of the members began to reply, he stepped into the middle of the house, and said, *Come, come, I will put an end to your prating; you are no parliament; I say you are no parliament;* and stamping with his foot, a file of musqueteers entered the house; one of whom he commanded to take away that fool's bauble the mace. And major *Harrison* taking the speaker by the arm, conducted him out of the chair. *Cromwell* then seizing upon their papers obliged them to walk out of the house; and having caused the doors to be locked upon them, returned to Whitehall.

In the afternoon the general went to the *council of state*, attended by major-general *Lambert* and *Harrison*, and as he entered the room, said, "Gentlemen, if you are met here as private persons you shall not be disturbed, but if as a council of state, this is no place for you; and since you cannot but know what was done in the morning, so take notice the parliament is dissolved." Serjeant *Bradshaw* replied, Sir, we have heard what you did in the morning, but you are mistaken to think the parliament is dissolved, for no power can dissolve them but themselves; therefore take you notice of that." But the general not being terrified with big words, the council thought it their wisest way to rise up and go home.

Thus ended the commonwealth of England, after it had continued four years, two months, and twenty days, which, though no better than an *usurpation*, had raised the credit of the nation to a very high pitch of glory and renown; and with the commonwealth ended the remains of the long parliament for the present; an assembly famous throughout all the world for its undertakings, actions, and successes.* "the acts of this parliament (says Mr. *Coke*†) will

* Mrs. Macaulay, after quoting the high eulogiums made on the government of this parliament, adds, "it is to be remembered, that to them is due the singular praise of having pursued the true interest of their country in attending particularly to its maritime strength, and carrying on its foreign wars by its naval power. This example, which

† Detect. p. 363.

hardly find belief in future ages ; and to say the truth, they were a race of men most indefatigable and industrious in business, always seeking men fit for it, and never preferring any for favor or importunity : you hardly ever heard of any revolt from them ; no soldiers or seamen being ever pressed. And as they excelled in civil affairs, so it must be confessed, they exercised in matters ecclesiastical no such severities as others before them did upon such as dissented from them."

But their foundation was bad, and many of their actions highly criminal ; they were a packed assembly, many of their members being excluded by force, before they could be secure of a vote to put the late king to death—they subverted the constitution, by setting up themselves, and continuing their sessions after his majesty's demise—by erecting high courts of justice of their own nomination for capital offences—by raising taxes, and doing all other acts of sovereignty without consent of the people ; all which they designed to perpetuate among themselves, without being accountable to any superior, or giving place to a new body of representatives. If then it be enquired, what right or authority general *Cromwell* and his officers had to offer violence to this parliament, it may be replied, 1. The right of self-preservation, the ruin of one or the other being unavoidable. 2. The right that every Englishman has to put an end to an usurpation when it is in his power, provided he can substitute something better in its room ; and if *Cromwell* could by this method have restored the constitution, and referred the settlement of the government to a free and full representative of the people, no wise man would have blamed him. It was not therefore his turning out the old parliament that was criminal, but his not summoning a new one, by a fair and free election of the people ; and yet Mr. *Rapin*† is of opinion, that even this was impracticable,

raised England to so great an height of glory and prosperity, has never yet been followed, and in all probability never will, by the succeeding monarchs. The aim of princes is to make conquests on their subjects, not to enlarge the empire of a free people. A standing army is a never-failing instrument of domestic triumph ; and it is very doubtful, whether a naval force could be rendered useful in any capacity but that of extending the power and prosperity of the country." *Hist. of England*, vol. v. p. 106, note, 8vo. *Ed.* † Vol. ii. p. 289, folio edit.

there being three opposite interests in the nation ; the *republicans*, who were for an absolute commonwealth ; the *presbyterians*, who were for restoring things to the condition they were in, in 1648 ; and the *cavaliers*, who were for setting the king upon the throne, as before the civil wars ; it was by no means possible (says he*) to reconcile the three parties, and if they had been let loose they would have destroyed each other, and thrown the whole nation into blood and confusion ; nothing therefore but giving a forcible superiority to *one*, was capable to hold the *other* two in subjection. The king was no way interested in the change, for it was not *Charles Stuart*, but a *republican usurpation* that was dispossessed of the supreme power.— If the *general* had failed in his design, and lost his life in the attempt, the king would have received no manner of advantage, for the nation was by no means disposed to restore him at this time. Supposing then it was not practicable to choose a free parliament, nor fit to let the *old one* perpetuate themselves, *Oliver Cromwell* had no other choice, but to abandon the state, or to take the administration upon himself ; or put it into the hands of some other person who had no better title. How far private ambition took place of the public good in the choice, must be left to the judgment of every reader ; but if it was necessary that there should be a *supreme authority*, capable of enforcing obedience, it cannot be denied, but that general *Cromwell* was more capable of governing the state in such a storm, than any man then living. No objection can be raised against him, which might not with more justice have been urged against any other single person, or body of men in the nation except the *right heir*. However, all the three parties of *cavaliers*, *presbyterians*, and *republicans*, were displeased with his conduct, loaded him with invectives, and formed conspiracies against his person, though they could never agree in any other scheme, which in the present crisis was more practicable.

The parliament being thus violently dispersed, the sovereign power devolved on the council of officers, of which *Cromwell* was head, who published a declaration, justify-

* Rapin, p. 149.

ing his dissolution of the late parliament, and promising to put the administration into the hands of persons of approved fidelity and honesty, and leave them to form it into what shape they pleased. Accordingly, April 30, another declaration was published, signed by *Oliver Cromwell*, and thirty of his officers, nominating a new council of state to take care of the government, till a new representative body of men could be called together; and June 8, the general, by the advice of his council, sent the following summons to one hundred and forty select persons, out of the several counties of England, to meet at Westminster, in order to settle the nation: “I *Oliver Cromwell*, captain-general, &c. do hereby summons and require you——being one of the persons nominated by myself, with the advice of my council, personally to appear at the council chamber at Whitehall, upon the fourth of July next ensuing the date hereof, to take upon you the trust of the affairs of the commonwealth; to which you are hereby called and appointed to serve as a member for the county of ——; and hereof you are not to fail. Given under my hand this 8th of June 1653. O. CROMWELL.”

These were high acts of sovereignty, and not to be justified but upon the supposition of *extreme necessity*. The dissolution of the long-parliament was an act of violence, but not unacceptable to the people, as appeared by the numerous addresses from the army, the fleet, and other places, approving the general's conduct and promising to stand by him and his council in their proceedings; but then for the general himself, and thirty officers to choose representatives for the whole nation, without interesting any of the counties or corporations of England in the choice, would have deserved the highest censure under any other circumstances.

About one hundred and twenty of the new representatives appeared at the time and place appointed, when the *general*, after a short speech, delivered them an *instrument* in parchment under his hand and seal, resigning into their hands, or the hands of any forty of them, the supreme authority and government of the commonwealth, limiting the time of their continuance to Nov. 3, 1654, and empowering them, three months before their dissolution, to make choice

of others to succeed them for a year, and they to provide for a future succession. It was much wondered, says *Whitlocke*,* that these gentlemen, many of whom were persons of fortune and estate,† should accept of the supreme authority of the nation, upon such a summons, and from such hands. Most of them were men of piety, but no great politicians, and were therefore in contempt called sometimes the *little parliament*; and by others, *Barebone's parliament*, from a *leatherseller* of that name,‡ who was one of

* *Memoirs*, p. 534.

† Dr. Grey, after Lord Clarendon and others, and Mr. Hume since them, have spoken in severe and contemptuous terms of this assembly and their proceedings. "The major part of them," says his lordship, "consisted of inferior persons, of no quality or name, artificers of the meanest name, known only by their gifts in praying and preaching." But many of *Cromwell's* after counsellors, many of the chief officers of the army, were in this assembly. They were treated as the supreme authority of the nation by sovereign princes, and had the most humble applications made to them by the chief cavaliers, as by the Earls of Worcester, Derby, and Shrewsbury, Lord Mansfield, and the Countess of Derby; and they were during their short session, employed about points of the highest national concernment; such as abolishing the court of chancery on account of its expensiveness and delays, the forming a new body of the law, the union of Scotland with England, the regulations of marriages, and the investing of the solemnization and cognizance of them in the civil magistrate, with other matters of moment. *Harris's Life of Oliver Cromwell*, p. 335—337. *Ed.*

‡ There were three brothers of this family, each of whom had a sentence for his name, viz. "Praise God Barebone; Christ came into the world to save Barebone; and, if Christ had not died thou had'st been damned Barebone." In this style were the christian names of very many persons formed in the times of the civil wars. It was said, that the genealogy of our Savior might be learnt from the names in *Cromwell's* regiments; and that the muster-master used no other list than the first chapter of *Matthew*. A jury was returned in the county of Sussex of the following names:

Accepted, Trevor of Norsham.
Redeemed, Compton of Battle.
Faint not, Hewet of Heathfield.
Make peace, Heaton of Hare.
God-reward, Smart of Fivehurst,
Stand fast on High, Stringer of
 Crowhurst.
Earth, Adams of Warbleton.
Called, Lower of Warbleton.
Kill Sin, Pimple of Witham,

Return, Spelman of Watling.
Be Faithful, Joyner of Britling.
Fly Debate, Robert of Brintling.
Fight the good fight of Faith,
 White of Emer.
More Fruit, Fowler of East Hadley.
Hope for, Bending of ditto.
Graceful, Harding of Lewes.
Weep not, Billings, ditto.
Meek, Brewer of Okeham.

the most active members. When the general was withdrawn, they chose Mr. *Rouse* an aged and venerable man, member in the late parliament for Truro in Cornwall, their speaker, and then voted themselves the parliament of the commonwealth of England. Mr. *Baxter*§ places them in a contemptible light, and says, "they intended to eject all the parish ministers, and to encourage the gathering independent churches; that they cast out all the ministers in Wales, which, though bad enough for the most part, were yet better than none, or the few itinerants they set up in their room; and that they attempted, and had almost accomplished the same in England." But nothing of this appears among their acts. When the city of London petitioned, that more learned and approved ministers might be sent into the country to preach the gospel; that their settled maintenance by law might be confirmed; and their just properties preserved; and that the universities might be zealously countenanced and encouraged; the petitioners had the thanks of that house; and the committee gave it as their opinion, that commissioners should be sent into the several counties, who should have power to eject scandalous and insufficient ministers, and to settle others in their room. They were to appoint preaching in all vacant places, that none might live above three miles from a place of worship. That such as were approved for public ministers should enjoy the maintenance provided by the laws; and that if any scrupled the payment of tithes, the neighboring justices of peace should settle the value, which the owner of the land should be obliged to pay; but as for the tithes themselves they were of opinion, that the incumbents and impropriators had a right in them, and therefore they could not be taken away till they were satisfied.

July 23, it was referred to a committee, to consider of a repeal of such laws as hindered the progress of the gospel; that is, (says bishop *Kennet*) to take away the few remaining rules of decency and order; or, in other language, the

Granger's History of England, vol. iii. p. 68, 8vo. note, and Dr. Grey, p. 286, 7, note. Mr. Hume has also given this list of the Sussex jury. But the ridicule, which falls on this mode of naming children, belongs not to these times only: for the practice was in use long before. *Harris's Life of Oliver Cromwell*, p. 342, the note. *Ed.*

§ P. 70, 186.

penal laws. This was done at the instance of the *independents*, who petitioned for protection against the presbyteries; upon which it was voted, that a declaration should be published, for giving proper liberty to all that feared God; and for preventing their imposing hardships on one another.

Mr. *Eachard*, and others of his principles, write, that this parliament had under deliberation the taking away the old English laws, as badges of the Norman conquest, and substituting the Mosaic laws of government in their place; and that all schools of learning, and titles of honor, should be extinguished, as not agreeing with the christian simplicity. But no such proposals were made to the house, and therefore it is unjust to lay them to their charge.

The solemnizing of matrimony had hitherto been engrossed by the clergy; but this *convention* considered it a civil contract, and put it into the hands of justices of peace, by an ordinance, which enacts, “that after the 29th of September, 1653, all persons who shall agree to be married within the commonwealth of England, shall deliver in their names and places of abode, with the names of their parents, guardians, and overseers, to the register of the parish where each party lives, who shall publish the *bans* in the church or chapel three several Lord’s days, after the morning service; or else in the market-place three several weeks successively, between the hours of eleven and two, on a market-day if the party desire it. The register shall make out a certificate of the due performance of one or the other, at the request of the parties concerned, without which they shall not proceed to marriage.

“It is further enacted, that all persons intending to marry shall come before some justice of peace within the county, city, or town corporate, where publication has been made, as aforesaid, with their certificate, and with sufficient proof of the consent of the parents, if either party be under age, and then the marriage shall proceed in this manner:

“The man to be married shall take the woman by the hand, and distinctly pronounce these words, I *A. B.* do here in the presence of God, the searcher of all hearts, take thee *C. D.* for my wedded wife; and do also, in the

presence of God, and before these witnesses, promise to be to thee a loving and faithful husband.

“Then the woman taking the man by the hand, shall plainly and distinctly pronounce these words, I *C. D.* do here in the presence of God, the searcher of all hearts, take thee *A. B.* for my wedded husband; and do also in the presence of God, and before these witnesses, promise to be to thee a loving, faithful, and obedient wife.

“After this, the justice may and shall declare the said man and woman to be from henceforth husband and wife; and from and after such consent so expressed, and such declaration made of the same, (as to the form of marriage) it shall be good and effectual in law; and no other marriage whatsoever, within the commonwealth of England, after the 29th of Sept. 1653, shall be held or accounted a marriage, according to the law of England.”

This ordinance was confirmed by the protector’s parliament in the year 1656, except the clause, *that no other marriage whatsoever within the commonwealth of England shall be held, or accounted a legal marriage*; and it was wisely done of the parliament at the restoration, to confirm these marriages, in order to prevent illegitimacy, and vexatious lawsuits in future times. But the acts of this convention were of little significance, for when they found the affairs of the nation too intricate, and the several parties too stubborn to yield to their ordinances, they wisely resigned, and surrendered back their sovereignty into the same hands that gave it them, after they had sat five months and twelve days.

The *general* and his *officers* finding themselves reinvested with the supreme authority, by what they fancied a more parliamentary delegation, took upon them to strike out a new form of government, a little tending towards monarchy, contained in a large instrument of forty-two articles, entitled, *The Government of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland*. It appoints the government to be in a single person;—that the single person be the general O. CROMWELL, whose stile and title should be *his highness, lord protector of the commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and of the dominions thereunto belonging*—that the lord protector should have a council, consisting of

no more than twenty-one persons, nor less than thirteen, to assist him in the administration. A parliament was to be chosen out of the three kingdoms every three years at longest, and not to be dissolved without their consent in less than five months. It was to consist of four hundred members for England and Wales; thirty for Scotland, and thirty for Ireland; whereof sixty were to make a house. The counties of England and Wales were to choose two hundred thirty-nine; the other elections to be distributed among the chief cities and market towns, without regard to ancient custom. The county of Dorset was to choose eleven members; Cornwall eight; Bedfordshire five; the several ridings of Yorkshire fourteen; Middlesex four; the city of London six; Westminster two; the whole number of cities and boroughs which had privilege of election were one hundred and ten, and the number of representatives to be chosen by them one hundred and sixty.—If the protector refused to issue out writs, the commissioners of the great seal, or the high sheriff of the county, was to do it under pain of treason—none to have votes but such as were worth two hundred pounds. This regulation, being wisely proportioned, met with universal approbation. Lord *Clarendon* says, it was fit to be more warrantably made, and in a better time—all the great officers of state, as chancellor, treasurer, &c. if they became vacant in time of parliament, to be supplied with their approbation; and in the intervals with the approbation of the council—such bills as were offered to the protector by the parliament, if not signed in twenty days, were to be laws without him, if not contrary to this instrument.—In the present crisis, the protector and his council might publish ordinances which should have force till the first sessions of parliament—the protector was to have power to make war and peace, to confer titles of honor, to pardon all crimes except treason and murder; the militia was intrusted with him and his council, except during the sessions of parliament, when it was to be jointly in both. In short, the protector had almost all the royalties of a king—but then the protectorship was to be elective, and no protector after the present to be general of the army.

The articles relating to religion were these :

Art. 35. "That the Christian religion contained in the scriptures be held forth and recommended as the public profession of these nations, and that as soon as may be, a provision less subject to contention, and more certain than the present, be made for the maintenance of ministers; and that till such provision be made, the present maintenance continue.

Art. 36. "That none be compelled to conform to the public religion by penalties or otherwise; but that endeavors be used to win them by sound doctrine, and the example of a good conversation.

Art. 37. "That such as profess faith in God by Jesus Christ, though differing in judgment from the doctrine, worship, or discipline, publicly held forth, shall not be restrained from, but shall be protected in the profession of their faith, and exercise of their religion, so as they abuse not this liberty to the civil injury of others, and to the actual disturbance of the public peace on their parts; provided this liberty be not extended to popery or prelacy, or to such as under a profession of Christ hold forth and practice licentiousness.

Art. 38. "That all laws, statutes, ordinances, and clauses in any law, statute or ordinance, to the contrary of the aforesaid liberty, shall be esteemed null and void."

The protector was installed with great magnificence Dec. 16, 1653, in the court of *chancery*, by order of the council of officers, in presence of the lord-mayor and aldermen of London, the judges, the commissioners of the great seal, and other great officers, who were summoned to attend on this occasion. *O. Cromwell*, standing uncovered on the left hand of a chair of state set for him, first subscribed the instrument of government in the face of the court, and then took the following oath:

"WHEREAS the major part of the last parliament (judging that their sitting any longer as then constituted, would not be for the good of the commonwealth) did dissolve the same; and by a writing under their hands, dated the 12th of this instant December, resigned to me their powers and authorities. And whereas it was necessary thereupon, that some speedy course should be taken for the

settlement of these nations upon such a basis and foundation, as, by the blessing of God, might be lasting, secure property, and answer those great ends of religion and liberty, so long contended for ; and upon full and mature consideration had of the form of government hereunto annexed, being satisfied that the same, through divine assistance, may answer the ends afore-mentioned. And having also been desired and advised, as well by several persons of interest and fidelity in the commonwealth, as the officers of the army, to take upon me the protection and government of these nations in the manner expressed in the said form of government, I have accepted thereof, and do hereby declare my acceptance accordingly ; and do promise, in the presence of God, that I will not violate, or infringe the matters and things contained therein, but to my power observe the same, and cause them to be observed ; and shall in all other things, to the best of my understanding, govern these nations according to the laws, statutes and customs, seeking their peace, and causing justice and law to be equally administered."

After this he sat down in the *chair of state* covered, and the commissioners delivered him the great seal, and the lord-mayor his sword and cap of maintenance ; which he returned in a very obliging manner. The ceremony being over, the soldiers, with a shout, cried out, *God bless the lord protector of the commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland.* In their return to Whitehall the lord-mayor carried the sword before HIS HIGHNESS uncovered, and presently after he was proclaimed in the city of London, and throughout all the British dominions.

Thus did this wonderful man, by surprizing management, supported only by the sword, advance himself to the supreme government of three kingdoms without consent of parliament or people. His birth seemed to promise nothing of this kind ; nor does it appear that he had formed the project, till after the battle of Worcester, when he apprehended the parliament had projected his ruin by disbanding the army, and perpetuating their authority among themselves : which of the two usurpations was most eligible must be left with the reader ; but how he brought the

officers into his measures, and supported his sovereignty by an army of enthusiasts, anabaptists, fifth monarchy men, and republicans, will be the admiration of all posterity; and though by this adventurous act he drew upon himself the plots and conspiracies of the several factions in the nation, yet his genius and resolution surmounted all difficulties, his short empire being one continued blaze of glory and renown to the British isles, and of terror to the rest of Europe.

The reader will make his own remarks upon the new *instrument of government*, and will necessarily observe, that it was a creature of *Cromwell's* and his council of officers, and not drawn up by a proper representative of the people. How far the present circumstances of the nation made this necessary, must be concluded from the remarks we have made upon the change of government; but the articles relating to religion can hardly be complained of, though they disgusted all that part of the clergy who were for *church power*; the *presbyterians* preached and wrote against the 36th and 37th articles, as inconsistent with their establishment, and sinking it almost to a level with the sectaries. The *republicans* were dissatisfied because the ENGAGEMENT, by which they had sworn fidelity to a commonwealth, without a single person, or house of lords, was set aside. Bishop *Kennet* is angry with the protector's latitude, because there was no test or barrier to the establishment. "How little religion was the concern, or so much as any longer the pretence of *Cromwell* and his officers (says his lordship) appears from hence, that in the large instrument of the government of the commonwealth, which was the *magna charta* of the new constitution, there is not a word of churches or synods, or ministers, nor any thing but the christian religion in general, with liberty to all differing in judgment, from the doctrine, worship, or discipline, publicly held forth." Strange, that this should displease a christian bishop! But his lordship should have remembered, that this liberty was not to extend to any kinds of immoralities, nor to such as injured the civil rights of others, nor to such as disturbed the public peace. And do the scriptures authorize us to go further? The sixth article provides, "that the laws in being relating to

the presbyterian religion were not to be suspended, altered, abrogated, or repealed; nor any new law made, but by consent of parliament." The 36th adds, "that until a better provision can be made for the encouragement and maintenance of able and painful teachers, the present maintenance shall not be taken away nor impeached." And TRYERS were appointed soon after for preventing scandalous and unlearned persons invading the pulpit. This part of the *instrument* is, in my opinion, so far from being criminal, that it breathes a noble spirit of christian liberty, though it was undoubtedly faulty, in putting *popery*, *prelacy*, and *licentiousness of manners*, upon a level. The open toleration of popery is hardly consistent with the safety of a protestant government; otherwise, considered merely as a religious institution, I see not why it should be crushed by the civil power: and licentiousness of manners is not to be indulged in any civilized nation; but if the episcopalians would have given security for their living peaceably under their new masters, they ought undoubtedly to have been protected; however, the protector did not in every instance adhere strictly to the *instrument*.

But though in point of policy the episcopalians were at this time excepted from a legal toleration, their assemblies were connived at; and several of their clergy indulged the public exercise of their ministry without the fetters of oaths, subscriptions, or engagements; as Dr. *Hall*, afterwards bishop of *Chester*, Dr. *Wild*, *Pearson*, *Ball*, *Hardy*, *Griffith*, *Farrington*, and others. Several of the bishops, who had been kept from public service by the *covenant and engagement*, preached again publicly in the city, as archbishop *Usher*, bishop *Brownrigge*, and others. Mr. *Baxter*, who was very far from being a friend of the protector's, says, "that all men were suffered to live quietly, and enjoy their properties under his government—that he removed the terrors and prejudices which hindered the success of the gospel, especially considering that godliness had countenance and reputation as well as liberty, whereas before, if it did not appear in all the fetters and formalities of the times, it was the way to common shame and ruin. It is well known that the presbyterians did not approve of the

usurpation, but when they saw that *Cromwell's* design was to do good in the main, and encourage religion as far as his cause would admit, they acquiesced." And then comparing these times with those after the restoration, he adds, "I shall for the future think that land happy, where the people have but bare liberty to be as good as they are willing; and if countenance and maintenance be but added to liberty, and tolerated errors and sects be but forced to keep the peace, I shall not hereafter much fear such a toleration, nor despair that truth will bear down its adversaries."* This was a considerable testimony to the *protector's* administration from the pen of an adversary.

The protector's first council were, major-general *Lambert*, lieutenant-general *Fleetwood*, colonel *Montague*, afterwards earl of *Sandwich*; *Philip* lord viscount *Liste*, since earl of *Leicester*; colonel *Desborough*, sir *Gilbert Pickering*, sir *Anthony Ashley Cooper*, afterwards earl of *Shaftsbury*; sir *Charles Woolstey*, major-general *Skippon*, Mr. *Strickland*, colonel *Sydenham*, colonel *Jones*, Mr. *Rouse*, Mr. *Lawrence*, and Mr. *Major*: men of great name in those times; some of whom made a considerable figure after the restoration. The protector's wise conduct appeared in nothing more than his unwearied endeavors to make all religious parties easy. He indulged the army in their enthusiastic raptures, and sometimes joined in their prayers and sermons. He countenanced the *presbyterians*, by assuring them he would maintain the public ministry, and give them all due encouragement. He supported the *independents*, by making them his chaplains; by preferring them to considerable livings in the church and universities; and by joining them in one commission with the *presbyterians* as TRYERS of all such as desired to be admitted to benefices. But he absolutely forbade the clergy of every denomination dealing in politics, as not belonging to their profession; and when he perceived the *managing presbyterians* took too much upon them, he always found means to mortify them; and would sometimes glory that he had curbed that insolent sect, that would suffer none but itself.

It was happy for the wise and moderate *presbyterians*, that the *protector* disarmed their discipline of its coercive power,

* *Life*, p. 86, 87.

for he still left them all that was sufficient for the purposes of religion ; they had their monthly or quarterly classical presbyteries in every county, for the ordination of ministers, by imposition of hands, according to the *directory*, to whom they gave certificates, or testimonials, in the following words:

“WE the ministers of the presbytery of ———, having examined Mr. ——— according to the tenor of the ordinance for that purpose, and finding him duly qualified and gifted for that holy office and employment, (no just exception having been made to his ordination) have approved him, and accordingly, on the day and year hereafter expressed, have proceeded solemnly to set him apart to the office of a preaching presbyter, and work of the ministry, with fasting and prayer, and imposition of hands ; and do hereby actually admit him (as far as concerns us) to perform all the offices and duties of a faithful minister of Jesus Christ. In witness whereof we have hereunto subscribed our names this ——— day of Sept. 1653.”

Other testimonials were in this form :

“WE the ministers of Christ, who are called to watch over this part of his flock in the city of ———, with the assistance of some others, that we might not be wanting to the service of the church in its necessity, having received credible testimonials, under the hands of divers ministers of the gospel, and others, of the sober, righteous, and godly conversation of ———, as also concerning his gifts for the ministry, have proceeded to make further trial of his fitness for so great a work ; and being in some good measure satisfied concerning his piety and ability, have, upon the day of ——— 1653, proceeded solemnly to set him apart to the office of a presbyter, and work of the ministry, by laying on our hands with fasting and prayer ; by virtue whereof we do esteem and declare him a lawful minister of Christ, and hereby recommend him to the church of ———. In witness whereof we have set our hands, &c.”

When the presbyterians found that their classes could obtain no power to inflict pains and penalties on those who re-

fused to submit to their discipline, the ministers of the several denominations in the country began to enter into friendly associations for brotherly council and advice. Mr. *Baxter*, and his brethren of Worcestershire, formed a scheme upon such general principles as all good men were agreed in, which he communicated to the reverend Mr. *Vines* and *Gataker*; and when he had drawn up *articles of concord*, he submitted them to the correction of archbishop *Usher*, and other episcopal divines, who agreed with him, that no more discipline should be practised than the episcopalian, presbyterian, and independent divines agreed in; that they should not *meddle with politics, or affairs of civil government in their assemblies, nor pretend to exercise the power of the keys, or any church censures; but only to assist, advise, and encourage each other in propagating truth and holiness, and in keeping their churches from profane and scandalous communicants.*§ Their meetings were appointed to be once a month in some market town, where there was a sermon in the morning; and after dinner the conversation was upon such points of doctrine or discipline as required advice; or else an hour was spent in disputing upon some theological question which had been appointed the preceding month. Doctor *Warmestry*, afterwards dean of Worcester, and Dr. *Good*, one of the prebendaries of Hereford, sent Mr. *Baxter* a letter dated Sept. 20, 1653, wherein they testify their approbation of the association above-mentioned, and of the articles of concord.*

In the West of England, Mr. *Hughes* of Plymouth, and Mr. *Good* of Exeter, prevailed with the ministers of the several persuasions in those parts, to follow the example of Worcestershire; accordingly they parcelled themselves into four divisions, which met once a quarter; and all four had a general meeting for concord once a year: The reverend Mr. *Hughes* presided in those of 1655, and 1656. The moderator began and ended with prayer, and several of the *episcopal* divines of the best character, as well as *independents*, joined with them; “The chief of the presbyterian and independent divines, who were weary of divisions, and willing to strengthen each other’s hands, united

§ Baxter’s Life, part ii. p. 147, &c. p. 167, &c.

* Ibid. p. 149.

in these assemblies, though the exasperated prelatists, the more rigid presbyterians, and severer sort of independents, kept at a distance: But many remarkable advantages (says Mr. *Baxter*) attended these associations;” they opened and preserved a friendly correspondence among the ministers; they removed a great many prejudices and misunderstandings, inasmuch that the controversies and heats of angry men began to be allayed, their spirits bettered, and the ends of religion more generally promoted.

But these country associations were not countenanced by the more zealous presbyterians of London, who met weekly at Sion college; they could hardly digest a toleration of the sectaries, much less submit to a coalition, but resolved to keep close to the ordinances of parliament, and to the acts of their provincial assembly: They wanted the sword of discipline, and were impatient under the present restraint; and nothing but the piercing eye of the *protector*, whose spies were in every corner, kept them from preaching, praying and plotting against the government. However, the country ministers being easy in their possessions, cultivated good neighborhood, and spread the associations through Wiltshire, Essex, Hampshire, Dorsetshire, Cumberland, Westmoreland, and other parts; and if I am not misinformed, there are the like brotherly associations among the dissenters in several counties to this day.

This year died old Dr. *William Gouge*, born at Stratford-Bow in the year 1575, and educated at King’s college, Cambridge, of which he was fellow. He entered into orders 1607, and the very next year was settled at Black-Friars, London, where he continued to his death. He commenced doctor of divinity in the year 1628, about which time he became one of the feoffees for buying up impropriations, for which he was ordered to be prosecuted in the *star-chamber*. In the year 1643 he was nominated one of the assembly of divines, and was in such reputation, that he often filled the *moderator’s chair* in his absence. He was a modest, humble, and affable person, of strict and exemplary piety, an universal scholar, and a most constant preacher, as long as he was able to get up into the pulpit. For many years he was esteemed the father of the London ministers,

and died comfortably and piously December 12, 1653, in the 79th year of his age, having been minister of Black-Friars almost forty-six years.

Doctor *Thomas Hill*, of whom mention has been made before, was born in *Worcestershire*, and educated in *Emanuel-college*, Cambridge, of which he was a fellow, and tutor to young scholars for many years. He was afterwards preferred to the living of *Tichmarsh* in *Northamptonshire*, and was chosen into the assembly of divines for that county. While he was at London he preached every day at *St. Martin's-in-the-Fields*, and was one of the morning lecturers at *Westminster-Abbey*. He was afterwards chosen to be master of *Emanuel-college*, Cambridge, and from thence removed to *Trinity-college*; in which stations he behaved with great prudence and circumspection. He was a good scholar, and very careful of the antiquities and privileges of the university; a strict *calvinist*, a plain, powerful, and practical preacher, and of an holy and unblameable conversation. He died of a quartan ague December 18, 1653, in an advanced age, very much lamented by his acquaintance and brethren.*

* He spent nine years in *King's-college*; and was never absent from public prayers at the chapel, and constantly read fifteen chapters in the Bible every day. He was the laborious, exemplary, and much-loved minister, of whom none thought or spoke ill, says *Mr. Granger*, "but such as were inclined to think or speak ill of religion itself." He refused the provostship of *King's-college* in Cambridge; and had eight children, who lived to man's and woman's estate.—*Clarke's Lives* in his *General Martyrology*, p. 234,—and *Granger's History of England*, vol. ii. p. 179, 8vo. *Ed.*

CHAP. III.

From the beginning of the Protectorship of OLIVER CROMWELL to his Death.

IF the reader will carefully review the divided state of the nation at this time, the strength of the several parties in opposite interests, and almost equal in power, each sanguine for his own scheme of settlement, and all conspiring against the present, he will be surprised that any wise man should be prevailed with to put himself at the head of such a distracted body; and yet more, that such a genius should arise, who without any foreign alliances should be capable of guarding against so many foreign and domestic enemies, and of steering the commonwealth through such an hurricane, clear of the rocks and quicksands which threatened its ruin.

This was the province that the enterprising OLIVER undertook, with the stile and title of lord protector of the commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland. He assumed all the state and ceremony of a crowned head; his household officers and guards attended in their places, and his court appeared in as great splendor, and more order, than had been seen at Whitehall since queen *Elizabeth's* reign. His first concern was to fill the courts of justice with the ablest lawyers; sir *Matthew Hales* was made lord chief justice of the common pleas; Mr. *Maynard*, *Twisden*, *Newdigate* and *Windham*, serjeants at law; Mr. *Thurloe*, secretary of state; and *Monk*, governor of Scotland. His next care was to deliver himself from his foreign enemies; for this purpose he gave peace to the Dutch, which the fame of his power enabled him to accomplish without the ceremony of a formal treaty; he therefore sent his secretary *Thurloe* with the conditions to which they were to submit; the Dutch pleaded for abatements, but his HIGHNESS was at a point, and obliged them to deliver up the island of Polerone in the East-Indies; to pay three hundred thousand pounds for the affair of Amboyna; to abandon the interests of King *Charles II.*

to exclude the prince of *Orange* from being stadtholder, and to yield up the sovereignty of the seas.

When this was accomplished most of the sovereign princes in Europe sent to compliment his *Highness* upon his advancement, and to cultivate his friendship : the king of Portugal asked pardon for receiving prince *Rupert* into his ports ; the Danes got themselves included in the Dutch treaty, and became security for one hundred and forty thousand pounds damages done to the English shipping ; the Swedes sued for an alliance, which was concluded with their ambassador ; the crown of Spain made offers which the protector rejected ; but the address of the French ambassador was most extraordinary ; the protector received him in the Banqueting-house at Whitehall, with all the state and magnificence of a crowned head ; and the ambassador, having made his obeisance, acquainted his *Highness* with the king his master's desire to establish a correspondence between his dominions and England. He mentioned the value of the friendship of France, and how much it was courted by the greatest potentates of the earth ; “ but (says the ambassador) the king my master communicates his resolutions to none with so much joy and cheerfulness, as to those whose virtuous actions, and extraordinary merits, render them more conspicuously famous than the largeness of their dominions. His majesty is sensible, that all these advantages do wholly reside in your *highness*, and that the divine providence, after so many calamities, could not deal more favourably with these three nations, nor cause them to forget their past miseries with greater satisfaction, than by subjecting them to so just a government——”

The protector's most dangerous enemies were the royalists, presbyterians, and republicans at home ; the former menaced him with an assassination, upon which he declared openly, that though he would never begin so detestable a practice, yet if any of the king's party should attempt it and fail, he would make an assassinating war of it, and exterminate the whole family, which his servants were ready to execute ; the terror of this threatening was a greater security to him than his coat of mail or guards.

The protector had the skill always to discover the most secret designs of the royalist, by some of their own number, whom he spared no cost to gain over to his interests. Sir *Richard Willis* was chancellor *Hyde's* chief confident, to whom he wrote often, and in whom all the party confided, as in an able and wise statesman; but the protector gained him with two hundred pounds a year, by which means he had all the king's party in a net, and let them dance in it at pleasure.* He had another correspondent in the king's little family, one *Manning* a Roman catholic, who gave secretary *Thurloe* intelligence of all his majesty's councils and proceedings. But though the king's friends were always in one plot or other against the protector's person and government, he always behaved with decency towards them, as long as they kept within tolerable bounds; and without all question, the severe laws that were made against the episcopal party were not on the account of religion, but of their irreconcilable aversion to the government.

The whole body of the *presbyterians* were in principle for the king and the covenant, but after the battle of Worcester, and the execution of Mr. *Love*, they were terrified into a compliance with the commonwealth, though they disallowed their proceedings, and were pleased to see them broken in pieces; but the surprising advancement of *Cromwell* to the protectorship filled them with new terrors, and threatened the overthrow of their church power, for they considered him not only as an *usurper*, but a *sec-tarian*, who would countenance the free exercise of religion to all that would live peaceably under his government; and though he assured them he would continue religion upon the foot of the present establishment, yet nothing would satisfy them as long as their discipline was disarmed of its coercive power.

But the protector's most determined adversaries were the *commonwealth party*; these were divided into two branches; one had little or no religion, but were for a democracy in the state, and universal liberty of conscience in religion; the heads of them were *deists*, or in the language of the protector, *heathens*, as *Algernon Sidney*, *Henry*

* Burnet, p. 94, vol. i. Edin. Ed.

Neville, Martin, Wildman, and Harington. It was impossible to work upon these men, or reconcile them to the government of a single person, and therefore he disarmed them of their power. The *other* were high enthusiasts, and fifth monarchy men, who were in expectation of *king Jesus*, and of a glorious thousand years reign of Christ upon earth. They were for pulling down churches, (says bishop *Burnet**) for discharging tithes, and leaving religion free (as they called it) without either encouragement or restraint. Most of them were for destroying the clergy, and for breaking every thing that looked like a national establishment. These the protector endeavored to gain, by assuring them in private conversation, "that he had no manner of inclination to assume the government, but had rather have been content with a shepherd's staff, were it not absolutely necessary to keep the nation from falling to pieces, and becoming a prey to the common enemy; that he only stepped in between the living and the dead, as he expressed it, and this only till God should direct them on what bottom to settle, when he would surrender his dignity with a joy equal to the sorrow with which he had taken it up." With the chiefs of this party he affected to converse upon terms of great familiarity, shutting the door, and making them sit down covered in his presence, to let them see how little he valued those distances he was bound to observe for form's sake with others; he talked with them in their own language, and the conversation commonly ended with a long prayer.

The protector's chief support against these powerful adversaries were the *independents*, the *city of London*, and the *army*; the former looked upon him as the head of their party, though he was no more their's than as he was averse to church power, and for an universal toleration. He courted the city of London with a decent respect, declaring, upon all occasions, his resolution to confirm their privileges, and consult measures for promoting trade and commerce. These, in return, after his instalment, entertained him at a dinner in a most magnificent and princelike manner, and by degrees modelled their magistrates to his

* Burnet, vol. i. p. 93.

mind. But his chief dependence was upon the army, which being made up of different parties, he took care to reform by degrees, till they were in a manner entirely at his devotion. He paid the soldiers well, and advanced them according to their merits, and zeal for his government, without regard to their birth or seniority.

It was the protector's felicity, that the parties above-mentioned had as great an enmity to each other as to him; the *cavaliers* hated the *presbyterians* and *republicans*, as *these* did the *cavaliers*; the *royalists* fancied that all who were against the protector must join with them in restoring the king; while the *presbyterians* were pushing for their covenant uniformity, and the *republicans* for a commonwealth. *Cromwell* had the skill not only to keep them divided, but to increase their jealousies of each other, and by that means to disconcert all their measures against himself. Let the reader recollect what a difficult situation this was; and what a *genius* it must require to maintain so high a reputation abroad, in the midst of so many domestic enemies, who were continually plotting his destruction.

In pursuance of the *instrument of government*, the protector published an ordinance, April 12, to incorporate the two kingdoms of Scotland and England. The ordinance sets forth, "that whereas the parliament in 1651 had sent commissioners into Scotland, to invite that nation to an union with England under one government; and whereas the consent of the shires and boroughs was then obtained, therefore for compleating that work, he ordains, that the people of Scotland, and all the territories thereunto belonging, shall be incorporated into one commonwealth with England, and that in every parliament, to be held successively for the said commonwealth, thirty members shall be called from thence to serve for Scotland." Shortly after Ireland was incorporated after the same manner; and from this time the arms of Scotland and Ireland were quartered with those of England.

But the protector was hardly fixed in his chair before an assassination plot of the royalists was discovered, and three of the conspirators (*viz.*) Mr. *Fox*, Mr. *Gerhard*, and Mr. *Vowel*, were apprehended, and tried before an

high court of justice, for conspiring to murder the lord protector as he was going to Hampton-Court, to seize the guards, and the tower of London, and to proclaim the king. Mr. *Fox*, who confessed most of what was alledged against him, pleaded guilty, and was reprieved; but the other two, putting themselves on their trial though they denied the jurisdiction of the court, were convicted, and executed July 10. *Gerhard*, a young hot-headed ensign in the late king's army being beheaded; and *Vowel*, a school-master at Islington, hanged at Charing-cross: *Gerhard* confessed he knew of the plot, but *Vowel* was silent.* These commotions were the occasion of the hardships the royalists underwent some time after.

Don Pantaleon Sa, brother of the *Portugueze* ambassador, was beheaded the same day, upon account of a riot and murder in the new Exchange. *Pantaleon* had quarrelled with the above-mentioned *Gerhard*, and to revenge himself, brought his servants next day armed with swords and pistols to kill him; but instead of *Gerhard*, they killed another man, and wounded several others. The *Portugueze* knight, and his associates, fled to his brother the ambassador's house for sanctuary, but the mob followed them, and threatened to pull down the house, unless they were delivered up to justice. The protector, being informed of the tumult, sent an officer with a party of soldiers to demand the murderers. The ambassador pleaded his public character, but the protector would admit of no excuse; and therefore being forced to deliver them up, they were all tried and convicted, by a jury half *English* and half foreigners; the servants (says *Whitlocke*†) were reprieved and pardoned; but the ambassador's brother, who was the principal, notwithstanding all the intercession that could be made for his life, was carried in a mourning-coach to Tower-hill, and beheaded. This remarkable act of justice

* Mr. Neal's account, as Dr. Grey remarks, does not agree with lord Clarendon: who represents *Vowel* as earnestly and pathetically addressing the people, and the soldiers, exhorting them to loyalty: and *Gerhard* as declaring, "that he was innocent, and had not entered into or consented to any plot, nor given any countenance to any discourse to that purpose." *Whitlocke* says, that when they were brought before the High Court, they both denied all the charges alledged against them. Clarendon's History, vol. iii. p. 492; *Whitlocke's Memoirs*, p. 575.

† Mem. p. 577.

raised the people's esteem of the protector's resolution, and of the justice of his government.

In order to a further settlement of the nation, the protector summoned a parliament to meet at Westminster, Sept. 3d; which being reckoned one of his auspicious days, he would not alter, though it fell on a *Sunday*; the house met accordingly, and having waited upon the protector in the painted chamber, adjourned to the next day, September 4, when his HIGHNESS rode from Whitehall to Westminster with all the pomp and state of the greatest monarch; some hundreds of gentlemen went before him uncovered; his pages and lacqueys in the richest liveries; the captains of his guards on each side his coach, with their attendants, all uncovered; then followed the commissioners of the treasury, master of ceremonies, and other officers. The sword, the great seal, the purse, and four maces, were carried before him by their proper officers.

After a sermon preached by Dr. *Tho. Goodwin*, his Highness* repaired to the painted chamber, and being seated in a chair of state, raised by sundry steps, he made a speech to the members, in which he complained of the *levellers* and fifth monarchy men, who were for subverting the established laws, and for throwing all things back into confusion. He put them in mind of the difficulties in which the nation was involved at the time he assumed the government. "That it was at war with Portugal, Holland, and France; which together with the division among ourselves (says he) begat a confidence in the enemy that we could not hold out long. In this heap of confusion it was necessary to apply some remedy, that the nation might not sink; and the remedy (says he) is THIS GOVERNMENT, which is calculated for the interest of the people alone, without regard to any other, let men say what they will; I can speak with comfort before a greater than you all as to my own intention. Since this government has been erected, men of the most known integrity and ability have been put into seats of justice. The chancery has been reformed. It has put a stop to that heady way for every man that will, to make himself a preacher, by settling a way for approbation of men of piety and fitness for the work. It hath taken care

* Whitlocke, p. 582.

to expunge men unfit for that work; and now, at length, it has been instrumental of calling a free parliament.

“A peace is now made with Sweden, and with the Danes; a peace honorable to the nation, and satisfactory to the merchants. A peace is made with the Dutch, and with Portugal; and such an one that the people that trade thither have liberty of conscience, without being subject to the bloody inquisition.” He then advises them to concert measures for the support of the present government, and desires them to believe, that he spoke to them not as one that intended to be a lord over them, but as one that was resolved to be a fellow-servant with them for the interest of their country; and then, having exhorted them to unanimity, he dismissed them to their house to choose a speaker.

William Lenthall, esq; master of the rolls, and speaker of the long parliament, was chosen without opposition. The first point the house entered on was the *instrument of government*, which occasioned many warm debates, and was like to have occasioned a fatal breach amongst them. To prevent this the protector gave orders, Sept. 12, that as the members came to the house they should be directed to attend his highness in the painted chamber, where he made the following remarkable speech, which is deserving the reader's careful attention: “Gentlemen, I am surprised at your conduct, in debating so freely the *instrument of government*, for the same power that has made you a parliament has appointed me *protector*, so that if you dispute the one, you must disown the other.* He added, that he was a gentleman by birth, and had been called to several employments in parliament, and in the wars, which being at an end, he was willing to retire to a private life, and prayed to be dismissed, but could not obtain it. That he had pressed the *long parliament*, as a member, to dissolve themselves; but finding they intended to continue their sessions, he thought himself obliged to dismiss them, and to call some persons together from the several parts of the nation, to see if they could fall upon a better settlement. Accordingly he resigned up all his power into their hands, but they after some time returned it back to him. After this (says he) *divers gentlemen having consulted together,*

* Dugdale's *Late Troubles*, p. 426, &c.

*framed the present model without my privity, and told me, that unless I would undertake the same, blood and confusion would break in upon them ; but I refused again and again, till considering that it did not put me into an higher capacity than I was in before, I consented ; since which time I have had the thanks of the army, the fleet, the city of London, and of great numbers of gentry in the three nations. Now the government being thus settled, I apprehend there are four fundamentals which may not be examined into, or altered. (1.) That the government be in a single person and a parliament. (2.) That parliaments be not perpetual. (3.) The article relating to the militia. And, (4.) A due liberty of conscience in matters of religion. Other things in the government may be changed as occasion requires. For as much therefore as you have gone about to subvert the fundamentals of this government, and throw all things back into confusion, to prevent the like for the future I am necessitated to appoint you a test, or recognition of the government, by which you are made a parliament, before you go any more into the house.”**

Accordingly at their return, they found a guard at the door denying entrance to any who would not first sign the following engagement. *I. A. B. do hereby freely promise, and engage to be true and faithful to the lord protector of the commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and will not propose or give my consent to alter the government, as it is settled in one single person and a parliament.* About three hundred of the members signed the recognition, and having taken their places in the house, with some difficulty confirmed the *instrument of government* almost in every thing, but the right of nominating a successor to the present protector ; which they reserved to the parliament. They voted the present lord protector to continue for life. They continued the standing army of ten thousand horse and twenty thousand foot, and sixty thousand pounds a month for their maintenance. They gave the *protector* two hundred thousand pounds a year for his civil list, and assigned Whitehall, St. James’s, and the rest of the late king’s houses for his use ; but they were out of humor, and were so far from shewing respect to the

* Whitlocke, p. 587.

court, that they held no manner of correspondence with it; which, together with their voting, that *no one clause of what they had agreed upon should be binding, unless the whole were consented to*, provoked the protector,* as derogating from his power of consenting to, or refusing particular bills, and therefore, having discovered several plots against his government ready to break out, in which some of the members were concerned, he sent for them into the painted chamber, Jan. 22; and after a long and intricate speech, in which, after some strong expressions in favor of liberty to men of the same faith, though of different judgments in lesser matters, he complained, that they had taken no more notice of him either by message or address, than if there had been no such person in being; that they had done nothing for the honor and support of the government, but spent their time in fruitless debates of little consequence, while the nation was bleeding to death; and instead of making things easy, that they had laid a foundation for future dissatisfactions; he therefore dissolved them, without confirming any of their acts, after they had sat five months, according to the *instrument of government*, reckoning *twenty-eight days* to a month. This was deemed an unpopular action, and a renouncing the additional title the parliament would have given him; but this GREAT MAN with the sword in his hand was not to be jostled out of the saddle with votes and resolutions; and if one may credit his speech, his assuming the government was not so much the effect of his own ambition, as of a bold resolution to prevent the nation's falling back into anarchy and blood.

Upon the rising of the parliament major-general *Harrison*, one of the chiefs of the *republicans*, was taken into custody; and Mr. *John Wildman*, who had been expelled the house, was apprehended as he was drawing up a paper, entitled, *A Declaration of the free and well-affected people of England now in arms against the tyrant OLIVER CROMWELL*; which prevented the rising of that party.†

The *royalists* were buying up arms at the same time, and preparing to rise in several parts of the kingdom.‡ They had procured commissions from the young king at Cologne,

* Life of Cromwell, p. 291.

† Whitlocke, p. 600.

‡ Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 551.

and desired his majesty to be ready on the sea-coast by the 11th of March, when there would be a revolt in the army, and when Dover castle would be delivered into their hands. The king accordingly removed to Middleburgh in Zealand; but the protector had intelligence of it from his spies, and declared it openly as soon as he was arrived, which intimidated the conspirators, and made them fear they were discovered: however, about the time appointed, some small parties of royalists got together in Shropshire with an intent to surprise Shrewsbury and Chirk castle. A cart-load of arms was brought to a place of rendezvous for the northern parts, where they were to be headed by *Wilmot* earl of *Rochester*; but they no sooner met but they dispersed for fear of being fallen upon by the regular troops. In the west sir *Joseph Wagstaffe*, colonel *Penruddock*, captain *Hugh Grove*, Mr. *Jones*, and others, entered the city of Salisbury, with 200 horse well armed, in the time of the assizes, and seized the judges *Rolls* and *Nichols*, with the sheriff of the county, whom they resolved to hang. They proclaimed the king, and threatened violence to such as would not join them; but the country not coming in according to their expectations, they were intimidated, and after five or six hours marched away into Dorsetshire, and from thence to Devonshire, where captain *Crook* overtook them, and with one single troop of horse defeated, and took most of them prisoners; *Penruddock* and *Grove* were beheaded at Exeter; and some few others were executed at Salisbury, the place where they had so lately triumphed.

The vigilance of the protector on this occasion is almost incredible; he caused a great many suspected lords and gentlemen to be secured; he sent letters to the justices of peace in every county, whom he had already changed to his mind, commanding them to look out, and secure all persons who should make the least disturbance. And his private intelligence of people's discourse and behavior, in every corner of the land, never failed.*

If the reader will duly consider the danger arising from these commotions, and the necessity of striking some terror into the authors of them, he will easily account for the pro-

* Whitlocke, p. 602.

protector's severity against the royalists ; when therefore the insurrection was quashed, he resolved to make the *whole party* pay the expense ; and accordingly, with the consent of his council, published an order, " that all who had been in arms for the king, or had declared themselves of the *royal party*, should be decimated ; that is, pay a tenth part of their estates, to support the charge of such extraordinary forces as their turbulent and seditious practices obliged him to keep up ; for which purpose commissioners were appointed in every county, and considerable sums were brought into the treasury." To justify this extraordinary procedure, the protector published another declaration ; in which he complains of the irreconcilableness of those who had adhered to the king, towards all those who had served their country on the side of the parliament ; that they were now to be looked upon as public enemies, and to be kept from being able to do mischief, since it sufficiently appeared that they were always disposed to do all they could. Upon these accounts he thought it highly reasonable, and declares it to be his resolution, that if any desperate attempts were undertaken by them for the future, the whole party should suffer for it.

To return to the affairs of religion : though the presbyterian discipline was at a low ebb, it was still the established religion of the nation. The provincial assembly of London continued their sessions at Sion college every half year, and endeavored to support the dignity of the ministerial office. Complaint having been made that the pulpit doors were set open to laymen, and gifted brethren, they appointed a committee to collect materials for the vindication of the ministerial character, which being revised by the synod, was published this summer under the title of *Jus Divinum Ministerii Evangelici : or, the Divine Right of an Evangelical Ministry, in two parts. By the provincial assembly of London. With an appendix, of the judgment and practice of antiquity.*

In the debates of parliament upon the *instrument of government* it was observed, that by the thirty-seventh article, *all who professed faith in God by Jesus Christ should be protected in their religion.** This was interpreted to im-

* Baxter's Life, part ii, p. 197.

ply an agreement in *fundamentals*. Upon which it was voted, that *all should be tolerated, or indulged, who professed the fundamentals of christianity*; and a committee was appointed to nominate certain divines to draw up a catalogue of *fundamentals* to be presented to the house: the committee being about fourteen, named each of them a divine; among others archbishop *Usher* was nominated, but he declining the affair, Mr. *Baxter* was appointed in his room: the rest who acted were

Dr. *Owen*
Dr. *Goodwin*
Dr. *Cheyne*
Mr. *Marshall*
Mr. *Reyner*

Mr. *Nye*
Mr. *Sydrach Simpson*
Mr. *Vines*
Mr. *Manton*
Mr. *Jacomb*.

Mr. *Baxter** would have persuaded his brethren to offer the committee the *apostles' creed*, the *Lord's prayer*, and the *ten commandments* alone, as containing the *fundamentals* of religion; but it was objected, that this would include *socinians* and *papists*. Mr. *Baxter* replied, that it was so much fitter for a centre of unity or concord, because it was impossible, in his opinion, to devise a form of words which heretics would not subscribe, when they had perverted them to their own sense. These arguments not prevailing, the following articles were presented to the committee, but not brought into the house; under the title of *The Principles of Faith*, presented by Mr. THO. GOODWIN, Mr. NYE, Mr. SYDRACH SIMPSON, and other ministers, to the committee of parliament for religion, by way of explanation to the proposals for propagating the gospel.

1st. That the holy scripture is that rule of knowing God, and living unto him, which whoso does not believe cannot be saved.

2 Thess. ii. 10, 11, 12, 15. 1 Cor. xv. 1, 2, 3. 2 Cor. i. 13. John v. 39. 2 Peter ii. 1.

2dly. That there is a God, who is the creator, governor, and judge of the world, which is to be received by faith, and every other way of the knowledge of him is insufficient.

Heb. xi. 3, 6. Rom. i. 19, 20, 21, 22. 1 Cor. i. 21. 2 Thess. i. 8.

* Life, part ii. p. 198.

3dly. That *this God, who is the creator, is eternally distinct from all creatures in his being and blessedness.*

Rom. i. 18, 25. 1 Cor. viii. 5, 6.

4thly. That *this God is one in three persons or subsistences.*

1 John v. 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, compared with John viii. 17, 18, 19, 21. Matth. xxviii. 19, compared with Ephes. iv. 4, 5, 6. 1 John ii. 22, 23. 2 John, ver. 9, 10.

5thly. That *Jesus Christ is the only mediator between God and man, without the knowledge of whom there is no salvation.*

1 Tim. ii. 4, 5, 6. 2 Tim. iii. 15. 1 John, ii. 22. Acts iv. 10, 12. 1 Cor. iii. 10, 11.

6thly. That *this Jesus Christ is the true God.*

1 John, v. 29. Isaiah xlv. 21, 22, 23, 24, 25.

7thly. That *this Jesus Christ is also true man.*

1 John, iv. 2, 3. 2 John, ver. 7.

8thly. That *this Jesus Christ is God and man in one person.*

1 Tim. iii. 16. Matth. xvi. 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18.

9thly. That *this Jesus Christ is our redeemer, who by paying a ransom, and bearing our sins, has made satisfaction for them.*

Isaiah, liii. 11. 1 Pet. ii. 24, 25. 1 Cor. xv. 2, 3. 1 Tim. ii. 4, 5, 6.

10thly. That *this same Lord Jesus Christ is he that was crucified at Jerusalem, and rose again, and ascended into heaven.*

John viii. 24. Acts iv. 10, 11, 12. Acts x. 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43. 1 Cor. xv. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8. Acts xxii. 8. Acts ii. 36.

11thly. That *this same Jesus Christ, being the only God and man in one person, remains for ever a distinct person from all saints and angels, notwithstanding their union and communion with him.*

Col. ii. 8, 9, 10, 19. 1 Tim. iii. 16.

12thly. That *all men by nature are dead in sins and trespasses; and no man can be saved unless he be born again, repent, and believe.*

John iii. 3, 5, 6, 7, 10. Acts xvii. 30, 31. Acts xxvi, 17, 18, 19, 20. Luke xxiv. 47. Acts xx. 20, 21. John v. 24, 25.

13thly. That *we are justified and saved by grace, and faith in Jesus Christ, and not by works.*

Acts xv. 24. *compared with* Gal. i. 6, 7, 8, 9. Gal. v. 2, 4, 5. Rom. ix. 31, 32, 33. Rom. x. 3, 4. Rom. i. 16, 17. Gal. iii. 11. Ephes. ii. 8, 9, 10.

14thly. *That to continue in any known sin, upon what pretence or principle soever, is damnable.*

Rom. i. 32. Rom. vi. 1, 2, 15, 16. 1 John, i. 6, 8.—1 John, iii. 3—8. 2 Peter, ii. 19, 20. Rom. viii. 13.

15thly. *That God is to be worshipped according to his own will ; and whosoever shall forsake and despise all the duties of his worship cannot be saved.*

Jer. x. 15. Psalm xiv. 4. Jude, ver. 18, 19, 20, 21.—Rom. x. 13.

16thly. *That the dead shall rise ; and that there is a day of judgment, wherein all shall appear, some to go into everlasting life, and some into everlasting condemnation.*

1 Tim. i. 19, 20, *compared with* 2 Tim. ii. 17, 18.—

Acts xvii. 30, 31. John, v. 28, 29. 1 Cor. xv. 19.

Mr. *Baxter** says, Dr. *Owen* worded these articles ; that Dr. *Goodwin*, Mr. *Nye* and Mr. *Simpson* were his assistants ; that Dr. *Cheynel* was scribe ; and that Mr. *Marshal*, a sober, worthy man, did something ; but that the rest were little better than passive. He adds, that twenty of their propositions were printed, though in my copy, licensed by *Scobel*, there are only sixteen : however, the parliament being abruptly dissolved they were all buried in oblivion.

It appears by these articles, that these divines intended to exclude, not only *deists*, *socinians*, and *papists*, but *arians*, *antinomians*, *quakers*, and others. Into such difficulties do wise and good men fall, when they usurp the kingly office of Christ, and pretend to restrain that liberty which is the birth-right of every reasonable creature. It is an unwarrantable presumption for any number of men to declare what is fundamental in the christian religion, any further than the scriptures have expressly declared it. It is one thing to maintain a doctrine to be true, and another to declare, that without the belief of it no man can be saved : none may say this but God himself. Besides, why should the civil magistrate protect none but those who profess *faith in God by Jesus Christ* ? If a colony of *En-*

* Life, p. 205.

glish merchants should settle among the *Mahometans* or *Chinese*, should we not think that the government of those countries ought to protect them in their religion as long as they invaded no man's property, and paid obedience and submission to the government under which they lived? Why then should christians deny others the same liberty?

The protector and his council were in more generous sentiments of liberty, as will appear hereafter.* *Mr. Baxter* says,† the protector and his friends gave out, that *they could not understand what the magistrates had to do in matters of religion; they thought that all men should be left to the liberty of their own consciences, and that the magistrate could not interpose without ensnaring himself in the guilt of persecution.* And were not these just and noble sentiments, though the parliament would not accept them? His highness, therefore, in his speech at their dissolution, reproaches them in these words:‡ “How proper is it to labor for liberty, that men should not be trampled upon for their consciences? Had we not lately labored under the weight of persecution; and is it fit then to sit heavy upon others? Is it ingenuous to ask liberty, and not to give it? What greater hypocrisy, than for those who were oppressed by the bishops to become the greatest oppressors themselves, so soon as their yoke is removed? I could wish that they who call for liberty now also, had not too much of that spirit, if the power were in their hands. As for profane persons, blasphemers, such as preach sedition, contentious railers, evil-speakers, who seek by evil words to corrupt good manners, and persons of loose conversation, punishment from the civil magistrate ought to meet with them; because if these pretend conscience, yet walking disorderly, and not according, but contrary to the gospel and natural light, they are judged of all, and their sins being open, make them the subject of the magistrates’ sword, who ought not to bear it in vain—”

Agreeable to these principles, *Dr. George Bates*, an eminent royalist, and a great enemy of *Cromwell’s*, writes, “that the protector indulged the use of the common-prayer

* “Bigotry,” says *Dr. Harris*, “made no part of *Cromwell’s* character:” and he proves the truth of his assertion by a full elucidation and a minute detail. *Life of Cromwell*, p. 37—45. *Ed.*

† *Life*, p. 193.

‡ *Life of Cromwell*, p. 307.

in families, and in private conventicles ; and though the condition of the church of England was but melancholy, yet (says the doctor) it cannot be denied, but they had a great deal more favor and indulgence than under the parliament ; which would never have been interrupted had they not insulted the protector, and forfeited their liberty by their seditious practices, and plottings against his person and government.”

The approbation of public ministers had been hitherto reserved to the several presbyteries in city and country ; but the protector observing some inconvenience in this method, and not being willing to entrust the qualification of candidates all over England to a number of *presbyterians* only, who might admit none but those of their own persuasion, contrived a middle way of joining the several parties together, and intrusting the affair with certain commissioners of each denomination, men of as known abilities and integrity as any the nation had.* This was done by an ordinance of council, bearing date March 20, 1653-4 ; the preamble to which sets forth, “ that whereas for some time past, there had not been any certain course established for supplying vacant places with able and fit persons to preach the gospel, by reason whereof the rights and titles of patrons were prejudiced, and many weak, scandalous, popish, and ill-affected persons had intruded themselves, or been brought in ; for remedy of which it is ordained by his highness the lord protector, by and with the consent of his council, that every person who shall, after the 25th of March, 1654, be presented, nominated, chosen, or appointed to any benefice with care of souls, or to any public lecture in England or Wales, shall, before he be admitted, be examined and approved by the persons hereafter named, to be a person, for the grace of God in him, his holy and unblamable conversation, as also for his knowledge and utterance, able and fit to preach the gospel.” Among the commissioners were eight or nine laymen, the rest ministers ; their names were,

Francis Rouse, Esq.
Alderman Titchbourne
Mark Hildersley, Esq.

† *Thomas Wood, Esq.*
John Sadler, Esq.
William Goffe, Esq.

* Baxter's Life, . 72.

† Scobel, p. 279.

Thomas St. Nicholas, Esq.
William Packer, Esq.
Edward Cresset, Esq.

Rev. Dr. John Owen
 Dr. Thomas Goodwin
 Dr. Arrowsmith
 Dr. Tuckney
 Dr. Horton
Thankful Owen, M. A.
Mr. Joseph Caryl
Mr. Philip Nye
Mr. William Carter
Mr. Sydrach Simpson
Mr. William Greenhill
Mr. William Strong
Dr. Thomas Manton

Rev. Mr. Samuel Slater
Mr. William Cooper
Mr. Stephen Marshall
John Tombes, B. D.
Mr. Walter Craddock
Mr. Samuel Fairclough
Mr. Hugh Peters
Mr. Peter Sterry
Mr. Samuel Bamford
Thomas Valentine, of Chaford, B. D.
Mr. Henry Jesse
Mr. Obadiah Sedgwick
Mr. Nicholas Lockyer
Mr. Dan. Dike
Mr. James Russel
Mr. Nath. Campfield.

These were commonly called TRYERS; in all thirty-eight; of whom some were presbyterians, others independents, and two or three were baptists. Any five were sufficient to approve; but no number under nine had power to reject a person as unqualified. In case of death, or removal of any of the commissioners, their numbers were to be filled up by the protector and his council; or by the parliament if sitting. But some of the presbyterian divines declined acting, for want of a better authority; or because they did not like the company; though the authority was as good as any these times could produce, till the next sessions of parliament.* By an ordinance of Sept. 2, 1654, I find the Rev. Mr. John Rowe, Mr. John Bond, Mr. George Griffith of the Charter-house, Mr. John Turner, and Godfrey Bosville, Esq; added to the commissioners above-mentioned.

To such as were approved, the commissioners gave an instrument in writing under a common seal for that purpose, by virtue of which they were put into as full possession of the living to which they were nominated or chosen, as if they had been admitted by institution and induction.

It was further provided, that all who presented themselves for approbation should produce a certificate signed by three persons at least of known integrity, one of whom to be a preacher of the gospel in some settled place, testifying on their personal knowledge, the holy and good con-

* Scobel, p. 366.

versation of the person to be admitted ; which certificate was to be registered and filed. And *all penalties for not subscribing, or reading the articles of religion, according to the act of 13th Eliz. were to cease and be void.*

And for as much as some persons might have been preferred to livings within the last twelvemonth, when there was no settled method of approbation, the ordinance looks back, and ordains, “that no person who had been placed in any benefice or lecture since April 1, 1653, should be allowed to continue in it, unless he got himself approved by the 24th of June, or at furthest the 23d of July, 1654.”

It is observable, that this ordinance provides no security for the civil government, the commissioners not being empowered to administer an oath of allegiance or fidelity to the protector. By this means some of the sequestered clergy, taking advantage of the act of oblivion in 1651, passed their trials before the commissioners and returned to their livings. The protector being advised of this defect, by advice of his council, published an additional ordinance, Sept. 2, 1654, requiring the commissioners not to give admission to any who had been sequestered from their ecclesiastical benefices for delinquency, till by experience of their conformity, and submission to the present government, his *highness* and his council should be satisfied of their fitness to be admitted into ecclesiastical promotions ; and the same to be signified to the said commissioners.* Both these ordinances were confirmed by parliament in the year 1656, with this proviso, “that the commissioners appointed by his *highness* in the intervals of parliament should afterwards be confirmed by the succeeding parliament.” Another defect in the ordinance was, that it did not appoint some standard or rule for the TRYERS to go by ; this would have taken off all odium from themselves, and prevented a great many needless disputes ; but as matters now stood, men’s qualifications were perhaps left too much to the arbitrary opinions and votes of the commissioners. After examination they gave the candidate a copy of the presentation in these words :† “Know all men by these presents, that the——day of———in the year———there was exhib-

* Scobel, p. 366.

† Calamy, vol. ii. p. 247.

ited to the commissioners for examination of public ministers, a presentation of Mr. ——— to the rectory of ———, in the county of ———, made to him by Mr. ———, the patron thereof, under his hand and seal, together with a testimony of his holy and godly conversation. Upon perusal, and due consideration of the premises, and finding him to be a person qualified, as in and by the ordinance for such qualifications is required, the commissioners above-mentioned have adjudged and approved the said Mr. ——— to be a fit person to preach the gospel, and have granted him admission, and do admit the said Mr. ——— to the rectory of ——— aforesaid, to be full and perfect possessor and incumbent thereof: and do hereby signify to all persons concerned therein, that he is hereby intitled to all the profits and perquisites, and to all rights and dues incident and belonging to the said rectory, as fully and effectually as if he had been instituted and inducted according to any such laws and customs as have in this case formerly been made or used in this realm. In witness whereof they have caused the common seal to be hereunto affixed, and the same to be attested by the hand of the register, by his *highness* in that behalf appointed. Dated at ——— the ——— day of ——— in the year ———

(L. S.)

John Nye, Reg.

Loud complaints have been made against these TRYERS; Mr. Collier objects to there being eight laymen among the commissioners, and that any five having power to act, it might sometimes happen that none but secular men might determine the qualifications of such who were to preach and administer the sacraments.

Mr. John Goodwin, an independent divine of *arminian* principles, observes, the *tryers* made their own narrow *calvinian* sentiments in divinity the door of admission to all church preferments; and that their power was greater than that of the bishops, because the laws had provided a remedy against their arbitrary proceedings, by a *quare impedire*; or if the bishop might determine absolutely of the qualifications of the *candidate* or *clerk* to be admitted into a living, yet these qualifications were sufficiently specified, and particularised in the ecclesiastical laws or canons, and

the bishop might be obliged, by due course of law, to assign the reasons of his refusal; whereas the determinations of these commissioners for *approbation* were final; nor were they obliged so much as to specify any reason for their rejecting any person, but only their vote, *not approved*.

It was further complained of as a very great hardship, that "there was but one set of *tryers* for the whole nation, who resided always at London, which must occasion great expence, and long journies, to such as lived in the remoter countries." But to remedy this inconvenience, Dr. Walker says,* they appointed sub-commissioners in the remoter countries. And (according to Mr. Baxter) if any were unable to come to London, or were of doubtful qualifications, the commissioners of London used to refer them to some ministers in the country where they lived; and under their testimonial they approved or rejected them. Amidst such variety of sentiments it was next to impossible to please all parties; when there were no *tryers*, the complaint was, that the pulpit doors were left open to all intruders, and now they cannot agree upon any one method of examination. And it must be left to every one's judgment, whether a bishop and his chaplain, or a classis of presbyters, or the present mixture, of *laity* and *clergy* be most eligible.

The chief objections against these TRYERS has been to the manner of executing their powers. Bishop Kennet says,† "that this holy inquisition was turned into a snare to catch men of probity and sense, and sound divinity, and to let none escape but ignorant, bold, canting fellows; for these *tryers* (says the bishop) asked few or no questions in knowledge or learning, but only about conversion, and the grace of God in the heart, to which the readiest answers would arise from infatuation in some, and the trade of hypocrisy in others. By this means the rights of patronage were at their pleasure, and the character and abilities of divines whatever they pleased to make them, and churches were filled with little creatures of the state." But the bishop has produced no examples of this; nor were any of these *canting little creatures* turned out for insuffi-

* Walker, p. 172.

† Complete History, p. 209.

ciency at the restoration. Dr. *George Bates*, an eminent royalist, with a little more temper and truth, says, “that they enquired more narrowly into their affection to the present government, and into the internal marks and character of the grace of God in their heart, than into their learning; by which means many ignorant laics, mechanics, and pedlars, were admitted to livings, when persons of greater merit were rejected.” But it may be observed again, that, ignorant, as they were, not one of the *mechanics* or *pedlars* who conformed at the restoration was ejected for insufficiency. When the commissioners had to do with persons of known learning, sobriety, reputed orthodoxy, and a peaceable behavior, they made but little enquiry into the marks of their conversion; as appears from the example of Mr. *Fuller* the historian, who being presented to a living was approved by the *tryers*, without giving any other evidence of the grace of God in him than this, *that he made conscience of his thoughts*.

Dr. *Walker* has published the examinations of two or three clergymen, who were notorious for their malignity and disaffection to the government, whom the commissioners puzzled with dark and abstruse questions in divinity, that they might set them aside, without encounteing their political principles; for when they had private intimations of *notorious malignants* to come before them, they frequently had recourse to this method; though it is not unlikely that upon some other occasions, they might lay too great stress upon the internal characters of regeneration, the truth of which depends entirely upon the integrity of the respondent. But I believe not a single instance can be produced, of any who were rejected for insufficiency without being first convicted either of immorality, of obnoxious sentiments in the *socinian* or *pelagian* controversy, or of disaffection to the present government. Mr. *Sadler*, who was presented to a living in Dorsetshire, but rejected by the *tryers*, published his examination in a pamphlet, which he calls, *Inquisitio Anglicana*, wherein he endeavors to expose the commissioners in a very contemptuous manner; but Mr. *John Nye*, clerk to the commissioners, followed him with an answer, intitled *Sadler examined; or, his disguise discovered*: shewing the gross mistakes,

and most notorious falsehoods in his dealings with the commissioners for approbation of public preachers,* in his *Inquisitio Anglicana*. To which Mr. Sadler never replied.

Doctor *George Bates*, and Dr. *Walker*, have charged the *tryers* with simony, upon no other proof, but that *Hugh Peters* said once to Mr. *Camplin*, a clergyman of Somersetshire, upon his applying to him, by a friend, for dispatch, *Has thy friend any money?* A slender proof of so heavy a charge. They who are acquainted with the jocose conversation of *Hugh Peters*, will not wonder at such an expression. But I refer the reader back to the names and characters of the commissioners, most of whom were men of unquestionable probity, for a sufficient answer to this calumny.

No doubt the *tryers* did commit sundry mistakes, which it was hardly possible to avoid in their station. I am far from vindicating all their proceedings; they had a difficult work on their hands, lived in times when the extent of christian liberty was not well understood, had to deal with men of different principles in religion and politics; and those who were *not approved*, would of course complain. Had this power been lodged with the bishops of these times, or their chaplains; or with the high presbyterians, would they not have had their *shibboleth*, for which ill-natured men might have called them an *holy inquisition*? But Mr. *Baxter* has given a very fair and candid account of them; his words are these, "Because this assembly of *tryers* is most heavily accused and reproached by some men, I shall speak the truth of them, and suppose my word will be taken, because most of them took me for one of their boldest adversaries: the truth is, though their authority was null, and though some few over-rigid and over-busy *independents* among them were too severe against all that were *arminians*, and too particular in enquiring after evidences of sanctification in those whom they examined; and somewhat too lax in admitting of unlearned and erroneous men, that favored *antinomianism* or *anabaptism*; yet, to give them their due, they did abundance of good to the church. They saved many a congregation from ignorant, ungodly, drunken teachers, that sort of men who intend no more in the ministry than to say a sermon, as

* Athen. Oxon. vol. ii. p. 370.

readers say their common prayer on *Sunday*, and all the rest of the week go with the people to the ale-house, and harden them in sin ; and that sort of ministers who either preached against a holy life, or preached as men that were never acquainted with it : these they usually rejected, and in their stead, admitted of any that were able, serious preachers, and lived a godly life, of what tolerable opinion soever they were ; so that though many of them were a little partial for the independents, seperatists, fifth monarchy men, and anabaptists, and against the prelatists and arminians, yet so great was the benefit above the hurt which they brought to the church, that many thousands of souls blessed God for the faithful ministers whom they let in, and grieved when the prelatists afterwards cast them out again.”*

The commissioners were not empowered to look further back than one year, before the date of the ordinance that constituted them. All who were in possession of livings before that time were out of their reach ; nor would the *protector* have given these any disturbance, had he not received certain information of their stirring up the people, to join the insurrection that was now on foot for the restoration of the king. They continued sitting at Whitehall till the *protector's* death, or the year 1659, and were then discontinued.

But to humble the clergy yet further, and keep them within the bounds of their spiritual function, his highness, by the advice of his council, published an ordinance, bearing date Aug. 28, 1654, entitled, an ordinance for ejecting *scandalous, ignorant, and insufficient ministers and school-masters*. The ordinance appoints and nominates certain *lay-commissioners* for every county, and joins with them ten or more of the gravest, and most noted ministers, as their assistants, and empowers any five, or more of them, to call before them any public preacher, lecturer, parson, vicar, curate or school-master, who is or shall be reputed *ignorant, scandalous, insufficient, or negligent* ; and to receive all articles or charges that shall be exhibited against them on this account ; and to proceed to the examination and determination of such offences, according to the following rules.†

* Baxter's Life, p. 72.

† Scobel, p. 335, 340.

“Such ministers and school-masters shall be accounted *scandalous* in their lives and conversations, as shall hold or maintain such blasphemous or atheistical opinions, as are punishable by the act, entitled an act against several blasphemous and atheistical opinions, &c. or that shall be guilty of profane swearing and cursing, perjury, and subornation of perjury; such as maintain any popish opinions, required to be abjured by the oath of abjuration; or are guilty of adultery, fornication, drunkenness, common haunting of taverns, or ale-houses; frequent quarrellings or fightings; frequent playing at cards or dice; profaning of the sabbath; or that do allow and countenance the same in their families, or in their parishes. *Such as have frequently read or used the common prayer book in public since the first of Jan. last; or shall at any time hereafter do the same.* Such as publicly and profanely scoff at the strict profession, or professors of godliness. Such as encourage or countenance *Whitson-ales, wakes, morrice-dancing, may-poles, stage-plays*, or such-like licentious practices. Such as have declared, or shall declare by writing, preaching, or otherwise publishing, their disaffection to the present government.

“Such ministers shall be accounted *negligent*, as omit the public exercise of preaching and praying on the Lord’s day (not being hindered by necessary absence or infirmity of body;) or that are, or shall be non-residents. Such school-masters shall be accounted *negligent* as absent themselves from their schools, and wilfully neglect to teach their scholars.

“Such ministers or school-masters shall be accounted *ignorant* and *insufficient*, as shall be so declared and adjudged by the commissioners in every county, or any five of them, together with five of the ministers mentioned in the ordinance.”

The lay-commissioners were to proceed upon oath, both for and against the person accused; but in cases of *ignorance* or *insufficiency*, they were to be joined by five of the assistant clergy at least; and if ten of the commissioners, whereof five to be ministers, gave it under their hands, that the party was *ignorant* or *insufficient*, then the said minister or school-master was to be ejected, and the said judgment entered in a register-book *with the reasons there-*

of. After ejection, the party might not preach or teach school in the parish from whence he was ejected; but convenient time was to be allowed for his removal, and the *fifths* reserved for the support of his family. The rightful patron was to present to the vacant living an approved preacher; and in case of lapse it fell to the protector and his council.

This ordinance being confirmed by the parliament of 1656, gave great offence to the old clergy; Mr. *Gatford*, the sequestered rector of Dennington, published a pamphlet, entitled a *Petition for the vindication of the use of Common-Prayer, &c.* occasioned by the late ordinance for ejecting scandalous ministers; as also thirty-seven queries concerning the said ordinance; which he presented to the parliament, which met Sept. 3, 1654; but they took no notice of it.

Mr. *Gatford* observes, that the protector and his council had no legal authority to make this, or any other ordinance, without consent of a parliament: whereas the *instrument of government* empowered them to provide for the safety of the state, by making laws till the parliament should meet. He observes further, that such a proceeding must justify his late majesty and council in all their illegal proceedings before the civil wars; that it would justify the high commission court; and that by the same authority, an ordinance might be published to eject freeholders out of their estates.

He complains, that the power of the commissioners is final, and admits of no appeal; that it looks back to crimes antecedent to the law for a twelvemonth; whereas it ought only to declare, that for the future such offences shall be punished with deprivation.

That the commissioners who were to sit in judgment upon the clergy were all *laymen*, the ministers being called in only in cases of ignorance and insufficiency; that the ordinance admits of the oath of one witness, provided it be supported with other concurrent evidence, which is contrary to the laws of God and man.

That some crimes in the ordinance were none at all, and others of a very doubtful nature; as how often a minister omitting to pray and preach in his pulpit should render

him *negligent*; and what should be deemed *non-residence*. Above all, he complains that the public reading of the common-prayer should be ranked with the sins of swearing and drunkenness, and be an evidence of a scandalous life and conversation; which observation was unquestionably just.

To give the reader an example or two of the proceedings of the commissioners: those for Berkshire summoned Dr. *Pordage*, rector of Bradfield, to appear before them at Speenham-Land, near Newbury. to answer to divers articles of *blasphemy and heresy*. After several days hearing, and witnesses produced on both sides, the commissioners determined Dec. 8, 1654, that the said doctor was guilty of denying the deity of Christ; the merits of his precious blood and passion; and several other such-like opinions. It is further declared under the hands of six of the commissioners, and a sufficient number of *ministers* their assistants, that the said doctor was ignorant, and insufficient for the work of the ministry; it is therefore ordered, that the said doctor be, and he is hereby ejected out of the rectory of Bradfield, and the profits thereof; but the said commissioners do grant him time, till the 2d of Feb. to remove himself, his family, his goods and chattels, out of the said parsonage-house; and further time to remove his corn out of the barns, till the 23d of March.

The Oxford historian says, this *Pordage* was a Doctor by *Charientismus*, and had been preacher of St. *Lawrence* church in Reading before he came to Bradfield.* That he was a mystic enthusiast, and used to talk of the *fiery deity of Christ dwelling in the soul, and mixing itself with our flesh*.† He dealt much in *astrology*, and pretended to converse with the world of spirits. After his ejection he wrote against the commissioners a pamphlet, entitled, *Innocency appearing*; which was answered by Mr. *Chris-*

* *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. ii. p. 450.

† Mr. Neal is not correct here. For, as Dr. Grey observes, this passage is not in the Oxford historian. It is probable that Mr. Neal took this charge against Dr. Pordage, either from his narrative of the proceedings of the commissioners, or from Mr. Fowler's animadversions: though, by not specifying his author, the reader is led to suppose that the whole paragraph is grounded on the representation of the Oxford historian. He, it should be also noticed, does not ascribe a skill in *astrology* to Dr. Pordage; but says, that "Mr. Ashmole commended him for his knowledge in, or great affection to *astronomy*." *Ed.*

topher Fowler, vicar of *St. Mary*, Reading, in his *dominium meridianum*. However, the doctor was restored to his living at Bradfield at the restoration.

The Wiltshire commissioners summoned Mr. *Walter Bushnel*, vicar of Box near *Malmsbury*, before them, to answer to a charge of *drunkenness, profanation of the sabbath, gaming, and disaffection to the government* ;* and after a full hearing, and proof upon oath, they ejected him. The vicar prepared for the press, ‘ a Narrative of the proceedings of the commissioners appointed by *O. Cromwell* for ejecting scandalous and ignorant ministers, in the case of *Walter Bushnel*,’ &c. but it was not printed till the king’s restoration ; and even then the commissioners did themselves justice in a reply, which they entitled, *a vindication of the Marlborough commissioners, by the commissioners themselves*. And Dr. *Chambers*, who was reproached by the said *Bushnel*, did himself justice in a distinct vindication. However, the vicar was restored to his vicarage in a lump with the rest at the restoration.

Upon the whole, the industrious Dr. *Walker* says, he can find no footsteps of the numbers of the clergy that were ejected by the commissioners, though he imagines they might be considerable. But I am well satisfied there were none of any considerable character ; for there were not a great many zealous loyalists in livings at this time ; and those that were had the wisdom to be silent about public affairs, while they saw the eyes of the government were upon them in every corner of the land. The commissioners continued to act till some time after the protector’s death, and were a greater terror to the *fanatics and visionaries of those times*, than to the regular clergy of any denomination.

The protector and his council passed another ordinance, August 30, for the service of Wales, appointing sir *Hugh Owen*, and about eighteen other commissioners, for the six counties of South-Wales, with the county of Monmouth ; and *Matthew Morgan*, with about twelve other commissioners, for the six counties of North-Wales ; any three of which were empowered to call before them all such who,

* This last, Dr. *Grey* supposes, was the main reason ; for *Wood* says, “ he continued at Box in good esteem the greatest part of the interrupted times, but was at length ejected from his living in the reign of *Oliver*.” *Athenæ Oxon*, vol ii. p. 273. *Ed.*

by authority of the *act for propagating the gospel in Wales*, had received or disposed of any of the profits of the rectories, vicarages, &c. in that principality; and to give an account upon oath, of all such rents and profits; and the surplus money in the hands of the commissioners, to be paid into the *exchequer*.*

To set this affair before the reader in one view: The principality of Wales, by reason of the poverty of the people, and the small endowments of church livings, was never well supplied with a learned or pious clergy; the people were generally very ignorant, and only one remove from heathens. In 1641 a petition was presented to the king and parliament, which declares, that there were not so many conscientious and constant preachers in Wales as there were counties; and that these were either silenced, or much persecuted.† The civil wars had made their condition worse; for as they generally adhered to the king, and received great numbers of *Irish* papists into their country, their preachers went into his majesty's service, or fled from their cures, when the parliament forces took possession of it. After the king's death the parliament passed the ordinance already mentioned, for the better propagating of the preaching of the gospel in Wales, and for ejecting scandalous ministers and school-masters, and for redress of some grievances; it bears date Feb. 22, 1649, and empowers the commissioners therein mentioned, or any twelve of them, to receive and dispose of all and singular rents, issues, and profits, of all ecclesiastical livings, impropriations, and glebe lands, within the said counties, which then were, or afterwards should be under sequestration, or in the disposal of the parliament, and out of them to order and appoint a constant yearly maintenance for such persons as should be recommended, and approved for the work of the ministry, or education of children; and for such other ministers as were then residing in the said counties. The ordinance to continue in force for three years, from March 25, 1650.

By virtue of this ordinance many clergymen were ejected, but not all, for in Montgomeryshire eleven or twelve re-

* Seebel, p. 347.

† Calamy's Com. of Church and Dissenters, p. 47, note.

mained, as did several in other counties ; but all who were ejected for manifest scandal.* Afterwards complaints being made, that the people were turning *papists* or *heathens*, for want of the word of God, several were sent into Montgomeryshire, where there were at least sixteen preachers, of which ten were university men, the meanest of whom were approved and settled in parishes at the restoration. The commissioners were empowered to examine into the behavior of such as were reputed *ignorant, insufficient, non-resident, scandalous, or enemies to the present government*. And it being impossible to fill up the vacant livings with such as could preach in the *Welsh* language, the revenues were to be collected and brought into a common treasury, out of which one hundred pounds per annum was to be given to sundry itinerant preachers in each county.

Dr. *Walker* says, that, from the account drawn up by the commissioners themselves in April 1652, it appears that there had been ejected in South-Wales, and Monmouthshire, one hundred seventy-five ministers ; that is, fifty-six from the year 1645 to the time when this act took place, and one hundred and nineteen by the present commissioners. Mr. *Vavasor Powel*, who had a chief hand in the sequestrations, says, that by virtue of this act between fifty and sixty of the old clergy were dispossessed of their livings when he wrote. Upon the whole, the commissioners, who continued to act as long as the protector lived, charge themselves with between three hundred and twenty, and three hundred and thirty several and distinct livings ; but there could not be an equal number of sequestered clergymen, because in the compass of seven years a great many must die ; some fled, or were killed in the wars ; in many parishes the tithes were not duly paid by reason of the confusion of the times, and the livings being but from five to ten or twenty pounds a year, most of the incumbents were pluralists. It is computed that about one half of the church lands and revenues in the principality of Wales, by the several accidents of death, desertion, sequestration, &c. fell into the hands of the government before the expiration of this ordinance in 1653, the profits of which, if duly collected and paid, must amount to a very consider-

* Calamy's Comp. of Church and Dissenters, p. 47.

able sum. There were thirteen counties in North and South Wales within the limits of the commission ; but the largest sum that the sequestrators and agents charge themselves with for the county of Brecknock, in any one year, till the year 1658, when the propagation had subsisted eight years, is one thousand five hundred forty-three pounds, by which the reader may make a tolerable computation of the whole ; and if we may believe Mr. *Whitlocke*,* who lived through these times, in the year 1653 there were one hundred and fifty good preachers in the thirteen Welch counties, most of whom preached three or four times a week ; that in every market-town there was a school-master, and in most great towns two able, learned, and university men ; and that the tithes were all employed to the uses directed by act of parliament,† there can be no great reason to complain of the negligence of the commissioners.

The crimes for which the old clergy were ejected, were *malignancy, insufficiency, drunkenness, and negligence of their cures*. Mr. *Vavasor Powel* says, that of all the men they had put out in *North-Wales*, he knew not any that had the power of godliness, and very few the form ; but that most of them were unpreaching curates, or scandalous in their morals. The commissioners affirm, that of the sixteen they had dispossessed in *Cardiganshire*, there were but three that were preachers, and those most scandalous livers. And Mr. *Baxter* admits, that they were all weak, and bad enough for the most part. But the writers on the other side say, that the commissioners had no regard to ability in preaching, or sobriety in conversation. And Dr. *Walker* thinks, the sequestered Welch clergy need no other vindication than to let the world know, that many of them were graduates in the university ; as if eve-

* Memor. p. 518.

† These uses and proportions of the appropriation were as follows : viz. The tithes were divided into six parts ; one of which went to the ejected ministers ; a second to other settled and itinerant ministers ; a third to maintain schools, of some of which the ejected ministers and their sons were masters ; a fourth to the widows and children of the ejected ministers ; a fifth to under officers, as treasurers, solicitors, sequestrators. &c. : and a sixth to the widows of ministers deceased. *Whitlocke's Mem.* p. 518 ; *Calamy's Church and dissenters compared*, p. 47, note. ED.

ry graduate must of course be possessed of all ministerial qualifications. There might possibly be some few pious and industrious preachers among the ejected Welch clergy; but they who will argue very strenuously in favor of the body of them, must know very little of the country, or their manner of life.

It was not in the power of the commissioners to find a succession of pious and learned preachers in the Welch language; but to remedy this in the best manner they could, they appointed six itinerant preachers of university education for each county, to whom they allowed one hundred pounds a year; besides which, they sent out thirty-two ministers, of whom twenty-four were university men, and some of the rest good scholars; but these were too few for the work, though they were indefatigable in their labors. To supply what was further wanting, they approved of several *gifted laymen*, members of churches, to travel into the neighborhood, and assist the people's devotions, and to these they allowed from seventeen to twenty pounds *per annum*. In an article of the sequestrators' accompts there appears three hundred and forty pounds *per annum* distributed among godly members of the church of Lanvacles, and Mynthist Loyn, who had been sent out to exercise their gifts among the Welch mountaineers, and to help forward the work of the Lord. Many others of the same quality were approved by the commissioners, who went through great difficulties and hardships in their work. Mr. *Powel* says, that some hundreds, if not thousands, had been converted and reformed by the *prapagators*.* But after all, it must be confessed, that at first the number of itinerants, both scholars and others, was by no means equal to their work; the parishes in that mountainous country are large and wide, and there being but one *itinerant* to several of those parishes, the people must have been neglected, and their children too much without instruction; but this was owing to the necessity of the times.

When the commissioners had acted about two years, a petition was presented to the parliament by the inhabitants of South-Wales, signed by above a thousand hands, in favor of the old ejected clergy, setting forth, the numbers that

* Calamy's Comp. p. 43.

had been dispossessed, and the want of a competent number of preachers in their places, upon which account the country was reduced to a very miserable condition. They therefore pray the house to take some course for a future supply of godly and able preachers; and to call those persons to account who had received all the profits of church livings into their hands.* The house received the petition, and referred it to the *committee for plundered ministers*, who were empowered to examine witnesses, and to authorize other commissioners in the country to examine witnesses upon oath, touching the matters contained in the petition. The committee ordered the commissioners to bring in their accounts in a month's time, which they did accordingly. And the petitioners were ordered to deliver in the particulars on which the desired witnesses might be examined, within two days; but not being provided, they desired liberty to make good their allegations in the country; to which the commissioners willingly agreed. But this taking up some time, the long parliament was dissolved, and the prosecution of this enquiry suspended for the present; but as soon as the protector was fixed in his government, he published an ordinance, Aug. 20, 1654, to bring the *propagators* to an account; pursuant to which the sequestrators and treasurer for South-Wales delivered in their accounts for the years 1650, 1651, 1652, which was all the time the ordinance continued in force; and the commissioners appointed by the protector having received and examined them, after a full enquiry allowed and passed them, Aug. 10, 1655.

It is hard to read with temper, the reproaches cast upon these commissioners by our angry historians, who have charged them with all manner of corruption, as if they had got great estates out of the revenues of the church, though without producing a single example. Mr. *Powel*, who took more pains among them than any man of his time, declares, that he never received for all his preaching in Wales, by salary, above six or seven hundred pounds; that he never had any thing from the tithes. And whereas it was said, that he had enriched himself by purchasing some thousands a year of crown lands, he protests, that he never purchased above seventy pounds a year, which he lost at the

* Walker, p. 168.

restoration.† And if Mr. *Powel* did not enrich himself, I apprehend none of his brethren could. Besides, if this had been true, the protector's commissioners would have discovered them; or if they had escaped the protector's enquiry, their enemies would have exposed them at the restoration, when king *Charles* appointed a commission to make the strictest enquiry into their management. "All persons who had acted as commissioners for propagating the gospel, were by his majesty's instructions to be summoned before his commissioners, and all that had acted under them as farmers, tenants, &c. all that had succeeded in the sequestered livings, or received any of the profits; all parishioners, who had kept any of the tithes in their hands; the heirs, executors, or administrators, of any of the aforesaid persons; and all credible persons, who could give evidence of any of these matters. They were likewise to enquire after books and writings; and to signify to all persons concerned, that if they would forthwith apply to his majesty's commissioners, they might compound for what they stood charged with, and so avoid the expense of a lawsuit." But after all this mighty out-cry and scrutiny, nothing of any consequence appeared, and therefore it was thought proper to drop the commission, and bury the whole affair in silence. Mr. *Vavasor Powel*, above-mentioned, was cruelly handled by the Welch clergy, but he did himself justice in a pamphlet, entitled, *Examen & Purgamen Vavasoris*, published 1653, wherein he vindicates his proceedings in the *propagation*.† And when he was in the Fleet after the restoration, he published a brief narrative concerning the proceedings of the commissioners in Wales

† Mr. *Powel* vindicated his character in two publications: one entitled "*Examen & Purgamen Vavasoris*," 1651: wherein he was cleared by the authentic certificates of persons of great credit, and many of them gentlemen of good landed property: the other called, "the Bird in the Cage chirping: or a Brief Narrative of the former propagation and late restriction of the Gospel in Wales," 4mo. 1661. The author of his life, in 1674, says, "that he received nothing from the churches in Wales, but neighborly and brotherly kindness. The parliament ordered him 100*l.* per annum, out of a sinecure whereof he received about 60*l.* for seven or eight years: many considerable gifts he refused; and never did he get any thing by the act for the propagation of the gospel in Wales." Life, p. 112; Calamy's Church and Dissenters compared, p. 17—8, note. Ed.

† Walker, p. 149.

against the ejected clergy, occasioned by a report that he had been thrown into that prison for some of the revenues ; which was never answered.

By an ordinance of Sept. 2, commissioners were appointed to enquire into the yearly value of all ecclesiastical livings and benefices without cure of souls ; what person or persons received the profits, and who was the patron ; and to certify the same into *chancery* ; and if, upon a careful consideration of things, it shall be found convenient and advantageous to unite two parishes or more into one, and that the whole ecclesiastical revenues, tithes, and profits, belonging to the said parishes so united, should be applied for a provision for one godly and painful minister, to preach in the said united parishes, then the trustees or commissioners appointed by this act, shall represent the same to his HIGHNESS and *council*, upon whose approbation they shall, by an instrument under the hands and seals of any five or more of them, declare, that they do thereby unite such parishes into one ; which *instrument* being enrolled in *chancery*, the said parishes from thenceforth shall be adjudged and taken to be consolidated into one. If there happen to be more patrons than one in the parishes thus united, the patrons shall present by turns ; but the union shall not take place till the avoidance of one of the livings by the death of the incumbent.*

On the other hand, where parishes were too large, the trustees for the augmentation of poor livings were empowered to divide them into two, or more, upon their avoidance by death.

Further, if, when two or more parishes were united into one, the income or salary did not amount to one hundred pounds *per annum*, the trustees for receiving impropriations, tithes, first-fruits, and tenths, &c. were directed to make up the deficiency ; and where there was a considerable surplus, they might take off the augmentations formerly granted. Provided this ordinance be not construed to restrain the said trustees from granting augmentations to preachers in cities and market-towns, where there shall be cause, to a greater proportion, with the consent of the protector and his council. This was a noble and generous design ; and if the protector had lived to have seen it executed,

* Seobel, p. 353.

must have been of general service to the body of the clergy.

Though his HIGHNESS himself was no great scholar, he was a patron of learning and learned men.* He settled one hundred pounds a year on a divinity professor in Oxford; and gave twenty-four rare manuscripts to the Bodleian library. He erected and endowed a college in Durham for the benefit of the Northern counties, Mr. *Frankland*, M. A. being one of the first fellows. But these, and some other designs that he had formed for the advancement of learning, died with him.†

In order to secure the education of youth he took care to regulate both universities, by appointing new visitors, the former ceasing with the dissolution of the long parliament, viz.

For the University of Oxford.‡

The Vice-Chancellor for the time being,

Dr. <i>Harris</i> , president of Trinity college	Mr. <i>Stephens</i> , principal of Hart-hall
Dr. <i>Rogers</i> , principal of New-inn Hall	Mr. <i>James Baron</i> , of Magdalen college
Dr. <i>T. Goodwin</i> , president of Magdalen college	Mr. <i>Francis Howel</i> , fellow of Exeter college
Dr. <i>John Owen</i> , dean of Christ-church	<i>William</i> , viscount <i>Say and Sele</i>
Dr. <i>Henry Wilkinson</i> , Margaret professor of divinity	<i>Nathaniel Fiennes</i> , Esq.
Dr. <i>Peter French</i> , prebend of Christ-church	<i>Bulstrode Whitlocke</i> , comm. of the great seal
Dr. <i>John Conant</i> , rector of Exeter college	<i>Samuel Dunch</i> , Esq.
Dr. <i>John Goddard</i> , warden of Merton college	<i>Sir John Dreyden</i>
Mr. <i>Thankful Owen</i> , president of St. John's	<i>Richard Ingoldsby</i> , Esq.
	<i>John Crew</i> , Esq.
	<i>George Fleetwood</i> , Esq.
	<i>John Bright</i> , Esq.
	— <i>Jenkinson</i> , Esq.
	— <i>Greenfield</i> , § Esq.

* To the proofs which Mr. *Neal* produces of the patronage *Cromwell* afforded to learning, may be added, that he permitted the paper for Dr. *Walton's Polyglott* to be imported free of duty; and that when, through his pre-engagement to another, Dr. *Seth Ward*, afterwards bishop of *Exeter*, lost the principalship of *Jesus' college* in Oxford, in 1567: on being informed of his merit and learning he promised him an annuity equal to the value of the principalship. Dr. *Harris's Life of Oliver Cromwell*, p. 429, 431; and *Calamy's Life of Mr. Howe*, p. 49. ED.

† *Whitlocke*, p. 588.

‡ *Scobel*, p. 366.

§ Add from *Grey*, sir *Charles Wolseley*, bant. *Humphry Mackworth*, Esq.

For the University of Cambridge.

The Vice-Chancellor for the time being,

Dr. <i>Tuckney</i> , master of St. John's college	Mr. <i>Mowbrey</i> , fellow of St. John's college
Dr. <i>Arrowsmith</i> , master of Trinity college	Mr. <i>William Moses</i> , fellow of Pembroke hall
Dr. <i>Horton</i> , president of Queen's college	Mr. <i>Wood</i> , fellow of Magdalen college.
Dr. <i>Sam. Bolton</i> , master of Christ's college	<i>Henry Cromwell</i>
Dr. <i>Law. Seaman</i> , master of Peter house	<i>Henry Lawrence</i> , lord president of his highness's council
Dr. <i>Lightfoot</i> , master of Katharine hall	<i>J. Lambert</i> , Esq.
Mr. <i>John Sadler</i> , master of Magdalen college	<i>J. Desborough</i> , Esq.
Dr. <i>Whitecot</i>	Sir <i>Gilbert Pickering</i>
Dr. <i>Cudworth</i>	Col. <i>Ed. Montague</i>
Mr. <i>Worthington</i> , master of Jesus college	<i>Francis Rouse</i> , Esq.
Mr. <i>Dillingham</i> , master of Emanuel college	<i>Oliver St. John</i> , lord chief justice of the common pleas
Mr. <i>Simpson</i> , master of Pembroke hall	<i>J. Thurloe</i> , Esq.
Mr. <i>Templer</i> , fellow of Trinity c.	<i>Robert Castle</i> , Esq.
	<i>Tho. Bendish</i> , Esq.
	<i>Rob. Viner</i> , Esq.
	<i>Griffith Lloyd</i> , Esq.
	Sir <i>William Strickland</i> .

Any seven or more of the commissioners above-named were authorised to visit all *colleges* and *halls* within their respective universities ; to examine what statutes were fit to be abrogated, altered, or added, and to exhibit the same to his HIGHNESS, and the PARLIAMENT. They are further authorised, to explain such statutes as are ambiguous and obscure ; to determine appeals ; and are to be assisted upon all occasions by the mayor, sheriffs, and justices of peace. The said *visitors*, or any four of them, are authorised to visit Westminster school, Winchester school, Merchant Taylor's school, and Eton-college ; and to consider of such statutes of the said schools as are fit to be abrogated, and of others that may be proper to be added, for the well-government of the said schools and colleges.

The visitors discharged their duty with great fidelity ; and the heads of colleges had a watchful eye over their several houses ; drunkenness, swearing, gaming, and all kinds of immorality, were severely punished ; all students,

graduates, and others, were obliged to be at home in proper hours ; the public houses were searched, and the practice of religion in the several colleges enforced with rigor. One of the professors writes, that there was more frequent practical preaching in the colleges than ever had been known. On the Lord's day, at different hours, there were three or four sermons in several churches ; and on the week days, lectures on Tuesdays, Thursdays, Fridays, and Saturdays. The tutors were very diligent in discharge of their duty ; the public lectures were well attended, and the students under strict discipline ; learning revived, and the muses returned to their seats, as appears by the numbers of learned men who flourished in the reign of *Charles II.* and owed their education to these times.

The protector's zeal for the welfare of the protestant churches abroad deserves a particular notice, and was highly valued by all the reformed in foreign countries.* He took all imaginable care to appear at the head of that interest on all occasions, and to shew his power in protecting them. The prince of Tarente having written a respectful letter to the protector, his highness returned him the following answer : " that it was with extreme pleasure he had learned by letters his inviolable zeal and attachment to the reformed churches, for which his praise was the greater, in as much as he shewed that zeal at a time, and in a place, where such flattering hopes were given to persons of his rank, if they would forsake the orthodox faith ; and where those who continue stedfast are threatened with so many troubles. He rejoices that his own conduct in religion was so pleasing to him ; he calls God to witness, that he desired nothing so much as an opportunity to answer the favorable opinion the churches have of his zeal and piety, by endeavoring to propagate the true faith, and procure rest and peace for the church. He exhorts the prince to hold out firm to the end in the orthodox religion which he received from his fathers ; and adds, that nothing would bring him greater glory, than to protect it as much as lay in his power." What projects the protector formed for this purpose will be seen hereafter.

* History of the Stuarts, p. 423.

But the royal interest abroad was inclining towards popery : the duke of York was already perverted to the *Romish* faith ;* no attempts were unessayed by the queen mother, the queen of France, and others, to gain the young duke of Gloucester, who had been under the instruction of parliamentary tutors till the last year :† but this young prince was too well established in his religion to be perverted at present,‡ upon which the queen forbade him her presence ; and the marquis of Ormond conducted him to his brother at Cologne. The king was a man of no religion, and having little to do, devoted his leisure hours to the ladies, and other private pleasures. His majesty had some trial (says bishop *Kennet*,§) of his conscience and courage in resisting the little arguments, or rather importunities of popery. The papists put him in mind, that all his hopes from the protestant party were at an end ; that the bishops were dead, except a very few ; and the church lands sold ; and that since the late defeat at Worcester the presbyterian power was destroyed ; all his hopes therefore must be from the *Roman* catholics, from whose assistance only he could now hope for his restoration. But the prospect was so distant, that the king, by advice of lord *Clarendon*, was prevailed with not to declare himself openly at present.

On the last of November died the learned Mr. *John Selden*, the glory of the *English* nation :|| he was born in Sussex, Dec. 6, 1584, and educated in Hart-hall, Oxford ; after which he was transplanted to the Inner-Temple, where he became a prodigy in the most uncommon parts of sci-

* Compl. Hist. p. 203.

† Kennet's Chron. p. 599.

‡ The manner of expression used by Mr. Neal may lead the reader, Dr. Grey observes, to think, that the duke of Gloucester was at last perverted : which he apprehends was not the case. For Eachard affirms, that the duke was an *invincible asserter* of his father's faith : and Carte represents him as withstanding the arguments of the abbot of Pontoise, and rejecting the offers of a cardinal's hat, and even the promise of placing him on the throne. But, on the other hand, Oldmixon assures his reader, on the authority of a minister of state, a man of known wisdom and probity, who was a particular favorite with the prince of Orange, at the Hague, from whose mouth he had the information, that the duke was afterwards reconciled to the church of Rome. Grey, vol. iii. p. 175. History of the Stuarts, p. 489. Ed.

§ Compl. Hist. p. 213.

|| Athenæ Oxon. vol. ii. p. 407, 8.

ence. He was a great philologist, antiquary, herald, linguist, statesman, and lawyer, but seldom appeared at the bar. He was chosen burgess for several parliaments, where he displayed his profound erudition in speeches and debates in favor of the liberties of his country; for which he was imprisoned, and severely fined with Mr. *Pym* in the parliament of 1618, and 1628. He was chosen again in the long parliament, and appeared against the *prerogative*, as he had formerly done. He was one of the lay members of the assembly of divines, and by his vast skill in the oriental learning, and *jewish* antiquities, frequently silenced the most able divines. He wrote on various subjects, which gained him the title among foreigners of the *dictator of learning in the English nation*.* Among other remarkable pieces, we may reckon his *History of Tithes*, published 1618, in which he proves them not to be due to the christian clergy by divine institution: for this he was summoned before the *high commission court*, and obliged to make a public recantation.† But after some time his reputation was so great, that it was thought worth while to gain him over to the court; and upon the new civilities he

* It does honor to Grotius, his antagonist, that he pronounced Mr. Selden to be "the glory of the English nation." Like a man of genius, he was for striking out new paths of learning, and enlarging the territories of science. The greater part of his works are on uncommon subjects. But towards the close of life he saw the emptiness of all human learning; and owned, that, out of the numberless volumes he had read and digested, nothing stuck so close to his heart, or gave him such solid satisfaction, as a single passage of Paul's Epistles: Tit. ii. 11—14. Granger's Hist. of England, vol. ii. p. 228, 9. 8vo. *Ed.*

† It is judiciously remarked by Le Clerc, that it was great impolicy in the church and court party to offend and irritate such a man as Selden: a man of deep learning, not in Jewish antiquities only, but in those of his own country, the laws of which he understood to their first grounds. Such persons ought at all times to be courted and favored, on account of the great use which may be made of them on all occasions; but especially in seasons of public discontents, when they can turn the balance on the side which they join. Whereas it generally happens, that they are ill-treated, and the court favors are bestowed on those only who are fit for nothing but to feed on a great benefice or a good pension. It would have been the more wise to have secured Selden, since he was by no means a fanatic, as many places in his "Table talk" shew; and even was partial to the old ecclesiastical government, in opposition to those who often set it at nought. *Bibliothèque Ancienne & Moderne*, tom. vi. p. 253. *Ed.*

received at Lambeth, he was prevailed with to publish his *Mare clausum* against *Hugo Grotius*, which was esteemed such an invaluable treasure, that it was ordered to be laid up in the court of records. The archbishop offered him preferments, but he would accept of nothing. Upon the first pressures against the bishops, he published his *Eutychius* in *Greek* and *Latin*, with notes, in which he proves that *bishops and presbyters differ only in degree*. He afterwards answered his majesty's declaration about the *commission of array*, and was made master of the rolls by the *long parliament*. He had a large and curious library of books: in the frontispiece of each he used to write this motto, *Peri pantos eleutherian; above all, LIBERTY*. At length being worn out with age, and hard study, he died at his house in the White-Friars, aged seventy years, and was magnificently interred in the Temple church on the south side of the round walk, according to the *directory*, in the presence of all the judges, some parliament-men, benchers, and great officers. His funeral sermon was preached by archbishop *Usher*, who acknowledged he was not worthy to carry his books after him. His works are lately collected, and printed together in six volumes folio.

Mr. *Thomas Gataker* was born in London 1574, and was educated in St. John's college, Cambridge, where he proceeded *M. A.* and was afterwards removed to Sidney college, where he became remarkable for his skill in the *Hebrew* and *Greek* languages.* After his ordination he was chosen minister of Lincoln's-inn, and occupied that station ten years; but in the year 1611 he was presented to the rectory of Rotherhithe, where he continued till his death. In the year 1643 he was chosen a member of the assembly of divines, and was an ornament and reputation to it. When the earl of Manchester visited and reformed the university of Cambridge, he offered Mr. *Gataker* the mastership of Trinity college, but he refused it on the account of his health. Mr. *Gataker* was a very learned man, and a considerable critic and linguist, as appears by his writings, which were very numerous, considering his infirm state of health. He was a constant preacher, of a most holy and exemplary deportment, but withal of great modesty.

* Clarke's General Martyrology, p. 248, &c. of the Lives.

It is hard, says Mr. *Eachard*, to say, which was most remarkable, his exemplary piety and charity, his polite literature, or his humility and modesty in refusing preferments. He maintained a correspondence with *Salmasius*, *Hornbeck*, and other learned foreigners, and was in high esteem both at home and in the Low Countries, where he had travelled. He died of age, and a complication of infirmities, July 27, 1654, in the eightieth year of his age.*

Mr. *William Strong* was educated in Katherine hall, Cambridge, of which he was fellow. He was afterwards rector of More-Crichel in Dorsetshire, where he continued till he was forced to fly from the cavaliers;† he then came to London, and was chosen one of the assembly of divines, and minister of St. Dunstan's in the West. After some time he became preacher at Westminster-Abbey, where he died suddenly in the vigor of life, and was buried in the Abbey church July 4, 1654. His funeral sermon was preached by Mr. *Ob. Sedgwick*, who says, that he was so plain in heart, so deep in judgment, so painful in study, so exact in preaching, and in a word, so fit for all the parts of the ministerial service, that he did not know his equal. But after the restoration his bones were dug up, and removed to St. Margaret's church yard, with those of other eminent presbyterian divines. He published several sermons and theological treatises in his lifetime; and after his death there was a posthumous one *upon the covenants*, in the preface to which Mr. *Theophilus Gale* observes, that the author was a wonder of nature for natural parts, and a miracle of grace for his deep insight into the more profound mysteries of the gospel. His thoughts were sublime, but clear and penetrating, especially in interpreting difficult texts.

Mr. *Andrew Pern* was educated in Cambridge, and from thence removed to Welby in Northamptonshire, where he maintained the character of a zealous, laborious and suc-

* The most celebrated of his works is a valuable edition of *Marcus Antoninus*, with a *Latin* translation and commentary, and a preliminary discourse on the philosophy of the *Stoics*, which is much esteemed.—His house was a private seminary for divers young gentlemen of this nation, and many foreigners resorted to him, and lodged at his house in order to receive from him advice in their studies. *British Biography*, vol. iv. p. 354, note. *Ed.* † *Athenæ Oxon.* p. 218.

cessful preacher, for twenty-seven years. In the year 1643, he was chosen a member of the assembly of divines at Westminster. When he was at London he was offered several considerable preferments, but refused them, resolving to return to his people at Welby, who honored him as a father; for by his awakening sermons, and exemplary life and conversation, he accomplished a great reformation of manners in that town. He was full of spiritual warmth, (says the preacher of his funeral sermon) filled with an holy indignation against sin, active in his work, and never more in his element than in the pulpit. As his life was holy, so his death was comfortable. He blessed God that he was not afraid to die; nay, he earnestly desired to be gone, often crying out, in his last sickness, *When will that hour come? One assault more, and this earthen vessel will be broken, and I shall be with God.* He died the beginning of December, 1654, before he was arrived to the age of sixty.

Dr. *Samuel Bolton* was educated in Cambridge, and from thence removed to the living of St. Martin's, Ludgate. Upon his coming to the city he was chosen one of the additional members of the assembly of divines, being a person of great name and character for learning and practical preaching. He was a burning and shining light, (says Mr. *Clarke*†) an interpreter one of a thousand, an admirable preacher, and his life was an excellent commentary upon his sermons. Upon the death of Dr. *Bainbrige* he was chosen master of Christ's college, Cambridge, which he governed with great wisdom and prudence till his death, which happened about the 10th of October, 1654. He was buried with great solemnity in his parish church of Ludgate on the 16th of the same month, very much lamented by the London clergy of those times.

Mr. *Jer. Whitaker* was born at Wakefield in Yorkshire, 1599, and educated in Sidney college, Cambridge, where he proceeded in arts. He taught the free-school at Okeham, in Rutlandshire, seven years, and then became minister of Stretton in the same county, where he continued thirteen years. In 1643, he was nominated one of the assembly of divines at Westminster, which brought him to

† Lives of eminent persons, p. 43.

London, where he was chosen to the rectory of St. Mary Magdalen, Bermondsey, in Southwark. He preached three or four sermons every week; two in Southwark, one at Westminster, and one at Christ church, London. He never withdrew from any opportunity of preaching if he was in health; and though he preached often, his sermons were solid and judicious. He was an universal scholar, both in arts and languages; well acquainted with the fathers and school-men, an acute disputant, and inferior to none in his acquaintance with the holy scriptures.* He was of the *presbyterian* persuasion, and had a chief hand in composing the *defence of the gospel ministry*, published this year by the provincial synod of London. He refused the *engagement*, and lamented the wars between England, Scotland, and Holland. No man was more beloved by the *presbyterian* ministers of London than Mr. *Whitaker*. When he was seized with the violent and acute pain of the stone about the beginning of November, many days of prayer and fasting were observed for his recovery, but the distemper was incurable. He bore his pains with uncommon patience, fearing nothing more than to dishonor God by unreasonable complaints. When his distemper was most violent he would desire his friends to withdraw, that they might not be affected with his roarings. At length nature being quite spent, he cheerfully resigned his soul into the hands of his Redeemer, about the fifty-fifth year of his age. His funeral sermon was preached by Mr. *Calamy*, who gave him a large and deserved encomium.

Mr. *Richard Vines*, of whom mention has been made already, was born at Blazon in Leicestershire, and educated in Magdalen-college, Cambridge, where he commenced *M. A.* He was first school-master at Hinckley, then minister of Weddington in Warwickshire. At the beginning of the civil war he was driven from his parish, and forced to take shelter in Coventry. When the assembly of divines was convened he was chosen one of their number; and, as *Fuller* says,† was the champion of their party. While he was at London he became minister of St. Clement's Danes; afterwards he removed to Watton in

* Clarke's General Martyrology, in the Lives, p. 264.

† Fuller's Worthies, p. 134.

Hertfordshire, and was chosen master of Pembroke hall in Cambridge, but resigned that, and his living of St. Lawrence Jewry, on account of the *engagement*. He was a son of thunder, and therefore compared to *Luther*; but moderate and charitable to those who differed from him in judgment. The parliament employed him in all their treaties with the king; and his majesty, though of a different judgment, valued him for his ingenuity, seldom speaking to him without touching his hat, which Mr. *Vines* returned with most respectful language and gestures. He was an admirable scholar; holy and pious in his conversation, and indefatigable in his labors, which wasted his strength, and brought him into a consumption, when he had lived but about fifty-six years. He was buried in his own parish church, Feb. 7, 1655, his funeral sermon being preached by Dr. *Jacomb*, who gave him his just commendation. He was a perfect master of the Greek tongue, a good philologist, and an admirable disputant. He was a thorough *calvinist*, and a bold, honest man, without pride or flattery.* Mr. *Newcomen* calls him *disputator acutissimus, concionator felicissimus, theologus eximius*. Many funeral poems and elegies were published on his death.†

The protector having dissolved his second parliament without confirming their acts, was obliged still to rely on the military arm; this, together with the insurrections in several parts of the country, induced him, for his greater security, to canton the nation into eleven districts, and place over them *major-generals*, whose commission was to in-

* Dr. Grey insinuates a reflection on Mr. *Vines*' simplicity and integrity, by a story of his praying in the morning of an Easter Sunday, before the marquis of Hertford, for the king's restoration to his throne and regal rights; but, in the afternoon, when the marquis was absent, and lord Fairfax came to church, praying, in *stylo parliamentario*, that God would turn the heart of the king, and give him grace to repent of his grievous sins, especially all the blood shed in those *civil, uncivil* wars. On which it was observed, that Mr. *Vines* was much more altered between the forenoon and afternoon, than the difference between an English *marquis* and an Irish *baron*. The reader, perhaps, will think, that each prayer might very consistently be formed by the same person. Not a week before Mr. *Vines*' death, as he was preaching at St. Gregory's, a rude fellow cried out to him, "Lift up your voice, for I cannot hear you:" to whom Mr. *Vines* returned, "Lift up your ears, for I can speak no louder." Fuller's *Worthies*, p. 446, 8vo. edition, 1684. *Ed.* † Clarke's *Lives of Eminent Persons*. v. 48.

spect the behavior of the inferior commissioners within their districts ; to commit to prison all suspected persons ; to take care of collecting the public taxes ; and to sequester such as did not pay their decimation. They were to enquire after all private assemblies of suspected persons, and after such as bought up arms ; after vagabonds and idle persons ; after such as lived at an higher rate than they could afford ; after such as frequented taverns and gaming-houses, and after scandalous and unlearned ministers and school-masters ; and there was no appeal from them but to the protector and his council. They were ordered to list a body of *reserves* both horse and foot at half-pay, who were to be called together upon any sudden emergency, and to attend so many days at their own expense, but if they were detained longer to have full pay ; by which means the protector had a second army in view, if any disaster should befall the first ; but these officers became so severe and arbitrary, that *his highness* found it necessary after some time to reduce their power, and when affairs were a little more settled to dissolve them.

Having provided for the security of his government at home, the protector concluded an alliance with France, Oct. 23, in which it is remarkable that *Lewis XIV.* is not allowed to stile himself king of France, but king of the French, *his highness* claiming the protectorship of that kingdom among his other titles ; and, which is more surprising, the name of *Oliver* stands in the treaty before that of the French king. At the same time he sent admiral *Blake* with a fleet into the Mediterranean, who spread the terror of the English name over all Italy, even to Rome itself ; processions being made, and the host exposed for forty hours, to avert the judgments of heaven, and preserve the patrimony of the church. But *Blake's* commission was only to demand sixty thousand pounds of the duke of *Tuscany*, for damages sustained by the English merchants while he harbored prince *Rupert*, which he paid immediately. The admiral released all the English slaves on the coast of Barbary, to the number of four hundred, and obtained satisfaction for the ships taken by the pirates of Algiers, Tunis, &c. Upon the whole he brought home sixteen ships laden with booty, which sailed up the river Thames

to the port of London, as a grateful spectacle of triumph to the people.

While *Blake* was in the Mediterranean, admiral *Pen* and *Venables*, with thirty men of war and some land forces, sailed to the West-Indies, with a design to surprise the town of Hispaniola; but miscarrying in the attempt, they reembarked and took possession of the island of Jamaica, which is in possession of the crown of Great-Britain to this day.

The protector did not commission *Blake* to assault the Spanish coasts in the Mediterranean, because there was no open rupture between the two nations in Europe; but the West-Indies not being included in the treaty, he thought himself at liberty in those parts; which occasioned a declaration of war, on the part of Spain, with all the English dominions; upon which *Blake* was ordered to cruise upon the Spanish coasts, and to wait for the return of the Plate fleet, of which he gave a very good account the next summer.

To support these additional expenses, the protector, by advice of his council, raised some extraordinary taxes before the parliament met, which he knew to be illegal, and did not pretend to justify upon any other foot than *the absolute necessity of the public safety; the distracted condition of the nation; that it was impracticable in the present juncture to call a parliament, or to proceed in the ordinary course of law; and that in extraordinary cases, wherein all was at stake, some extraordinary methods were allowable.* How far this reasoning will excuse the protector, or vindicate his conduct, must be left with the reader. But it is agreed on all hands, that in things that did not affect the very being of his government, he never interposed, but let the laws have their free course. He had a zeal for trade and commerce beyond all his predecessors, and appointed a standing committee of merchants for advancing it, which met for the first time in the *painted chamber*, Nov. 27, 1655, and continued to his death.

The provincial assembly of London, finding their attempts to establish *their discipline* ineffectual, employed themselves this year in promoting the religious education of youth; for which purpose they published an *exhortation to catechising*; with the following directions for the more orderly carrying it on.

1. "That the ministers on some Lord's day prove in their sermons the necessity and usefulness of such a work, and exhort all parents, and masters of families, to prepare their children and servants for it, by catechising them at home, that they may more readily make their answers in public.

2. "That the catechism to be used be the *lesser catechism* of the assembly of divines. This catechism excelling all others in this respect, that every answer is a perfect proposition without the question.

3. "That the persons to be catechised be children and servants, that have not been admitted to the Lord's supper by the eldership.

4. "That the time of catechising be on the Lord's day in the afternoon, before the sermon, to the end that the whole congregation may receive benefit thereby.

5. "That the catechism may be explained *briefly*, at the first going over, that the people may in a short time have a notion of the whole body of divinity.

6. "That the parish be desired at the common charge, to provide catechisms for the poorer sort, who cannot well provide for themselves, and that the distribution of them be referred to the respective ministers.

7. "It is desired, that an account in writing, what progress is made in the premises may be returned from the classes to the provincial assembly within forty days after the receipt hereof.

"Signed in the name, and by the appointment of the assembly,

Edmund Calamy, moderator.

William Harrison,
William Blackmore, } scribes."

These instructions were sent to the several classes of London; and after their example, the associated ministers in the several counties of England published the like exhortations to their brethren.

The occasion of this proceeding was the publishing two catechisms of Mr. *John Biddle*, a socinian, one called a *Scripture Catechism*; and the other, a *Brief Scripture Catechism, for the use of children*. Complaints of which

being made to the last parliament, they were ordered to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman, and the author to be imprisoned in the Gate-house. Mr. *Biddle* had been in custody for his opinions before the late king's death. While he was there, he had published twelve questions or arguments against the deity of the holy spirit, in quarto, 1647, which were answered by Mr. *Pool*, and the book ordered to be burnt. Next year, being still in prison, he published seven articles against the deity of Christ, with the testimonies of several of the fathers on this head; upon which some zealous in the assembly moved, that he might be put to death as an heretic; but he went on, and being set at liberty, in the year 1651, he composed and published the catechisms abovementioned, in which he maintains, “(1.) That God is confined to a certain place. (2.) That he has a bodily shape. (3.) That he has passions. (4.) That he is neither omnipotent nor unchangeable. (5.) That we are not to believe three persons in the godhead. (6.) That Jesus Christ has not the nature of God, but only a divine lordship. (7.) That he was not a priest while upon earth, nor did reconcile men to God. And, (8.) That there is no deity in the Holy Ghost.” These propositions|| were condemned by the parliament, and the author committed to the Gate-house. But as soon as the protector had dissolved his parliament he gave him his liberty.

After this, being of a restless spirit,* he challenged Mr. *Griffin*, a baptist preacher, to dispute with him in St.

|| Mr. Biddle was a pious, holy, and humbly man; a conscientious sufferer for what appeared to him divine and important. The propositions objected to him above do not appear in his catechisms under the form of principles which he asserts, but of questions, which he proposes, and the answers to which are numerous texts of scripture, that appear to speak to the point. E. g. The first proposition is this question: “Is not God, according to the current of the scripture, in a certain place, namely in heaven?” The answer consists of 29 passages of scripture, which represent God, as “looking from heaven, as our father who art in heaven,” and the like. For a full account of these catechisms I would refer the reader to my “Review of the Life, Character, and Writings of Mr. John Biddle,” section 8. *Ed.*

* It is to be regretted, that Mr. Neal should speak in this manner of one, who thought it his duty, by the fair and peaceable means of preach-

Paul's cathedral, on this question, *Whether Jesus Christ be the most High, or Almighty God?* This occasioning new disturbances, the council committed him to Newgate; but the protector thought it best to send him out of the way, and accordingly transported him to Scilly, and allowed him one hundred crowns a year for his maintenance. Here he remained till the year 1658, when the noise being over, he was set at liberty; his catechisms having been answered by Dr. *Owen*, in a learned and elaborate treatise, entitled *Vindiciæ Evangelicæ, &c.*

After the protector's death, *Biddle* set up a private conventicle in London, which continued till the restoration, when the church being restored to its coercive power, he was apprehended while preaching, and committed to prison, where he died in September 1662, and was buried in the burying-ground in Old Bedlam. He had such a prodigious memory (says *Wood*,) that he could repeat all St. Paul's epistles in Greek, and was reckoned by those of his persuasion a sober man, and so devout, that he seldom prayed without lying prostrate on the ground.

Though it was well known by this, as well as other examples, that the protector was averse to all acts of severity on the account of religion, yet such was the turbulent behavior of the royalists, who threatened an assassination, published the most daring libels against the government, and were actually in arms, that he thought it necessary to crush them, and therefore an order was published November 24, "That no persons after Jan. 4, 1655-6, shall keep in their houses or families as chaplains or school-masters,

ing and writing, to advance and disseminate sentiments which he judged to be the truths of scripture, and only called men to enquire and examine. Such language fixes a stigma upon the honest advocate for truth, and is the illiberal cry of those who cannot bear to have established opinions attacked. The first teachers of christianity were reproached as men of restless spirits; as men who "would turn the world upside down." *Acts* xvii. 6.—In the present case, the term was not deserved, Mr. Neal has misstated the transaction. Mr. Biddle was not the first in the business. The challenge came from Mr. Griffin, and Mr. Biddle waved accepting it, and declined the disputation for some time. And when he entered the lists, there were in the auditory many of his bitter and fiery adversaries. See "Review of his Life," p. 117-18, or a modern "Collection of Unitarian Tracts," in 12mo. vol. iv. p. 91. *Ed.*

for the education of their children, any sequestered or ejected minister, fellow of a college, or school-master, nor permit their children to be taught by such. That no such persons shall keep school either publicly or privately, nor preach in any public place, or private meeting, of any others than those of his own family ; nor shall administer baptism, or the Lord's supper, or marry any persons, or use the book of common-prayer, or the forms of prayer therein contained, on pain of being prosecuted, according to the orders lately published by his highness and council, for securing the peace of the commonwealth. *Nevertheless his highness declares, that towards such of the said persons as have since their ejection or sequestration, given, or hereafter shall give, a real testimony of their godliness, and good affection to the present government, so much tenderness shall be used as may consist with the safety and good of the nation.*"†

This was a severe and terrible order|| upon the episcopalians, and absolutely unjustifiable in itself ; but the title of the act, which is an *Ordinance for securing the peace of the commonwealth*, as well as the last clause, shews it was made *for the safety of the government*, against a number of men who were undermining it, and was published chiefly *in terrorem*, for no person was prosecuted upon it ; and the parliament which met next year, not confirming it, it became absolutely void.

Dr. *Gauden* presented a petitionary remonstrance to the protector against this order ; and archbishop *Usher* was desired to use his interest with his *highness* in behalf of the episcopal clergy ; upon which (says the writer of the archbishop's life§) the protector promised either to recal his declaration, or to prevent its being put in execution, *provided the clergy were inoffensive in their language and sermons, and stood clear in meddling with matters of state*. His HIGHNESS accordingly laid the matter before his coun-

† Hughes's exact Abridgement of public Acts and Ordinances, 4to. p. 597.

|| "It would be useless," says Dr. Harris, "to spend words in exposing the cruelty of this declaration. Persecution is written on the face of it, nor is it capable of a vindication." "Life of Oliver Cromwell," p. 438. *Ed.*

§ Parr's Life of Usher, p. 75.

cil, who were of opinion,* that it was not safe for him to recal his declaration, and give open liberty to men who were *declared enemies to his government*, but that he should suspend the execution of it as far as their behavior should deserve; so that in the event here was no great cause of complaint; for notwithstanding this ordinance, the sober episcopal clergy preached publicly in the churches, at London and in the country, as Dr. *Hall*, afterwards bishop of Chester, Dr. *Ball*, Dr. *Wild*, Dr. *Hardy*, Dr. *Griffith*, Dr. *Pearson*, bishop of Chester, and others. Remarkable are the words of bishop *Kennet* to this purpose; "It is certain, says his lordship, that the protector was for liberty, and the utmost latitude to all parties, *so far as consisted with the peace and safety of his person and government*, and therefore he was never jealous of any cause or sect on the account of heresy and falshood, but on his wiser accounts of political peace and quiet; and even the prejudice he had against the episcopal party was more for their being royalists, than for being of the good old church.—Dr. *Gunning*, afterwards bishop of Ely, kept a conventicle in London, in as open a manner as dissenters did after the toleration; and so did several other episcopal divines."†

For the same reasons his *highness* girt the laws close upon the papists, not upon account of their religion, but be-

* On this ground when the lord primate went to him a second time to get the promise, which the protector, on the first application, had made of taking off these restraints, ratified and put into writing, he retracted his engagement, which both grieved and irritated the archbishop. He had, indeed, good reason to be displeased. By this it appears, that Mr. Neal's statement above is not accurate. The ordinance was executed: and though some worthy episcopalians were permitted to officiate, it cannot be doubted but many innocent and worthy men must have received very hard measure. The ordinance was marked with horrid severity: and it is "a barbarous thing to prohibit men the use of those forms of address to the Deity, which they imagine are most honorable and acceptable to him." Besides men ought not to suffer in their most valuable and unalienable rights on *suspicion*; and instead of being amenable for *overt-acts*, be punished, as it were, for crimes they have *never committed*. This is injustice and cruelty: has its origin in fear and the consciousness of oppressive government: and tends to make the government, which it would protect from danger, odious and hateful.—Grey's Remarks, vol. iii. p. 177, 8. Harris's Life of Oliver Cromwell, p. 438, 9. *Ed.*

† Conf. Plea, part iv. p. 510. Compl. Hist p. 223.

cause they were enemies to his government; for in the month of May a proclamation was published for the better executing the laws against jesuits and priests, and for the conviction of popish recusants; the reasons of which the protector gives in his declaration of October 31st, published with the advice of his council, in these words; *Because it was not only commonly observed, but there remains with us somewhat of proof, that jesuits have been found among discontented parties of this nation, who are observed to quarrel, and fall out with every form of administration in church and state.*† The protector gave notice of the like kind to the republicans, fifth monarchy men, levellers, and to the presbyterians, that they should stand upon the same foot with the royalists, in case of any future delinquencies.

Sush was the protector's latitude, that he was for indulging the Jews, who petitioned for liberty of their religion, and for carrying on a trade in London. *Manasseh Ben Israel*, one of their chief rabbi's, with some others, came from Amsterdam to Whitehall for this purpose, whom the protector treated with respect, and summoned an assembly of divines, lawyers, and merchants, to consult upon the affair.§ The divines were to consider it as a case of conscience; the lawyers to report how far it was consistent with the laws of England; and the merchants, whether it was for the advantage of trade and commerce. Bishop *Burnet* apprehends, that the protector designed the Jews for spies in the several nations of Europe; however, he was of opinion, that their admission under certain limitations might be for the advantage of commerce; and told the divines, that since there was a promise in holy scripture of the conversion of the Jews, he did not know, but the preaching of the christian religion, as it was then in England, without idolatry or superstition, might conduce to it. But the assembly not agreeing in their opinions, the affair was dropped, and the petitioners returned to Holland, where *Manasseh Ben*

† Compl. Hist. p. 255, in Marg.

§ It is a proof of the protector's good dispositions towards this business, and of his respect for the rabbi who came to negotiate it, that, by an order of the 24th of March 1655, he directed 200l. to be paid to him out of the treasury. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 673. Ed.

Israel, wrote a handsome letter now before me, which he calls, *An answer to certain questions propounded by a noble and learned gentleman, touching the reproaches cast upon the nation of the Jews, wherein all objections are candidly and fully stated.* The famous Mr. *Prynne* and Mr. *Dury* a presbyterian minister, wrote fiercely against the admission of the Jews; but other divines, whom the protector consulted, were for admitting them with some limitations. I shall report their resolution on this point in their own language.

Question, *Whether the Jews, at their desire, may be admitted into this nation to traffic and dwell among us, as Providence shall give occasion?*

The answer of those who were against it was, that they could not think it lawful for the following reasons:

1. "Because the motives on which *Manasseh Ben Israel*, in his book lately printed, desires their admission into this commonwealth, are such as we conceive to be very sinful.

2. "The danger of seducing the people of this nation, by their admission, is very great.

3. "Their having synagogues, or any public meetings for the exercise of their religion, is not only evil in itself, but likewise very scandalous to other christian churches.

4. "Their customs and practices concerning marriage and divorce are unlawful, and will be of very evil example amongst us.

5. "The principles of not making conscience of oaths made, and injuries done to christians in life, chastity, goods, or good name, have been very notoriously charged upon them by valuable testimony.

6. "Great prejudice is like to arise to the natives of this commonwealth in matters of trade, which, besides other dangers here mentioned, we find very commonly suggested by the inhabitants of the city of London."

Other divines were of opinion, that the civil magistrate might tolerate them under the following limitations:

1. "That they be not admitted to have any public judicatories civil or ecclesiastical.

2. "That they be not permitted to speak or do any thing to the defamation, or dishonor, of the names of our Lord Jesus Christ, or of the christian religion.

3. "That they be not permitted to do any work, or any thing, to the open profanation of the Lord's day, or christian sabbath.

4. "That they be not permitted to have any christians dwell with them as their servants.

5. "That they have no public office, or trust, in this commonwealth.

6. "That they be not allowed to print any thing in our language against the christian religion.

7. "That so far as may be, they be not suffered to discourage any of their own, from using any proper means, or applying themselves to any who may convince them of their error, and turn them to christianity. And that some severe penalty be imposed upon them who shall apostatize from christianity to judaism."

Mr. Archdeacon *Eachard* says.* *The Jews offered the protector two hundred thousand pounds, provided they might have St. Paul's Cathedral for a settlement.* And he adds the following malicious reflection, that "*the money made his highness look upon it as the cause of God, but that both the clergy and laity so declaimed against them, that the religious juggle would not take place.*" This the archdeacon himself could not believe, as being quite out of character, for he knew that the protector did not enrich his family, nor value money, but for the public service. He concludes, that "*the Jews could never be permitted to live long in a well settled monarchy.*" What then does he call the monarchy of England? where the Jews have been indulged the free exercise of their religion, without doing any damage to the religion or commerce of the nation for above sixty years.

The protector's zeal for the reformed religion made him the refuge of persecuted protestants in all parts of the world. The duke of *Savoy*, at the instance of his duchess, sister to the queen of England, determined to oblige his reformed subjects in the valleys of Piedmont to embrace the Roman catholic religion or depart the country. For this purpose he quartered an army upon them, which ate up their substance. The protestants making some little resistance to the rudeness of the soldiers, the duke gave orders, that all the

protestant families in the valley of Lucern should go into banishment, which some obeyed, whilst the rest sent deputies to the court of Turin, to implore mercy ; but the *pope*, and the princes of Italy, advised the *duke* to improve the present opportunity for extirpating the reformed, and making all his subjects of one religion. The *duke* accordingly sent express orders to his general to drive them all out of the country, with their wives and children, and to put to death such as should remain. This was executed with great severity, April 20, 1655. Those who escaped the sword fled into the mountains, from whence, being ready to perish with hunger and cold, they sent their agents to the *lord protector* of England, and other protestant powers, for relief. It was the beginning of May when his *highness* was first made acquainted with their distress, whereupon he appointed a general fast, and charitable contributions throughout all England for their present assistance ; and such was the compassion of the people, that the collection amounted to *thirty-seven thousand and ninety-seven pounds, seven shillings and three pence*. About thirty thousand pounds was remitted to their deputies at several payments, in this and the next year ; but the confusions which followed upon the protector's death prevented the clearing the whole account till the convention parliament at the restoration, who ordered the remaining seven thousand pounds to be paid. The protector applied to the protestant kings of Sweden and Denmark ; to the states of Holland, the cantons of Switzerland, and the reformed churches of Germany and France ; and by his powerful instances procured large contributions from those parts. He wrote to the king of France, and to cardinal *Mazarine* ; and being glad of an opportunity to strike terror into the Roman catholic powers, he sent *Samuel Moreland*, Esq. with a letter to the duke of *Savoy*, in which, having represented the cruelty and injustice of his behavior towards the protestants in the valleys, he tells him, " That he was pierced with grief at the news of the sufferings of the Voudois, being united to them not only by the common ties of humanity, but by the profession of the same faith, which obliged him to regard them as his brethren ; and he should think himself wanting in his duty to God, to charity, and to his re-

ligion, if he should be satisfied with pitying them only (whose miserable condition was enough to raise compassion in the most barbarous minds;) unless he also exerted himself to the utmost of his ability to deliver them out of it." This awakened the popish powers, insomuch that *Mazarine* wrote in the most pressing language to the court of Turin, to give the protector immediate satisfaction; with which the duchess reproached him, because he had made no terms for the English papists;* but his eminence replied, "We must leave to God the care of defending the catholics, whose cause is most just; but that of the heretics needs for its support the clemency of princes." Upon this the persecution immediately ceased; the duke recalled his army out of the valleys, and restored their goods; the poor people returned to their houses, and recovered all their ancient rights and privileges. But to strike some further terror into the pope, and the little princes of Italy, the protector gave out, that for as much as he was satisfied they had been the promoters of this persecution, he would keep it in mind, and lay hold of the first opportunity to send his fleet into the Mediterranean to visit *Civita Vecchia*, and other parts of the ecclesiastical territories; and that the sound of his cannon should be heard in Rome itself. He declared publicly that he would not suffer the protestant faith to be insulted in any part of the world; and therefore procured liberty to the reformed in Bohemia and France; nor was there any potentate in Europe so hardy as to risk his displeasure by denying his requests.

The charitable society for the relief of the widows and children of clergymen, since known by the name of the *Corporation for the Sons of the Clergy*, had its beginning this year; the first sermon being preached by the reverend Mr. *George Hall*, son of the famous *Joseph Hall* bishop of Exeter, then minister of Aldersgate, afterwards archdeacon of Canterbury, and bishop of Chester. The sermon was entitled, *God's appearing for the tribe of Levi, improved in a sermon preached at St. Paul's, November 8, 1655, to the sons of MINISTERS then solemnly assembled, from Numb. xvii. 8. The Rod of Aaron budded, and bloomed blossoms, and yielded almonds.* The preacher's design was to enforce

* Burnet, vol. i. p. 103, Edin. edit.

the necessity and usefulness of a settled ministry; and though there were some passages that discovered him to be a *prelatist*, the main part of the sermon breathes moderation; "Let those ill-invented terms (says he) whereby we have been distinguished from each other, be swallowed up in that name which will lead us hand in hand to heaven, the name of CHRISTIANS. If my stomach, or any of yours, rise against the name of brotherly communion, which may consist with our several principles retained, not differing in substantials, God take down that stomach, and make us see how much we are concerned to keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace. Why should some, in the height of their zeal for a liturgy, suppose there can be no service of God but where that is used? why should others, again, think their piety concerned and trespassed upon, if I prefer, and think fit to use, a set form? There must be abatements and allowances of each other; a coming down from our punctilios, or we shall never give up a good account to God." From this time sermons have been preached annually and large contributions made for the service of this charity. In the reign of king *Charles II.* they became a *body corporate*; and their present grandeur is sufficiently known to the whole nation.

On the 21st of March this year, died the most reverend and learned archbishop *Usher*, born in Dublin 1580, and educated in Trinity-college.* He proceeded *M. A.* in the year 1600, and next year was ordained deacon and priest by his uncle *Henry Usher*, then archbishop of Armagh. In the year 1620 he was made bishop of Meath, and four years after archbishop of Armagh; in which station he remained till the dissolution of the hierarchy during the civil wars. In his younger years he was a *calvinist*, but

* It is a curious and singular circumstance, that archbishop Usher received his first elements of learning from two aunts, who were both born blind, yet found out a method of teaching him to read English. These ladies had vast memories, and could repeat most part of the scripture by heart distinctly and without mistake. When it was debated, whether Dr. Usher should be nominated one of the assembly at Westminster, Mr. Selden is reported to have said, "that they had as good enquire, whether they had best admit Inigo Jones, the king's architect, to the company of mouse-trap makers." Brit. Biog. vol. iv. p. 336, 350. *Ed.*

in his advanced age he embraced the middle way between *Calvin* and *Arminius*. He was one of the most moderate prelates of his time, and allowed of the ordinations of foreign protestants ; which none but he and bishop *Davenant*, and one or two more among the bishops of those times, would admit. The archbishop having lost all his revenues by the Irish rebellion, the king conferred upon him the bishopric of Carlisle in commendam. In 1643 he was nominated one of the assembly of divines at Westminster, but did not appear among them. As long as the king was at Oxford he continued with him, but when the war was ended, he returned to London and lived privately, without any molestation. He assisted at the treaty of the Isle of Wight, but could do no service, the contending parties being then at too great a distance to be reconciled. A little before the king's death, the archbishop was chosen preacher to the honorable society of Lincoln's-Inn, preaching constantly all term time, till his eyes failing, he quitted that post, about a year and a half before his death, and retired with the countess of *Peterborough* to her house at Ryegate. The protector had a high esteem for this excellent prelate, and consulted him about proper measures for advancing the protestant interest at home and abroad : He allowed him a pension, and promised him a lease of part of the lands of his archbishopric in Ireland for twenty-one years ; but his death prevented the accomplishment of his design. About the middle of February the archbishop went down to Ryegate, and on the 20th of March was seized with a pleurisy, of which he died the next day, in the seventy-sixth year of his age, having been fifty-five years a preacher, four years bishop of Meath, and thirty-one years archbishop of Armagh. The archbishop was one of the most learned men of his age ; he had a penetrating judgment, a tenacious memory ; above all, he was a most pious, humble exemplary christian.* His bo-

* "With his great and vast learning," it is said, "no man had a better soul and a more apostolical mind. Passion, pride, self-will, or the love of the world, seemed not to be so much as in his nature. He had all the innocence of the dove in him. But no man is entirely perfect. He was not made for the governing part of his function. His soul was too gentle to manage the rough work of reforming abuses ;

dy was of the smaller size, his complexion sanguine, but his presence always commanded reverence. The protector did him the honor of a public funeral, and buried him at his own expence,* in King *Henry* the VII's chapel.†

Stephen Marshall, B. D. was born at Godmanchester in Huntingdonshire, and was educated in Cambridge, and afterwards beneficed at Finchingfield in Essex, where he acquired such reputation by his preaching, that he was often called to preach before the long parliament, who consulted him in all affairs relating to religion. He was one of the assembly of divines, and employed in most, if not all the treaties between the king and parliament. Mr. *Eachard*, according to his usual candor, calls him “a famous incendiary, and assistant to the parliamentarians, their trumpet in their fasts, their confessor in their sickness, their counsellor in their assemblies, their chaplain in their treaties,

therefore he left things as he found them. He saw the necessity of cutting off many abuses, and hoped for a time of reformation, yet he did not exert himself to correct or remove those corruptions which he apprehended would bring a curse and ruin upon the church. It seems that this sat heavy upon his mind in his last illness; for he prayed often and with great humility, that God would forgive his sins of omission, and his failings in his duty.” *Life of Bp. Bedel*, p. 86-7. *Ed.*

* Here Mr. Neal was, it seems, in a mistake. The protector, though he directed that this prelate should be buried with great pomp in Westminster Abbey; bore but half the expence of the funeral; the other half fell very heavily upon his relations. His *Annals of the Old and New Testament* is esteemed the most valuable of his numerous works; and the first draught of this work was drawn up by him, when he was only fifteen years of age. The Western world owes its first acquaintance with the Samaritan bible to this prelate. Four copies were procured for him by a factor, and sent to him, from Syria, in 1625. He gave one copy to the library at Oxford: a second he lodged in sir Robert Cotton's library: he sent a third to Leyden, and reserved the fourth for himself. The Old Testament in Syriac was obtained for him not long after. *Clarke's Martyrology*, in the *Lives*, p. 280, and 292. *Granger's History of England*, vol. iii. p. 27. 8vo.

Cromwell prevented the sale of Archb. Usher's valuable library of prints and manuscripts to foreigners: and caused it to be purchased and sent over to Dublin, with an intention to bestow it on a new college, or hall, which he proposed to build and endow there. The lease, which, as Mr. Neal says, Cromwell promised to the archbishop, was never executed: and it admits a doubt, whether the pension was ever enjoyed. Dr. Grey, on the authority of Dr. Parr, the primate's biographer. *Ed.*

† *Clarke's General Martyrology*, p. 277, &c. of the *Lives*.

and their champion in their disputations ;”* and then adds, “ This great *Shimei*, being taken with a desperate sickness, departed the world mad and raving.” An unjust aspersion ! for he was a person of sober and moderate principles, insomuch that Mr. *Baxter* used to say, that if all the bishops had been of the spirit and temper of archbishop *Usher*, the presbyterians of the temper of Mr. *Marshall*, and the independents like Mr. *Jer. Burroughs*, the divisions of the church would have been easily compromised. When he was taken ill, and obliged to retire into the country for the air, the Oxford *Mercury* said he was distracted, and in his rage constantly cried out, that he was damned for adhering to the parliament in their war against the king. But he lived to confute the calumny, and published a treatise to prove the lawfulness of defensive arms in cases of necessity. He was an admired preacher, and far from running into the extremes of the times. In the decline of his life he retired from the city, and spent the two last years of his life in Ipswich. The reverend Mr. *G. Firmin*, in a preface to one of Mr. *Marshall’s* posthumous sermons, writes, that he had left few such laborers as himself behind him ; that he was a christian by practice as well as profession ; that he lived by faith, and died by faith, and was an example to the believers in word, in conversation, in charity, in faith, and purity. That when he and others were talking with Mr. *Marshall* about his death, he replied, *I cannot say, says he, I have not so lived that I should now be afraid to die ; but this I can say, I have so learned Christ, that I am not afraid to die.* He enjoyed the full use of his understanding to the last ; but lost the use of his hands and appetite, in so much that he could eat nothing for some months before he died. Mr. *Fuller* says, that he performed his exercise for batchelor of divinity with general applause ; that he was a good preacher, but so supple, that he brake

* The words of Mr. Eachard are almost *verbatim* borrowed from Fuller. Dr. Grey, to confute the character given of Mr. Marshall, as an admired preacher, quotes some passages from his sermons ; which certainly are not in the taste of modern eloquence : but they had a point in them, and abounded in antitheses and comparisons, which, it is easy to conceive, might gain admiration. Besides, compositions should be, in part, at least, judged of by the spirit and taste of the age, to which they were adapted. *Ed.*

not a joint in all the alteration of the times ; and although some suspected him of deserting his presbyterian principles, yet upon his death-bed he gave them full satisfaction that he had not.* His remains were solemnly interred in Westminster-Abbey, but were dug up again at the restoration.

The protector having as yet no better than a military title to his high dignity, resolved to obtain a more legal one as soon as the times would admit. He had now cut his way through a great many difficulties, and the success of his arms this summer having raised his reputation to an uncommon pitch of greatness, he resolved to summon a new parliament to meet at Westminster, Sept. 17, 1656, to conform his title to the protectorship ; and the *republicans* being his most dangerous enemies, the protector sent for sir *H. Vane* and major-general *Ludlow*, to give security not to act against the present government.† He asked *Ludlow*, what made him uneasy ? or what he would have ? *Ludlow* answered, He would have the nation governed by its own consent. I am, said the protector, as much for a government by consent as any man ; but where shall we find that consent ; among the prelatical, presbyterian, independent, anabaptist, or levelling parties ? The *other* replied, among those of all sorts who have acted with fidelity and affection to the public. The *protector*, apprehending that he was for throwing all things back into confusion, told him, that all men now enjoyed as much liberty and protection as they could desire, and that he was resolved to keep the nation from being embroed again in blood. “ I desire not, says he, to put any more hardships upon you than upon myself ; nor do I aim at any thing by this proceeding but the public quiet and security. As to my own circumstances in the world, I have not much improved them, as these gentlemen (pointing to his council) well know.” But *Ludlow*, sir *Henry Vane*, and colonel *Rich*, persisting in their refusal to give security, were taken into custody. Bishop *Burnet* says, that others solicited him to restore the young king, and that the earl of *Orkney* told him he might make his own terms ; but that *Cromwell* replied, that the son could never forgive his father’s blood ; and that he was so debauched he would undo

* Fuller’s Worthies, book II. p. 53. † Life of Cromwell, p. 349.

every thing. It was therefore resolved to set him aside, and proceed upon the present plan.

When the parliament met according to appointment, the reverend Dr. *Owen* preached before them ; his text was, Isa. xiv. 32. *What shall one then answer the messengers of the nation ? that the Lord hath founded Zion, and the poor of his people shall trust in it.* From the Abbey, the protector went with the members to the painted chamber, where he made a speech and then dismissed them to their house : but to prevent their entering into debates about his title, a guard was placed at the door, with a paper of RECOGNITION for each member to subscribe, wherein they promise, *not to act any thing prejudicial to the government as it was established under a PROTECTOR.* Upon their subscribing this, if they were under no disqualification, they had a certificate of their return, and *of their being approved by his HIGHNESS and COUNCIL.** This measure was certainly inconsistent with the freedom of parliaments : for if the crown has a negative upon the return of the members, they are tools of the crown, and not representatives of the people ; because, though they are legally chosen and returned by the proper officer, a superior tribunal may set them aside. Besides, if the parliament was to give a sanction to the new government, the *recognition* was absurd, because it obliged them to consent to that which they had no liberty to debate. It must therefore be allowed, that CROMWELL's *protectorship* was built solely upon the authority of the *council of officers* : this being one of those *fundamentals* which his highness would not suffer any of his parliaments to debate. But it is highly probable that these stretches of power might be absolutely unavoidable at this time, to maintain government under any form ; and that without them the several parties would have fallen to pieces, and involved the nation in confusion and a new war. The parliament, in their *humble petition and advice*, guarded against the exclusion of their members for the future, except by a vote of the house, which the protector freely consented to ; so that this was only a temporary expedient, and not to be made a precedent of : but at present almost one hundred members refused to subscribe, and were there-

* Whitlocke, p. 639.

fore excluded. These presented a petition to the sitting members for redress, and were answered, that the *protector* had promised to relieve them if they could shew cause of complaint. But instead of this, they appealed to the people in a severe remonstrance, charging *his highness* with invading their fundamental rights and liberties, and preventing the free meeting of the representatives of the people in parliament. To which it was replied, that if they would not so much as own the *protector*, they had no color or pretence to call themselves members of parliament.

The sitting members having chosen sir *Thomas Widdrington* their speaker, approved of the war with Spain, and voted supplies to support his *highness* in the prosecution of it. They renounced and disannulled the title of CHARLES STUART; and passed an act, making it high treason to compass or imagine the death of the LORD PROTECTOR. They reviewed the orders and ordinances of the protector, and his council, in the intervals of parliament, and confirmed most of them. They abrogated the authority and power of the *major-generals*, conceiving it inconsistent with the laws of England, and liberties of the people. These, and some other acts hereafter mentioned, were presented to his highness, Nov. 27, for confirmation; and as he was pleased to confirm them all, he told them, *that as it had been the custom of the chief governors to acknowledge the care and kindness of the commons upon such occasions, so he did very heartily and thankfully acknowledge their kindness therein.* But the parliament continued sitting till next year, when we shall meet with more important transactions.

The act for security of the protector's person was no sooner passed than a plot was discovered against his life. *Miles Syndercomb* a leveller, a bold resolute man, having been disbanded in Scotland, combined with one *Cecil*, and another of the protector's life-guards, to assassinate him as he was going to Hampton-court; but being disappointed once and again by some unexpected accidents, the other conspirators betrayed the design. *Syndercomb* put himself on his trial, and was condemned on the statute 25th of *Edward III.* the chief justice *Glynne* declaring, that by the word *king* in the statute, any chief magistrate was un-

derstood. But *Syndercomb* prevented the execution ; for the very morning he was to suffer, he was found dead in his bed ; whereupon his body was tied to a horse's tail, and dragged naked to the scaffold on Tower-hill, and then buried with a stake driven through it. However, a day of public thanksgiving was appointed for the protector's deliverance, Feb. 20 ; when his highness gave the speaker and members of parliament a splendid entertainment at the banqueting-house.

The war with Spain this summer was attended with vast success, for no sooner had the king of Spain seized the effects of the *English* merchants in his country, than the protector ordered his admirals, *Blake* and *Montague*, to block up the harbor of Cadiz, and look out for the Plate fleet, which captain *Stayner*, who was left with seven men of war upon the coast, while the admirals were gone to Portugal for fresh water, discovered, consisting of eight men of war, making directly for Cadiz ; *Stayner* bore up to them with all the sail he could make, and engaged them within four leagues of their port ; the Spanish admiral run his ship ashore with six hundred thousand pieces of eight ; but the vice-admiral, with twelve hundred thousand pieces of eight, and another galleon, were fired and sunk ; the rear-admiral, with two millions of plate in her, was taken ; and upon the whole, six of the eight ships were destroyed ; the plate to the value of two millions, was brought to Portsmouth, and conveyed in carts to London, and carried through the city to the Tower to be coined. Admiral *Blake*, with the rest of the fleet, wintered upon the coast of Spain, and destroyed another fleet of much greater value the next summer.

After the discovery of *Syndercomb's* plot, the *prelatists*, *presbyterians*, and *levellers*, were pretty quiet, but the quakers began to be very troublesome. The reader has been informed under the year 1650, that *George Fox* travelled the countries ; declaiming in the market-places, and in churches, against all ordained ministers, and placing the whole of religion in an inward light, and an extraordinary impulse of the holy spirit. In the year 1652 the quakers set up separate assemblies in Lancashire, and the adjacent parts. In 1654 they opened the first separate meeting of

the people called *quakers* in the house of *Robert Dring*, in Watling-street, London. These unwary people, by interrupting public worship, and refusing to pay any respect to the magistrate, frequently exposed themselves to sufferings.* One of them, in a letter to the protector, says, "that though there are no penal laws in force, obliging men to comply with the established religion, yet the quakers are exposed upon other accounts; they are fined and imprisoned for refusing to take an oath; for not paying their tithes; for disturbing the public assemblies, and meeting in the streets, and places of public resort; some of them have been whipped for vagabonds, and for their plain speeches to the magistrate." But the *quakers* were so far from being discouraged, that they opened a public meeting under favor of the toleration, at the Bull and Mouth-inn, in Aldersgate-street, where women as well as men spake as they were moved; and when none were moved, there was no speaking at all.† The novelty of this assembly drew great numbers of people thither out of curiosity; nor did any give them disturbance, as long as they continued quiet within themselves; but in several places where they had no business, the extravagance of their speakers was insufferable; one of them interrupted the minister in White-chapel church, and disturbed the whole assembly. A female came into Whitehall chapel, *stark naked*, in the midst of

* Gough says, "that most, (though not always) they waited till the worship was ended." The *quakers*, he observes, were not singular concerning the gospel-liberty of prophesying. The *baptists* and *independents* adopted the opinion, that ordained ministers had not, either from the appointment of Christ, or the practise of the primitive christians, an exclusive right of speaking in the church; but that all properly gifted might speak one by one. During the civil wars it had been usual for laymen, soldiers, and others, with the connivance, if not with the approbation of the ruling powers, to speak or preach in the public places of worship, or elsewhere. Oliver Cromwell, in his correspondence with the ministers of Scotland, in 1650, had vindicated the practice. The members of this infant-society, who thought it their duty to declare the burden of the word on their minds, were sanctioned by the opinions and manners of the age. They were reprehensible only when the impetuosity of their zeal interrupted the service as it was proceeding. And then the irregularity and rudeness of this conduct did not justify the violence and outrage with which they were often treated: as contrary to humanity and civilization as to the professed principles of religious liberty. Gough's History of the Quakers, vol. i. p. 87. Ed.

† Sewel's History, p. 84.

public worship,† the lord protector himself being present. Another came into the parliament-house with a trenchard in her hand, which she broke in pieces, saying, *Thus shall ye be broke in pieces.* Thomas Aldam, having complained to the protector of the imprisonment of some friends in the country, and not finding redress, took off his cap and tore it in pieces, saying, *So shall thy government be torn from thee and thy house.* Several pretending an extraordinary message from heaven, went about the streets of London, denouncing the judgments of God against the protector and his council. One came to the door of the parliament-house with a drawn sword, and wounded several who were present, saying, *he was inspired by the Holy Spirit to kill every man that sat in the house.** Others in their prophetic raptures denounced judgments on the whole nation, and frequently disturbed the public assemblies where the chief magistrate himself was present. Many opened their shops on the Lord's day, in defiance of the laws, and were so very obstinate and intractable, that it was impossible to keep the peace without some marks of severity.

But the most extravagant quaker that appeared at this time was James Naylor, formerly an officer in major-general Lambert's troop in Scotland, a man of good natural parts, and an admired speaker among these people; some

† It does not appear on what authority Mr. Neal brings forward this story. It is not to be met with in Sewel, who does relate two the following facts: p. 144. If it were a well-authenticated fact, and if this female were a quaker, the impropriety and indecency of her conduct ought not to be imputed to the society, unless it directly arose from their avowed principles, and had been sanctioned by their approbation. Mr. Neal, further on, speaks of "other extravagancies of this people recorded by our historians about that time." The matter of enquiry will be, whether those historians wrote on good evidence, and were candid and fair in their representations? He says, that "the protector was continually teased with their importunities:" others may applaud the firmness and perseverance with which their remonstrances, on the persecutions they suffered, here called *teazing importunities*, were renewed. "Fox and others," he adds, "wrote letters to him, filled with denunciations of the divine judgments." If we may judge by the specimens of these letters, which Sewel and Gough have given us, the candid reader will find reason rather to applaud the honest simplicity, and undisguised plain dealing in them, than contempt of authority, or bitter invectives. *Ed.*

* Whitlocke, p. 592.

of whom had such a veneration for him, that they styled him in blasphemous language, the *everlasting Sun of righteousness*; the *Prince of peace*; the *only begotten son of God*; the *fairest among ten thousand*. Some of the friends kissed his feet in the prison at Exeter, and after his release went before him into the city of Bristol, after the manner of our Savior's entrance into Jerusalem: one walked bareheaded; another of the women led his horse; others spread their scarves and handkerchiefs before him in the way, crying continually as they went on, *Holy, holy, holy, is the Lord God of Hosts*; *Hosanna in the highest*; *holy, holy, is the Lord God of Israel*.^{*} Upon this the magistrates of Bristol caused him to be apprehended, and sent up to the parliament, who appointed a committee to examine witnesses against him, upon a charge of blasphemy; (1.) For admitting religious worship to be paid to him; and, (2.) For assuming the names and incommunicable titles and attributes of our blessed Savior, as the name *JESUS, the fairest amongst ten thousand, the only-begotten Son of God, the prophet of the most High, the king of Israel, the everlasting Sun of righteousness, the Prince of*

^{*} The story of James Naylor was too remarkable, both on account of the extravagant delusions which misled him and his admirers, and the severe and illegal sentence under which he suffered, not to be recorded. But to give it as a picture of *quakerism* is not fair or candid: for not only *Sewel* himself condemns the behavior of Naylor and his followers, and resolves it into his being stupified in his understanding, and beguiled by the wiles of Satan; but informs us that the *quakers* in general spoke against him and his doings. They disowned him and his adherents. Gough therefore, not without reason, complains that this has been passed over unnoticed, while the enormities of this man, instead of being overlooked, have been rather exaggerated. The reflection he makes on this is just, and deserves serious attention. "There seems to be a pride and malignity in human nature, while unreformed by religion, diametrically opposite to christian charity, which, unconscious of sublime virtue in itself, and aiming to depress the rest of mankind below its own level, delights to dwell on the dark side of characters, to magnify the failings of men, and draw a suspicious shade over their virtues, or the mitigating circumstances of their defects; and this malevolent disposition receives new force from the spirit of party, which peculiarly characterised this age, and raged with unabated violence against the *quakers*."—It may be added, though it should be with deep concern, that even good and liberal minds do not always rise wholly superior to the influence of these dispositions. Gough's History, vol. i. p. 251, 247, 8. Sewel's Hist. p. 143, 150. Ed.

peace. All which he confessed,† but alledged in his own defence, that these honors were not paid to him, but to *Christ who dwelt in him.*

The committee asked him, why he came in so extraordinary a manner into Bristol? To which he replied, that *he might not refuse any honors which others who were moved by the Lord gave him.* Being further asked whether he had reproved the persons who gave him those titles and attributes? He answered, *if they had it from the Lord, what had I to do to reprove them? If the Father has moved them to give these honors to Christ, I may not deny them; if they have given them to any other but to Christ, I disown them.* He concluded his defence thus; *I do abhor that any honors due to God should be given to me as I am a creature; but it pleased the Lord to set me up as a sign of the coming of the righteous one, and what has been done to me passing through the town, I was commanded by the power of the Lord to suffer to be done to the outward man, as a sign; but I abhor any honor as a creature.*

From the committee, he was brought to the bar of the house, where the report being read, he confessed it; upon which the house voted him guilty of *blasphemy*, and ordered him to be set in the pillory two hours at Westminster, and two hours at the Old Exchange; that he should be whipped through the streets from Westminster to the Old Exchange; that his tongue should be bored through with an hot iron, and his forehead stigmatized with the letter *B*; he was afterwards to be sent to Bristol, and to ride through the city with his face to the horse's tail, and to be whipped the next market-day after he come thither.

† This is not accurate. When the speaker Widdrington was going to pronounce the sentence, J. Naylor said, "he did not know his offence." To which the speaker replied, "he should know his offence by his punishment." The trial was published, but the extravagancy of the sentence countenances the suspicion, that the account was partially taken and published to justify the cruelty of it. Some of his answers were innocent enough: some not clear, and some wrested and aggravated by his adversaries: they reported the worst, and more than was true; adding and diminishing. it is said, as they were minded; and leaving out much of what was spoken to the committee. His words were perverted, and ensnaring questions proposed to him. Sewel's History, p 139, note, and p. 140; or Gough, vol. i. p. 237, 8, note. *Ed.*

Last of all, he was to be committed to Bridewell in London, to be restrained from company, and to be put to hard labor till he should be released by parliament; during which time he was to be debarred from pen, ink, and paper, and to have no sustenance but what he got by his daily labor.* A sentence much too severe for such a wrong-headed, obstinate creature.†

December 18, *James Naylor* stood in the pillory in the Palace-yard, Westminster, and was whipped to the Old Exchange; the remainder of his sentence being respited for a week, in which time the reverend Mr. *Caryl*, *Manton*, *Nye*, *Griffith*, and *Reynolds*, went to him, in order to bring him to some acknowledgment of his crime;‡ but not

* It ought to be mentioned, to the honor of humanity, and as a proof that some persons of equity and moderation existed in those times; that several persons of different persuasions had offered petitions to parliament on his behalf, but it was resolved not to read them till sentence had been passed; when by the execution of the first part of it he was reduced to a state of extreme weakness, many again interposed in his favor by a petition, which was presented to the house by more than an hundred on behalf of the subscribers, while the execution of the remaining part was respited for a week, pleading that this respite had refreshed the hearts of many thousands altogether unconcerned in his practice, and praying that it might be wholly remitted. But intolerance and vindictiveness resisted these solicitations. The protector was then addressed; on which he wrote a letter to the house; but this, though it occasioned some debate, obtained no resolution in favor of the prisoner. On this the petitioners presented a second address to the protector: but it is said, the public preachers by their influence prevented its effect. Sewel, p. 141: and Gough, vol. i. p. 240, 41. *Ed.*

† Mr. *Neal*'s censure of this sentence is too gentle. It was repugnant to humanity, equity, and wisdom. For though the religious extravagancies of *Naylor* might reasonably shock pious and sober minds, his criminality ought to have been estimated not by the sound of the titles and claims he assumed, or which were given to him; but by the delusion and phrensy which had seized his brain: and on this ground he was an object of pity, not of indignation; and he should have been assigned over to a physician for a cure of his madness, and not to the executioner of public justice to be punished. His features, we are told, bore a near resemblance to the common pictures of Christ; which is candidly mentioned by Mr. *Granger* to account for his imagining that he was transformed into Christ; and which circumstance ought to have had its influence with his judges. Hist. of England, vol. iii. p. 149, 8vo. *Ed.*

‡ These gentlemen, in many respects excellent characters, did not manage this interview in a manner worthy of themselves, or honorable to their memory. For they would admit no friend of his, nor any other person into the room, although requested. When *Naylor* insisted

being able to reclaim him, the remainder of his sentence was executed Dec. 27, when some of his followers licked his wounds, and paid him honors both ridiculous and superstitious. He was afterwards sent to Bristol, and whipped from the middle of Thomas-street, over the bridge, to the middle of Broad-street. From Bristol he was brought back to Bridewell, London, where he remained sullen for three days, and would not work, but then begged for victuals, and was content to labor.

At length, after two years imprisonment, he recanted his errors so far as to acknowledge, that the honors he received at his entrance into Bristol were wrong; "and all those ranting, wild spirits, that gathered about me (says he) at that time of darkness, with all their wild acts, and wicked works against the honor of God, and his pure spirit and people, I renounce. And whereas I gave advantage, through want of judgment, to that evil spirit, I take shame to myself." After the protector's death *James Naylor* was released out of prison, and wrote several things in defence of the *quakers*, who owned him as a *friend*, notwithstanding his extravagant behavior;* but he did not long survive his enlargement, for retiring into Huntingdonshire, he died there towards the latter end of the year 1660, about the forty-fourth year of his age.† *Mr. Whitlocke* observes very

that what passed should be put in writing, and a copy left with him or the jailor, they consented: but on his remarking afterwards in the course of the conversation, on perceiving they meant to wrest his words, "how soon they forgot the work of the bishops, who were now treading the same steps, seeking to ensnare the innocent," they rose up in a rage, and burnt what they had written. Sewel, p. 142. Gough, vol. i. p. 242. *Ed.*

* The reflection insinuated here against the *quakers* might have been well spared: and it would have been more handsome in our author to have stated the matter as Sewel has: "*James Naylor*," says he, "came to very great sorrow and deep humiliation of mind: and therefore, because God forgives the transgressions of the penitent, and blotteth them out, and remembereth them no more, so could *James Naylor's* friends do no other than forgive his crime, and thus take back the lost sheep into their society." Sewel's History, p. 153. *Ed.*

† The expressions uttered by *James Naylor*, about two hours before his death, both in justice to his name, and on account of their own excellence deserve to be preserved here. "There is a spirit which I feel," he said, "that delights to do no evil, nor to revenge any wrong, but delights to

justly, that many thought he was too furiously prosecuted by some rigid men.*

Other extravagancies of this people, about this time, are recorded by our historians. The protector was continually teased with their importunities; they waited for him on the road, and watched about his palace, till they got an opportunity to speak to him. *George Fox*, and others, wrote letters filled with denunciations of divine judgments, unless he would pull down the remains of antichrist, by which they understood *church ministers*, and *church maintenance*. To which the protector paid no regard.

As new inroads were made upon the ordinances for observation of the sabbath, the parliament took care to amend them. This year they ordained, that "the sabbath should be deemed to extend from twelve of the clock on Saturday

endure all things, in hopes to enjoy its own to the end: Its hope is to outlive all wrath and contention, and to weary out all exaltation and cruelty, or whatever is of a nature contrary to itself. It sees to the end of all temptation: As it bears no evil in itself, so it conceives none in thought to any other: if it be betrayed, it bears it; for its ground and spring is the mercies and forgiveness of God: Its crown is meekness, its life is everlasting love unfeigned, and takes its kingdom with intreaty and not with contention, and keeps it by lowliness of mind. In God alone it can rejoice, though none else regard it, or can own its life: It is conceived in sorrow, and brought forth without any pity to it; nor doth it murmur at grief and oppression. It never rejoiceth, but through sufferings, for with the world's joy it is murdered: I found it alone being forsaken; I have fellowship therein with them who lived in dens and desolate places in the earth, who through death obtained this resurrection and eternal life." After his fall James Naylor was a man of great selfdenial, and very diffident and jealous of himself. Sewel, p. 159. Gough's History, vol. i. p. 246. *Ed.*

* Whitlocke's observation on Naylor's sentence, just as it is, is not sufficiently strong and poignant. In its *cruelty* this sentence bore a great resemblance to that passed on Dr. Leighton by the infamous court of Star-chamber: and it vied with it in *illegality*, for the house of commons, as Gough remarks, is no court of judicature. nor hath any power to inflict a punishment beyond imprisonment during its session. Hist. of the Quakers, vol. i. p. 239. It ought not to be omitted, that many of the members were very averse to the severity of the measures taken against this persecuted man, whom a temporary phrensy misled. Though it may be added here, the recantation of this bewildered victim was not published till after his release, yet that and other pieces were written by him while he was in prison: during which period he recovered a sound state of mind, and repented of his errors. Sewel, p. 144. *Ed.*

night, to twelve of the clock on Lord's day night; and within that compass of time they prohibited all kinds of business and diversions, except works of necessity and mercy. No election of magistrates is to be on the Lord's day; no holding of courts, or return of writs, but if, according to their charters, they fall upon the Lord's day, they are to be deferred to Monday. It is further enacted, That all persons not having a reasonable excuse, to be allowed by a justice of peace, shall resort to some church or chapel, where the true worship of God is performed, or to some meeting-place of christians not differing in matters of faith from the public profession of the nation, on penalty of two shillings and sixpence for every offence. It is further ordered, that no minister shall be molested, or disturbed in the discharge of his office on the Lord's day, or on any other day, when he is performing his duty, or in going or coming from the place of public worship. Nor shall any wilful disturbance be given to the congregation, on penalty of five pounds, or being sent to the workhouse for six months, provided the information be within one month after the offence is committed."* This ordinance to be read in every church or chapel of this nation annually, the first Lord's day in every March.

The oath of abjuration, for discovering popish recusants, not being effectual, it was now further ordained, "that all justices of peace, at the quarter-sessions, should charge the grand juries to present all persons whom they suspected to be popishly affected; and that every such person should appear at the next quarter-sessions, and take and subscribe the following oath of abjuration, on penalty of being adjudged popish recusants convict, to all intents and purposes whatsoever."

"I *A. B.* do abjure and renounce the pope's supremacy and authority over the catholic church in general, and over myself in particular. And I do believe the church of Rome is not the true church; and that there is not any transubstantiation in the sacrament of the Lord's supper, or in the elements of bread and wine after consecration thereof, by any person whatsoever. And I do also believe, that

* Scobel, p. 438.

there is not any purgatory ; and that consecrated hosts, crucifixes, or images, ought not to be worshipped ; neither that any worship is due unto them. And I also believe, that salvation cannot be merited by works. And I do sincerely testify and declare, that the pope, neither of himself, nor by any authority of the church or see of Rome, or by any other means, with any other, hath any power or authority to depose the chief magistrate of these nations, or to dispose of any of the countries or territories thereunto belonging ; or to authorise any foreign prince or state to invade or annoy him, or them ; or to discharge any of the people of these nations from their obedience to the *chief magistrate* ; or to give license or leave to any of the said people to bear arms, raise tumults, or to offer any violence or hurt to the person of the said *chief magistrate*, or to the state or government of these nations, or to any of the people thereof. And I do further swear, that I do from my heart abhor, detest and abjure, this damnable doctrine and position, that princes, rulers or governors, which be excommunicated, or deprived by the pope, may, by virtue of such excommunication or deprivation, be killed, murdered, or deposed from their rule or government ; or any outrage or violence done to them by the people that are under them ; or by any other whatsoever upon such pretence. And I do further swear, that I do believe that the pope, or bishop of Rome, hath no authority, power, or jurisdiction whatsoever, within England, Scotland and Ireland, or any or either of them, or the dominions or territories thereunto belonging, or any or either of them. And all doctrines in affirmation of the same points I do abjure and renounce, without any equivocation, mental reservation, or secret evasion whatsoever, taking the words by me spoken, according to the common and usual meaning of them. And I do believe no power derived from the pope or church of Rome, or any other person, can absolve me from this mine oath. And I do renounce all pardons and dispensations to the contrary. So help me God.*

Upon refusal of this oath, the protector and his successors might, by process in the Exchequer, seize upon two

* Seabel, p. 444.

thirds of their estates both real and personal, for the use of the public, during the time of their recusancy; but after their decease, the same were to return to the right heir, provided they took the above mentioned oath. It was further ordained, "that no subject of this commonwealth shall at any time be present at mass, in the house of any foreign ambassador, or agent, or at any other place, on penalty of one hundred pounds, and imprisonment for six months, half to the protector, and half to the informer."

How far these severities were needful or justifiable I leave with the judgment of the reader.

The protector had an opportunity this year, of appearing for the protestants of France,* as he had done last year for those of the Valleys; there happened a quarrel between the burghers of Nismes, who were mostly *hugonots*, and the magistrates and bishop of the city; the *intendant* of the province being informed of it, repaired thither to prevent an insurrection; but the *burghers* standing in their own defence raised a tumult, of which the *intendant* sent an account to court. The burghers, being soon sensible of their folly, submitted and begged pardon; but the *court*, laying hold of the opportunity, resolved to ruin them. Upon which they dispatched a messenger privately to CROMWELL, and begged his interposition. The *protector*, having heard the whole account, bid the messenger stay and refresh himself, and before he could return to Paris, his business should be done. Accordingly, an express was immediately dispatched with a letter to the king of France, under cover of the following to cardinal *Mazarine*.

To his eminence the LORD CARDINAL MAZARINE.

"HAVING thought necessary to dispatch this gentleman to the king with the inclosed letter, I commanded

*The conduct of CROMWELL, in this instance, does him the more honor, as unhappily for the suffering protestants of France, it is unparalleled. It was not formed on any precedent; nor has his generous example been followed: "When an opportunity," observes an ingenious writer, "offered for doing something for them at the peace of Ryswick, in 1697: and again of Utrecht, in 1713, at which time four hundred were still groaning on board the gallies, or perishing in dungeons, there was not one stipulation in their favor." Bicheno's Signs of the Times, part I. p. 46, note. *Ed.*

him to salute your *eminence* on my part; and have charged him to communicate to you certain affairs which I have entrusted him with: I therefore pray your highness to give credit to what he shall say, having an entire confidence in him.

“*Your eminence’s most affectionate,*

O. CROMWELL, *protector of the
Commonwealth of England: &c.*

“Whitehall, Dec. 28th, 1656.”

The protector added the following postscript with his own hand; “I have been informed of the tumult at Nismes: I recommend to your highness the interest of the *reformed*.” And in his instructions to his ambassador *Lockhart*, he commanded him to insist peremptorily, *that the tumult of Nismes be forgiven*, or else to leave the court immediately. *Mazarine* complained of this usage, as too high and imperious; but his eminence stood in too much awe of the protector to quarrel with him, and therefore sent orders to the *intendant* to make up the matter as well as he could. Mr. *Welwood* says, the cardinal would change countenance whenever he heard the name of the *protector*, insomuch that it became a proverb in France, that *Mazarine* was not so much afraid of the devil as of *O. Cromwell*. Such was the terror of this great man’s name in the principal courts of Europe!

This year* died the right reverend and pious Dr. Jo.

* In September, this year, [1656] there happened at Abingdon in Berkshire a tumult, which was attended with singular circumstances, expressive of the political as well as religious phrensy of the times. It was occasioned by the burial of Mr. Pendarvis, the pastor of the *baptist* church in that town; who died in London, and was brought down to Abingdon by water, in a sugar-cask filled up with sand, to be interred. As he was one of the *fifth-monarchy* men, and the people to whom he ministered were of that stamp, and famous among the party in general, his interment drew together so vast a concourse of people, even from the remotest parts of the kingdom, that the governing powers took notice of it, and sent major-general Bridges with a party of soldiers to attend on the occasion. Several days were spent by the people in religious exercises, in which were thrown out many railing accusations against the existing government, and exhortations to “arise and fight the Lord’s battles,” &c. At last the major-general sent an order to dissolve the meeting in these words: *It is the order of the state, that you depart to your habitations*. They refused to obey this order, and persisted in their exercises. A guard was then set upon the

seph Hall bishop of Norwich, whose practical works have been in great esteem among the dissenters. He was born as *Ashby de la Zouch* in Leicestershire, and educated in *Emanuel college*, Cambridge. When he left the university, he travelled with *sir Edmund Bacon* to the Spa in Germany. Upon his return, he was taken into the service of prince *Henry*, and preferred to the rectory of *Waltham* in *Essex*, which he held twenty-two years. King *James* sent him to the synod of *Dort* with other English divines, where he preached a *Latin* sermon; but was forced to retire to England before the synod broke up, on the account of his health. Some time after his return, he was preferred to the bishopric of *Exeter*, and from thence translated to *Norwich*. At the beginning of the troubles between the king and parliament, the bishop published several treatises in favor of diocesan episcopacy, which were answered by *Smectymnuus*, as has been already related. He was afterwards imprisoned in the Tower with the rest of the protesting bishops; upon his release he retired to *Norwich*, the revenues of which bishopric being soon sequestered together with his own real and personal estate, he was forced to be content with the fifths. The soldiers used him severely, turning him out of his palace, and threatening to sell his books, if a friend had not given bond for the money, at which they were appraised. The bishop complained very justly of this usage, in a pamphlet entitled *Hard Measure*. At length the parliament, to make him some amends, voted him 40*l.* per annum; and when the war was

house, where they were assembled. On this they repaired to the market-place, and continued in the most insolent manner, to rail at the protector, and abuse the soldiers; crying out; *Now, Lord, appear; down with the Priests, &c.* the very women exciting the men to violence. The soldiers, at last, pulled down the men from their stools. A fray ensued, and swords and canes were brandished together in the greatest confusion, and some few slightly hurt. The major-general then entered the town with his whole brigade of horse. The ring-leaders were apprehended and brought before him: with whom he reasoned and expostulated in the most friendly manner, but without success. For none of them would own their fault, or acknowledge the existing government, nor even promise to behave peaceably, saying, *they knew not how soon they might be called forth to do the Lord's work.* However, five only were committed to prison, and they were soon afterwards released. *Thompson's Collections*, under the word *Abington MSS. Ed.*

ended, in the year 1647, they took off the sequestration from his estate, and the bishop lived peaceably upon it afterwards, spending his solitude in acts of charity and divine meditation. He was a learned and pious man, and of great humility and goodness in conversation; but his being the tool of archbishop *Laud*, in supporting the *divine right* of diocesan episcopacy, lessened him in the esteem of the parliament. Mr. *Fuller* says,* he was frequently called our English *Seneca*, for the pureness, plainness, and fulness of his stile.† He was more happy in his practical than polemical writings. There is one remarkable passage in his will, which is this, after having desired a private funeral, he adds, *I do not hold God's house a meet repository for the dead bodies of the greatest saints*. In his last sickness he was afflicted with violent pains of the stone and strangury, which he bore with wonderful patience, till death put an end to all his troubles, Sept. 8, 1656, in the eighty-second year of his age.

Towards the latter end of this year died the reverend Mr. *Richard Capel*, born at Gloucester 1586, and educated in Magdalen college, Oxon, where he proceeded *M. A.*‡ His eminence in the university (says the Oxford historian) was great; he had divers learned men for his pupils, who were afterwards famous in the church, as *Accepted Frewen*, archbishop of *York*, *William Pemble*, and others. He left the university for the rectory of Eastington in his own county, where he became celebrated for his painful and practical preaching, as well as for his exemplary life. When the book of sports came out 1633, he refused to read it, but resigned his rectory, and commenced physician. In 1641 he closed with the parliament, and was chosen one of the assembly of divines, but declined sitting among them, choosing to reside at his living at Pitchcomb, near Stroud, where he was in great reputation as a physician and divine, preaching gratis to his congregation. He published several valuable treatises, and among others a celebrated one, of *Temptations, their nature, danger, and cure*. He was a good

* Fuller's Worthies, book II. p. 130.

† In his younger years he composed a book of Satires, and was the first writer in that kind, of our English poets. Mr. Pope said high things of this performance. Granger's History of England, vol. ii. p. 157, 8vo. Edit.

‡ Fuller's Worthies, p. 260.

old *puritan*, of the stamp of Mr. *Dod*, *Cleaver*, and *Hildersham*; and died at Pitchcomb in Gloucestershire, September 21, 1656.* aged seventy-two years.†

* Mr. Neal has passed over here a name of great worth and eminence, which ought not to be forgotten in an history of the progress of religious liberty; that of the "ever-memorable" JOHN HALES, of ETON, as he has been usually called, who died on the 19th of May, 1656, aged seventy-two years: whose writings, though not numerous, especially his "Discourse on Schism," have much contributed to promote just sentiments and a liberality of spirit. He was born at Bath, in 1584, and made so early a proficiency in grammar learning, that at 13 years of age he was sent to Corpus-Christi college in Oxford; and studied under George Abbot, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, under whom he imbibed an attachment to the doctrines of *calvinism*. In 1605, by the interest of sir Henry Saville, warden of Merton college, whose notice and patronage his merit and learning had attracted, he was chosen fellow of the same: and his assistance was engaged in the excellent edition of Chrysostom's work by sir Henry; which is the best printed *Greek* book England can boast, and cost the learned Editor several thousand pounds.* Mr. Hales was also appointed to read the *Greek* lecture in his college, and in 1612 he was elected *Greek* professor to the university. In 1612-13 he was called upon to compose and speak the Funeral Oration for sir Thomas Bodley, founder of the Bodleian library, whose corpse the university determined to inter in the most solemn manner. On the 24th of May in that year, he was admitted fellow of Eton college, being then in holy orders. In 1618 he accompanied sir Dudley Carleton, King James's ambassador to the States of Holland, as his chaplain; and was present at many of the sessions of the Synod of Dort; from whence he returned an Arminian: "There," he said, "I bid John Calvin good night." On the 27th of June, 1639, by the interest of Archb. Laud, he was installed a Canon of Windsor: but he enjoyed this preferment, which he reluctantly accepted, little more than two years, till the beginning of the civil wars in 1642. About the beginning of 1645 he retired into a private chamber at Eton; where he remained a quarter of a year in a very obscure manner, and is said, during that time, to have lived only upon bread and beer. His fellowship was continued, though he refused to sign the covenant; but he was ejected from it on refusing to take the oath of fidelity to the commonwealth. His necessities at length obliged him to sell his admirable library for 700l. which had cost him 2500l. His love of retirement and study induced him to decline a generous offer of one of the Sedleian Family. When he held the fellowship and bursar's place of his college, he was wont to say, they were worth to him 50l. a year more than he could spend. His body, it is reported, was well-proportioned, and his motion brisk and lively. His countenance was sanguine, cheerful, and full of air. His parts were great: his genius acute and piercing: his judgment profound: his learning various, polite, and universal; so that he

* Harwood's View of the Editions of the Classics, second edit. p. 143.

† Clarke's General Martyrology, p. 303, of the annexed Lives. *Ed.*

The parliament which met Sept. 17, continued sitting till the next year, having before them an affair of the greatest consequence, which was confirming the government under CROMWELL AS LORD PROTECTOR, or changing it for the title of KING. Col. *Jephson*, one of the members from Ireland, moved, that the protector might have the crown, with the title of KING, and was seconded by alderman *Pack*, one of the representatives for the city of London; but the republicans in the house opposed it with great vehemence; however, upon putting the question, it was carried for a *king*; most of the lawyers, as serjeant *Glyn*, *Maynard*, *Fountain*, *St. John*, and others, being on that side. April 4, a petition was presented to the *protector*, recommending the title and office of a KING, as best fitted to the laws and temper of the people of England; and upon his desiring time to consider of it, a committee was appointed to give him sat-

was called "a walking library." His manners were most amiable and engaging. He was most exemplarily meek and humble; and beyond all example charitable: of great candor and moderation; judging for himself, but not others; none more studious of the knowledge of the gospel, or more curious in the search: of the strictest integrity, and sincerely pious. He had a great detestation of an imposing, censorious and intolerant spirit: and would often say, that "he would renounce the religion of the church of England to-morrow, if it obliged him to believe that any other Christians would be damned: and that nobody would conclude another man to be damned, who did not wish him so." The force, eloquence, and simplicity, with which he wrote to Abp. Laud give a picture of his mind, as well as convey excellent instruction. The pursuit of truth," says he, "has been my only care ever since I understood the meaning of the word. For this I have forsaken all hopes, all friends, all desires, which might bias me, and hinder me from driving right at what I aimed. For this I have spent my money, my means, my youth, my age, and all that I have.—If with all this cost and pains, my purchase is but error, I may safely say, to err has cost me more than it has many to find the truth; and truth shall give me this testimony at last, that if I have missed of her, it is not my fault, but my misfortune." He was buried, according to his desire, in Eton college churchyard, on the day after his death: and a monument was erected over his grave by Mr. Peter Curmen. A complete edition of his works was, for the first time, offered to the public, from the press of the Foulis at Glasgow, 1765, in three volumes 12mo. undertaken with the approbation of Dr. Warburton, the bishop of Gloucester. "The greatness of his character," observes Mr. Granger, "has stamped a value upon some of his compositions, which are thought to have but little merit in themselves." Hist. of England, vol. ii. 8vo. p. 172. British Biography, vol. iv. p. 368-375; and Works, vol. i. Testimonies prefixed, and p. 137-8.

isfaction in any difficulties that might arise, who urged, that “the name of *protector* was unknown to our English constitution—that his highness had already the office and power of a king, and therefore the dispute was only about a name.—That his person would never be secure till he assumed it, because the laws did not take notice of him as *chief magistrate*, and juries were backward to find persons guilty of treason where there was no *king*.—They urged the advantages of a mixed monarchy, and insisted on the safety and security of himself and his friends—That by the laws of *Edw. IV.* and *Henry VII.* whatever was done by a king in possession, with the consent of a house of lords and commons, was valid, and all that served under him were exempt from punishment—That without this title all the grants and sales that had been made were null and void; and all who had collected the public monies were accountable.—In short, that the inclinations of the nation were for a *king*—That his not accepting the office would occasion the changing many ancient laws, customs, and formalities.—That there would be no lasting settlement till things reverted to this channel—To all which they added, that it was the advice and opinion of the representatives of the three nations; and since the parliament of England, Scotland, and Ireland, advised and desired him to accept the title, he ought not in reason or equity to decline it.”*

The protector attended to these arguments, and would no doubt have complied, if he could have relied upon the army, but the chief officers remonstrated strongly against it, and many of his old friends, among whom was his own son-in-law *Fleetwood*, threatened to lay down their commissions. All the republicans declaimed loudly against his accepting the crown, and presented a petition to the house against it, drawn up by *Dr. Owen*, and presented by lieutenant-general *Mason*: They said, “they had pulled down monarchy with the monarch, and should they now build it up?—They had appealed to God in the late war, who had answered in their favor, and should they now distrust him?—They had voted to be true the commonwealth, without king or kingship, and should they break their vows, and

* Whitlocke, p. 646.

go back to Egypt for security?—They thought it rather their happiness to be under a *legal danger*, which might make them more cautious and diligent.—Some said, if they must have a king, why not the legal one?"*—Upon these grounds they stood out, and rejected with scorn all limitations of the prerogative under monarchy. So that whatever might be the protector's inclination,† he judged it most prudent to decline the crown at present; and accordingly, May 8, he sent for the house, and acquainted them, that *as the circumstances of affairs then stood, he could not undertake the government with the title of KING.*‡

Some have been of opinion, that the protector's *great genius* forsook him in this affair; but it is impossible, at this distance of time, to judge of the strength of the reasons that determined him the other way. Had he assumed the title of KING, the *army* would have revolted; the *cavaliers* would have joined the republicans to have pulled him down from the throne, the whole nation would in all probability have been thrown into confusion, and himself have been the sacrifice. The protector had made large advances in power already, and he might apprehend it not worth while at present, to risk *the whole* for the sake of a *name*; though I make no question, but if he had lived to see his government established, and the spirits of the people calmed, he would in a proper time have accepted of the stile and title, as he had already done the office of *king*. Nay, Mr. *Welwood*§ says, that a crown was actually made, and brought to Whitehall for that purpose.

Upon *Cromwell's* declining the title of *king*, the parliament concluded upon an humble *petition and advice*, which

* Burnet, vol. i. p. 98, 12mo. Edinb. edit.

† The inclinations of Cromwell were strongly in favour of kingship: for he used all possible means to prevail with the officers of the army to concur with his scheme of royalty. With this view he invited himself to dine with colonel Desborough, and carried lieutenant-general Fleetwood with him, as he knew the influence of these officers and their aversion to his wearing the crown. He then even stooped to solicit their indulgence: "It is but a feather in a man's cap," said he, "and therefore he wondered that men would not please children, and permit them to enjoy their rattle." Ludlow's *Memoirs*, 4to. p. 248. *Ed.*

‡ Whitlocke, p. 646.

§ *Memoirs*, p. 111.

was presented to the protector May 25, containing, among others, the following articles.—“That his *highness* would exercise the office of chief magistrate of this nation under the title of *lord protector*; and that during life he would declare his successor—That for the future he would be pleased to call parliaments, consisting of two houses, to meet once in three years, and oftener, if there be occasion.—That the antient liberties of parliament may be preserved; and that none who are chosen may be excluded but by the judgment and consent of the house of which they are members—That no papist, no person that has borne arms against the parliament, unless he has since given proof of his good affection to the commonwealth; no clergyman, no atheist, or openly profane person, be qualified to be chosen member of parliament—That the other house of parliament be not more than seventy, nor less than forty, of which twenty-one to make a house—That they may not vote by proxy—That as any of them die, no new ones be admitted but by consent of the house itself, but the nomination to be in the protector; and that they may not proceed in any criminal causes but by impeachment of the commons—That no laws be abrogated, suspended, or repealed, but by act of parliament; and that no person be compelled to contribute to any gift, loans, benevolences, or taxes, without consent of parliament—That the number of his *highness's* council be not more than twenty-one, of which seven to be a *quorum*; and that no privy counsellor be removed but by consent of parliament; though in the intervals of parliament they may be suspended—That the chancellor, or keeper of the great seal, the commissioners of the treasury, and other chief officers of state, may be approved by both houses of parliament—.”

The article relating to religion was in these words; “That the protestant christian religion contained in the holy scriptures of the Old and New-Testament, and no other, be asserted and held forth, as the public profession of this nation; and that a confession of faith, to be agreed upon by your *highness* and this present parliament, be asserted, and recommended to the people of the nation; and that none shall be permitted by opprobrious words or writing to revile

or reproach the said confession. That such who profess faith in God the Father, and in Jesus Christ his eternal Son, the true God, and in the Holy Ghost, God co-equal and co-eternal with the Father and the Son, one God blessed for ever, and do acknowledge the holy scriptures of the Old and New Testament to be the revealed will and word of God, though in other things they may differ in word and doctrine, or discipline, from the public profession held forth, shall not be compelled by penalties or restraints, from their profession, but shall be protected from all injuries and molestations in the profession of their faith, and exercise of their religion, while they abuse not this liberty to the civil injury of others, or the disturbance of the public peace; provided this liberty do not extend to popery or prelacy, or to the countenance of such who publish horrid blasphemies; or who practise or hold forth licentiousness or profaneness, under the profession of Christ; and those ministers, or public preachers, who agree with the public profession aforesaid in matters of faith, though they differ in matters of worship or discipline, shall not only have protection in the way of their churches or worship, but shall be deemed equally fit and capable (being otherwise qualified) of any trust, promotion, or employment in this nation, with those who agree with the public profession of faith, only they shall not be capable of receiving the public maintenance appointed for the ministry. And all ministers shall remain disqualified from holding any civil employment, according to the act for disabling all persons in holy orders to exercise any temporal jurisdiction and authority, which is hereby confirmed."*

The protector having consented to these, and some other articles, to the number of eighteen, an oath was appointed to be taken by all privy counsellors and members of parliament for the future, *To maintain the protestant religion; to be faithful to the lord protector; and to preserve the rights and liberties of the people*; and a few days after *O. Cromwell* was proclaimed a second time *lord protector* in the cities of London and Westminster; this being esteemed a new, and more parliamentary title; and if the

* Whitlocke's Memoirs, p. 678.

house had been full and free it might have been so, but the *council's* assuming a power to approve or disapprove of the members after they were returned ; their forbidding them to debate the fundamentals of the new government, and obliging them to sign a *recognition* of it before they entered the house, looks like a force, or taking the election out of their hands. But lame and imperfect as the protector's title may seem, it was as good as that of the Roman emperors, or the original claims of many of the royal houses of Europe ; and in the present disjointed state of the English nation, not only necessary, but it may be the best thing that could be done ; for if the protectorship had been set aside, there was hardly a man in the house who would have ventured to vote for the king ; an absolute commonwealth could not have been supported, and therefore anarchy would inevitably have ensued.

This being the last settlement of government in the protector's time, the reader will observe, that the four fundamental articles already mentioned, (*viz.*) (1.) That the government be in a single person and a parliament. (2.) That parliaments be not perpetual. (3.) The militia. And (4.) Liberty of conscience in matters of religion ; were not suffered to be examined or altered, but were supposed as the basis upon which the new government was founded. That though *Oliver's* title to the government had the sanction and confirmation of the present parliament, it was derived originally from the choice of the *council of officers*, and was never suffered to be debated in the house afterwards—That the *humble petition and advice* approaches nearer the old legal constitution, by appointing two houses of parliament, and would most likely, in time, have been converted into it—That the regulations it makes in the constitution are for the most part reasonable—That the presbyterians were still left in possession of all the ecclesiastical revenues of the kingdom, though an open and free liberty was granted to all christians, except papists and prelatists, who were excluded for reasons of state ; and the penal laws made against the latter were dropped, by the parliament's not confirming them. Remarkable are the words of the lord commissioner *Fiennes*, at the opening of the second session of this parliament, in which he “ warns

the houses of the rock on which many had split, which was a spirit of imposing upon men's consciences in things wherein God leaves them a latitude, and would have them free. The prelates and their adherents, nay, and their master and supporter, with all his posterity, have split upon it. The bloody rebels in Ireland, who would endure no religion but their own, have split upon it; and we doubt not but the prince of those satanical spirits will in due time split upon it, and be brought to the ground with his bloody inquisition. But as God is no respecter of persons, so he is no respecter of forms, but in what form soever the *spirit of imposition* appears, he would testify against it. If men, though otherwise good, will turn ceremony into substance, and make the kingdom of Christ consist in circumstances, in discipline and in forms; and if they carry their animosities to such an height, that if one says *Sibboleth*, instead of *Shibboleth*, it shall be accounted ground enough to cut his throat: if they shall account such devils, or the seed of the serpent, that are not within such a circle or of such an opinion, in vain do they protest against the persecution of God's people, when they make the definition of *God's people* so narrow, that their persecution is as broad as any other, and usually more fierce, because edged with a sharp temper of spirit. Blessed therefore be God, who in mercy to us and them, has placed the power in such hands as make it their business to preserve peace, and hinder men from biting and devouring one another. It is good to hold forth a public profession of the truth, but not so as to exclude those that cannot come up to it in all points, from the privilege that belongs to them as christians, much less from the privilege that belongs to them as men."*

His highness having now a more parliamentary title, it was thought proper that he should have a more solemn inauguration, which was accordingly appointed to be celebrated on June 26, in Westminster-hall, which was adorned and beautified for this purpose as for a coronation. At the upper end there was an ascent of two degrees covered with carpets, in the midst of which there was a rich canopy, and under it a chair of state. Before the canopy

* Whitlocke's Memoirs, p. 93.

there was a table and chair for the *speaker*,* and on each side seats for the members of parliament, for the judges, for the lord-mayor and aldermen of London. The protector was conducted from the house of lords with all the state and grandeur of a king, and being seated under the canopy of state, the speaker of the parliament, the earl of *Warwick*, and commissioner *Whitlocke*, vested him with a purple velvet robe lined with ermine : they delivered into one of his hands a bible richly gilt, and embossed with gold ; and into the other a sceptre of massy gold ; and, lastly, they girt him with a rich sword ; after this they administered an oath to the protector, to govern according to law. The solemnity concluded with a short prayer pronounced by Dr. *Manton* ; and then the herald having proclaimed his *highness's* titles, the people shouted with loud acclamations, *Long live the lord protector &c.* and the day concluded with feasting, and all other kinds of public rejoicing.

The protector, having waded through all these difficulties to the *supreme government* of these nations, appeared on a sudden like a *comet* or *blazing star*,† raised up by providence to exalt this nation to a distinguished pitch of glory, and to strike terror into the rest of Europe.‡ His management for the little time he survived, was the admiration of all mankind ; for though he would never suffer his title to the supreme government to be disputed, yet his greatest enemies have confessed, that in all other cases distributive justice was restored to its ancient splendor. The judges executed their duty according to equity, without partiality or bribery ; the laws had their full and free course without impediment or delay ; men's manners were wonderfully reformed, and the protector's court kept under an exact discipline. Trade flourished, and the arts of peace were cultivated throughout the whole nation ; the public money was managed with frugality, and to the best advantage ; the army and navy were well paid, and served accordingly.§ As the protector proceeded with great stead-

* Dr. Grey gives at length the speech with which the speaker, lord Widdrington, addressed the protector. *Ed.*

† Eachard, p. 719.

‡ Complete Hist. p. 223.

§ Dr. Grey controverts the truth of this representation of the happy state of things under Cromwell's government ; though Mr. Neal quotes

iness and resolution against the enemies of his government, he was no less generous and bountiful to those of all parties who submitted to it; for as he would not declare himself of any particular sect, he gave out, that *it was his only wish that all would gather into one sheepfold, under one shepherd, Jesus Christ, and love one another*. He respected the clergy in their places, but confined them to their spiritual function. Nor was he jealous of any who did not meddle in politics, and endeavor to raise disturbances in the state: even the prejudice he had against the episcopal party, (says bishop Kennet) was more for their being royalists, than being of the church of England. But when one party of the clergy began to lift up their heads above their brethren, or to act out of their sphere, he always found means to take them down. He had a watchful eye over the royalists and republicans, who were always plotting against his person and government; but his erecting a *house of lords*, or *upper house*, so quickly after his instalment, roused the malecontents, and had like to have subverted his government in its infancy.

The protector was in high reputation abroad, and carried victory with his armies and navies wherever they appeared. There had been a negotiation with France concerning an alliance against Spain, begun at London 1655, but not concluded till March 13, 1657, by which the protector obliged himself to join six thousand men with the French army, and to furnish fifty men of war to conquer the maritime towns belonging to Spain in the Low Countries, on this condition, that Dunkirk and Mardyke should be put into his hands, and the family of the Stuarts depart the territories of France. That which determined him to join with France rather than Spain, was the numerous parties that were against him at home; for if the young king, assisted by France, should have made a descent upon England with an army of French *protestants*, it might have been of

Eachard and Kennet: whose authority Dr. Grey does not attempt to invalidate. He refers principally, to a speech of Cromwell, 25 Jan. 1657, complaining that the army was unpaid, and that Ireland and Scotland were suffering by poverty. For a review of the administration of Cromwell, the reader is referred to Dr. Harris' *Life of Cromwell*. p. 412-75: and Mrs. Macaulay's *History of England*, vol. 5, Svo. p. 194, 203, who is by no means partial to the protector. *Ed.*

fatal consequence to his infant government; whereas the Spaniards were at a distance, and having no protestant subjects, were less to be feared. Upon the conclusion of this treaty, King *Charles* entered into an alliance with the Spaniards, who allowed him a small pension, and promised him the command of six thousand men, as soon as he was possessed of any sea-port in England. In consequence of this treaty, most of the royalists enlisted in the Spanish service. But the protector's six thousand men in Flanders behaved with undaunted bravery, and took St. Venant, Mardyke, and some other places from the Spaniards this summer.*

Admiral *Blake* was no less successful at sea, for having received advice of the return of the Spanish West-India fleet, he sailed to the Canaries with twenty-five men of war, and on the 20th of April arrived at the Bay of Sancta Cruz, in the island of Teneriff, where the galleons, to the number of sixteen, richly laden, lay close under a strong castle, defended by seven forts mounted with cannon; the admiral, finding it impossible to make them prize, had the good fortune to burn and destroy them all, only with the loss of one ship, and one hundred and sixty men. When the news of this success arrived in England, a day of thanksgiving was appointed, and a rich present ordered the admiral upon his return; but this great sea-officer, having been three years at sea, died as he was entering Plymouth sound Aug. 17, in the sixty-seventh year of his age.† He was of the ancient family of the *Blakes*, of Planchfield, Somersetshire, and was educated in Wadham college, Oxford.‡ He was small of stature, but the bravest and boldest sailor that England ever bred, and consulted the honor of his country beyond all his predecessors. When some of his men being ashore at Malaga, refused to do honor to the *host* as it passed by, one of the priests raised the mob upon them. Upon which *Blake* sent a trumpet to the viceroy to demand the priest, who saying he had no authority to deliver him up, the admiral answered, that if he did not send him aboard in three hours, he would burn the town about their ears; upon which he came, and begged pardon: the admiral,

* Burnet, p. 73.

† Other accounts say in the 59th year of his age. *Ed.*

‡ Eachard, p. 725.

after a severe reprimand, told him, that if he had complained to him of his sailors he would have punished them, but he *would have all the world know, that an Englishman was only to be punished by an Englishman*, and so dismissed him, being satisfied with having struck terror into the priest, and had him at his mercy. When OLIVER read this passage of *Blake's* letter in council, he said, *he hoped to make the name of an Englishman as great as ever that of a Roman had been.*† The admiral preserved an exact discipline in the fleet, and taught his men to despise castles on shore, as well as ships at sea.§ Valor seldom missed its reward with him, nor cowardice its punishment. He had a noble public spirit, for after all his services for his country, and opportunities of acquiring immense riches from the Spaniards, he died not five hundred pounds richer than his father left him. His body was brought by water to Greenwich, and deposited in a most magnificent manner, in a vault made on purpose in King *Henry* seventh's chapel, at the public expence; but at the restoration his body was taken out of the grave, and flung with others into a common pit;|| and his brother, being a dissenter, suffered so many hardships for religion in King *Charles* the second's reign, that he was obliged to sell the little estate the admiral left him, and transport himself and children to Carolina.

† Burnet, vol. i. p. 113, 14.

§ It is remarkable, that Blake did not take the command of the fleet till he was above fifty years of age. "His want of experience," says Mr. Granger, "seems to have been of great advantage to him; he followed the light of his own genius only, and was presently seen to have all the courage, the conduct, and precipitancy of a good sea-officer." *Ed.*

|| Bishop Kennet, whom Dr. Grey quotes here, being ashamed, it is probable, of the base contempt with which the body of Blake was treated, says, "it was taken up and buried in the church-yard." But Wood plainly says, that his body with others, by his majesty's express command sent to the dean of Westminster, was taken up and buried in a pit in St. Margaret's church-yard. The other bodies treated thus ignominiously were admiral Dean's, a brave man, who lost his life in the service of his country; Col. Humphrey Mackworth's; sir W. Constable's; Col. Boseawen's, a Cornish gentleman of a family distinguished by its constant attachment to liberty; and many others too long to be here mentioned. "Such," observes Dr. Harris, "was the politeness and humanity introduced by the restoration!" *Life of Cromwell*, p. 400. Wood's *Athen. Oxon.* vol. i. p. 825, 26. *Ed.*

By the second article of the *humble advice*, which appoints all future parliaments to consist of two houses, the form of the present government began to change in favor of the ancient constitution. The *protector*, pursuant to the powers given him, made several promotions of knights, and lords, and in the month of December issued out writs, by advice of his council, to divers lords and gentlemen, to sit as members of the *other house*,|| at the next session of parliament, Jan. 20. His intention was to have this house considered as a house of peers, though he declined giving it that name till a more favorable conjuncture. Some declined the honor, and chose to sit in the lower house, but between fifty and sixty appeared, among whom were seven or eight of the ancient peers, divers knights and gentlemen of good families, and some few chief officers of the army. They met in the house of lords, whither *his highness* came at the time of their meeting, and according to ancient custom, sent the *usher of the black rod* to bring up the commons, to whom he made a short speech from the throne, beginning with the usual form, *My lords, and you the knights, citizens, and burgesses*, &c. and then as our *kings* used to do, he referred them to the lord commissioner *Fiennes*, who tired them with a long and perplexed harangue before they entered upon business.

This hasty resolution of the protector and his council had like to have subverted the infant government, for many of the protector's best friends being called out of the lower house to the upper, the balance of power among the commons was changed; whereas, if he had deferred the settling of the upper house till the present parliament had been dissolved, they would have gone through their business without interruption; but the lower house was now in a flame, some being disappointed of their expectations, and others envied for their advancement, insomuch that as soon as they returned to their house, they called for the third article of the *humble advice*, which says, that no members legally chosen, shall be excluded from performing their duty, but by consent of the house of which they are members; and then to strengthen their party, they order-

|| Dr. Grey gives a catalogue of the names of the persons whom the writ summoned; with degrading anecdotes of some of them. *Ed.*

ed all those who had been excluded last sessions, because they would not recognize the new government to return to their places ; which was no sooner done, than they began to call in question the authority and jurisdiction of the *other house*, though themselves had advised it, and though there was almost as good reason for their being an *upper*, as for the other being a *lower house* ; but these gentlemen were determined to erect an absolute commonwealth, on the ruins of the present family. Many degrading speeches were made in the lower house against the persons who had been thus promoted, who were no less resolute in defending their honors and characters ; so that there was no prospect of an agreement, till the protector himself appeared, and having sent for them to Whitehall, spoke with such an accent in favor of the *other house*, that they returned and acknowledged it ; but then they went on to re-examine the validity of the whole *instrument of government*, as being made when many members were excluded. Upon which the *protector*, being out of all patience, went to the house and dissolved them, after they had sat about fifteen days.

The protector's speech upon this occasion will give the reader the best idea of the state of the nation : " I had comfortable expectations that God would make the meeting of this parliament a blessing for the improvement of mercy, truth, righteousness and peace. I was drawn into this office of *protector* by your *petition and advice* ; there is not a man living that can say I sought it ; but after I was petitioned and advised to take the government upon me, I expected that the same men that made the frame, should make it good to me.—I told you at a conference, that I would not accept the government, unless there might be some persons to interpose between me and the house of commons, and it was granted I should name *another house*, which I did, of men of your own rank and quality, who will shake hands with you while you love the interest of England and religion.—Again, I would not have accepted the government, unless mutual oaths were taken to make good what was agreed upon in the *petition and advice* ; and, God knows, I took the oath upon the condition expressed, and thought we had now been upon a foundation

and bottom, otherwise we must necessarily have been in confusion. I do not say what the meaning of the oath was to you, that were to go against my own principles, but God will judge between us ; but if there had been any intention in you of a settlement, you would have settled on this basis.

“ But there have been contrivances in the army against this settlement by your consent. I speak not this to the gentlemen, or lords, (pointing to his right hand) whatsoever you will call them, of the *other house*, but to you ; *you* advised me to accept of this office, and now you dispute the thing that was taken for granted, and are in danger of running the nation back into more confusion within these fifteen days you have sat, than it has been in since the rising of the last session, from an immoderate design of restoring a commonwealth, that some people might be the men that might rule all, and they are endeavoring to engage the army in the design ; which is hardly consistent with the oath you have taken to the present government. Has that man been true to the nation, whosoever he is, that has taken an oath, thus to prevaricate ? These things are not according to truth, pretend what you will, but tend to play the *king of Scots* game, which I think myself bound before God to do what I can to prevent. There are preparations of force to invade us ; the king of Scots has an army at the water-side, ready to be shipped for England. I have it from those who have been eye-witnesses of it ; and while this is doing, there are endeavors of some not far from this place, to stir up the people of this town into tumulting, what if I had said rebellion, and I hope to make it appear to be no better, if God assist me. You have not only endeavored to pervert the army while you have been sitting, but some of you have been listing persons by commission from *Charles Stuart* to join with any insurrection that may be made ; and what is like to be the end of this but blood and confusion ! Now if this be the case, I think it high time to put an end to your sitting, and I do accordingly dissolve this parliament ; and let God judge between me and you.”§

The *protector*, being now convinced that the disturbances in parliament arose from the chief officers of the army, who clogged his affairs, in order to introduce a commonwealth government, resolved to clear his hands of them at once; *Harrison* and *Ludlow* were laid aside; *Fleetwood* was recalled from his government in Ireland; major-general *Lambert* was ordered to surrender his commission; and the rest were obliged to take an oath not to oppose the present government. By such methods he went on purging the army and navy; and if he had lived a little longer would have had none in power, but such as were thoroughly attached to his person and government. It was observed after this, that all things succeeded at home and abroad according to his wish; and that his power and greatness were better established than ever, though there were a few malecontents who were hardy enough to attempt some little disturbances; but the disasters that befel the protector's family soon after broke the firmness of his constitution, and hastened his end.

It was *his highness's* ambition, not only to set himself at the head, but to strengthen the whole body of the protestant interest, and unite its several members, so that it might maintain its ground against the church of Rome. Bishop *Burnet*§ informs us, that he had projected a sort of general council, to be set up in opposition to the congregation *de Propaganda Fide* at Rome: it was to consist of seven counsellors, and four secretaries for different provinces; the first was for France, Switzerland, and the Vallies; the second for the Palatinate, and the other *calvinists*; the third for Germany, for the North, and for Turkey; the fourth for the East and West Indies. The secretaries were to have five hundred pounds a year each, and to hold a correspondence every where, to acquaint themselves with the state of religion all over the world, that so all good designs for the welfare of the whole, and of the several parts, might by their means be protected and encouraged. They were to have a fund of ten thousand pounds a year, and to be further supplied as occasion should require. Chelsea college was to be fitted up for them. This was a noble project, (says the bishop) and must have been attended with

extraordinary effects under the protection of a *power*, which was formidable and terrible to all nations to whom it was known.

About the beginning of this year Dr. *Bryan Walton*, afterwards bishop of Chester, published the *Biblia Polyglotta*, in six volumes in folio, wherein the sacred text is printed in the *vulgar Latin, Hebrew, Greek, Syriac, Chaldee, Samaritan, Arabic, Ethiopic, and Persic languages*, each having its peculiar *Latin* translation, with an *apparatus* for the better understanding those tongues. This laborious performance, by the assistance of several who engaged in it, was completed in about four years, and was reckoned the most absolute edition of the bible that the world had ever seen. Several learned persons, both puritans and others, assisted in correcting the press, and in collating the copies. Many noblemen, and gentlemen of quality, contributed to the expence of printing this work, without which it could not have seen the light.¶ After the restoration, the doctor presented King *Charles II.* with the six volumes, which his majesty received very graciously, and rewarded the author with the bishopric of Chester.

The learned Dr. *Owen* made some remarks on the *prolegomena* of this work; but after an high commendation of the performance in general, complains that he had weakened the certainty of the sacred text, (1.) By maintaining that the *points* or *vowels* of the *Hebrew* language were of novel invention. (2.) By producing a great number of *various readings* from ancient copies of little moment. (3.) By his own critical remarks and amendments not supported by ancient authorities. The doctor maintains, on the other hand, the antiquity of the *Hebrew* points, and their absolute necessity to fix the determinate sense of scripture; that the various readings are of little consequence, and that conjectural amendments ought not to be admitted without the authority of ancient copies. The doctor writes with great modesty, but the validity of his arguments must be submitted to the learned reader.

On the third of July the protector resigned his chancellor-

¶ "This," Mr. Granger says, "was the first book published in England by subscription. The design of this great work was formed in 1645. Dr. Walton died 1661." Hist. of Eng. vol. iii. p. 29, 8vo. Ed.

ship of Oxford, and upon the eighteenth day of the same month his eldest son **RICHARD** was chosen his successor, and installed* at Whitehall on the twenty-ninth. About six weeks after, the new chancellor dismissed Dr. *Owen*, who had been vice-chancellor of the university about five years, and appointed Dr. *John Conant*, rector of Exeter college, to succeed him. This gentleman, says the Oxford historian,† was a good *Latinist* and *Grecian*, a profound *theologist*, a learned, pious, and meek *divine*, and an excellent *preacher*. He had been one of the assembly of divines, and was elected rector of this college, upon the death of Dr. *Hakewell*, in June 1649. In the latter end of the year 1654, he became king's professor of divinity in the room of Dr. *Hoyle*. He continued in the vice-chancellorship two years with due commendation, keeping a severe discipline in his college, as did all the heads of colleges in these times. He was ejected out of every thing in 1662 for non-conformity; but some time after, being persuaded to comply with the establishment, he became vicar of All-Saints in Northampton, archdeacon of Norwich, and prebendary of Worcester; which places he held till his death, which did not happen till 1693.

Nov. 24, *his highness* signed a commission, appointing his younger son *Henry* to be lord lieutenant of Ireland, with a power of conferring the honor of knighthood. *Henry* was a wise and discreet governor, and by his prudent behavior kept the Irish in awe, and brought the nation into a flourishing condition. Upon the accession of *Richard* to the protectorship, he advised him to abide by the parliament, and have a watchful eye over the army, whom he suspected to be designing mischief (as appears by his letters now before me.) Nay, he offered to come over to his assistance, but was forbid till it was too late. When *Richard* was deposed, his brother *Henry* laid down his charge, and came over to England, and lived privately upon an estate of his own, of about 600*l.* a year, at Spinny-Abby in Cambridgeshire, not far from Newmarket, till his death. While he was in Ireland he behaved with such a generous impartiality as gained him the esteem even of the royalists

* The ceremonial of the instalment may be seen in Dr. Grey, vol. iii. p. 200, note. *Ed.*

† Athen. Oxon. vol. ii. p. 735.

themselves ; and after his retirement King *Charles II.* did him once the honor of a visit ; he had a son *Henry*, who was bred to arms, and had a *major's* commission, and died in the service of the crown about the year 1711, and left behind him several children ; some of the sons are yet living in good reputation in the city of London, and are the only male descendants of the *protector Cromwell*, the posterity of *Richard* being extinct.

The ROYAL SOCIETY, which has been the ornament of the English nation, by the vast improvements it has made in natural and experimental philosophy, was formed at Oxford in these times, which some have represented as covered with ignorance, barbarism, and pedantry : The words of bishop *Sprat*,§ their historian, are these : “ It was some space after the end of the civil wars at Oxford, in Dr. *Wilkins's* lodgings, in Wadham college, which was then the place of resort for virtuous and learned men, *that the first meetings were made which laid the foundation of all that followed.* The university had, at that time, many members of its own, who had begun a free way of reasoning, and was also frequented by some gentlemen of philosophical minds, whom the misfortune of the kingdom, and the security and ease of a retirement among gownsmen, had drawn thither. The principal and most constant of them were, Dr. *Seth Ward*, Mr. *Boyle*, Dr. *Wilkins*, Sir *William Petty*, Mr. *Matthew Wren*, Dr. *Wallis*, Dr. *Goddard*, Dr. *Willis*, Dr. *Bathurst*, Dr. *Christopher Wren*, and Mr. *Rook*, besides several others who joined them on occasions.—Their meetings were as frequent as their occasions would permit ; their proceedings were upon some particular trials in *chymistry or mechanics*, which they communicated to each other. They continued without any great interruption till the death of the protector, when their meetings were transferred to London.” Here they began to enlarge their design, and formed the platform of a philosophical college, to enquire into the works of nature : They set up a correspondence with learned foreigners, and admitted such into their numbers without distinction of names or parties in religion ; and were at length incorporated by royal patent or charter, in the year 1663.

This year [1657] died Mr. *John Langley*, the noted master of St. Paul's school, London; he was born near Banbury in Oxfordshire, and became a commoner or brother of Magdalen-hall about 1612; was also prebendary of Gloucester, where he kept the college school for twenty years. In the year 1640 he succeeded Dr. *Gill*, chief master of St. Paul's school, where he educated many who were afterwards eminent in church and state. He was an universal scholar, an excellent linguist, grammarian, historian cosmographer, a most judicious divine, and so great an antiquarian, (says the Oxford historian) that his delight and acquaintance in antiquity deserves greater commendation than can be given in a few lines. || He was esteemed by learned men, and particularly by Mr. *Selden*; but was not regarded by the clergy, because he was a *puritan*, and a witness against archbishop *Laud* at his trial. He was a member of the assembly of divines, and died at his house next adjoining to St. Paul's school Sept. 13, 1657. Dr. *Reynolds* preached his funeral sermon, and gave him a very high encomium.*

Mr. *Obadiah Sedgwick* was born at Marlborough in the year 1600, and educated in Magdalen college, Oxford, where he took the degrees in arts, and was afterwards chaplain to Sir *Horatio Vere*, with whom he travelled into the Low Countries. After his return he became reader of the sentences 1629, and was afterwards chosen preacher to the inhabitants of St. Mildred, Bread-street London; but being driven from thence by the severity of the governors of the church, he retired to Coggeshall in Essex, where he continued till the breaking out of the civil wars. In 1643 he was chosen a member of the assembly of divines. In 1646 he became preacher at St. Paul's Covent-

|| Wood's *Athen. Oxon.* vol. ii. p. 135.

* Dr. Fuller calls him "the able and religious school-master." He had a very awful presence and speech, that struck a mighty respect and fear in his scholars; yet his behavior towards them was such, that they both loved and feared him. When he was buried, all the scholars attended his funeral, walking before the corpse, hung with verses instead of es-
cutcheons, with white gloves as he died a single man, from the school through Cheapside to Mercer's chapel; where he was buried. He was so much in favor with the worshipful company of Mercers, that they accepted his recommendation of his successor. Knight's *Life of Dr. John Colet*, p. 379, &c. *Ed.*

garden: He often preached before the parliament, and was esteemed an orthodox, as well as an admired preacher.* In the year 1653 he was appointed one of the *triers*, and the year after, one of the commissioners for ejecting scandalous ministers; but finding his health declining he resigned his preferments, and retired to his native town of Marlborough, where he died the beginning of January 1657.†

Mr. *Edward Corbet* was born in Shropshire, and educated in Merton college, Oxford, where he took the degrees in arts, and was made probationer fellow of his college.‡ In 1638 he was one of the proctors of the university; but being a puritan divine, was denied the rectory of Chatham by archbishop *Laud*, then in the Tower; upon which an ordinance of parliament came out May 17, 1643, appointing him rector of Chatham. He was a member of the assembly of divines, a witness against the archbishop at his trial; one of the preachers appointed to reconcile the Oxford scholars to the parliament; and afterwards one of the visitors, orator, and canon of Christ-church, in the room of Dr. *Hammond*, which he soon after quitted, and became rector of Great-Hasely in Oxfordshire, where he continued to his death. He was a very considerable divine, a valuable preacher, and a person of remarkable integrity and steadiness of conscience.

Mr. *James Cranford* was born in Coventry, and sometime master of the free-school there: He was educated in Baliol college, Oxford, where he took the degrees in arts, and was at length rector of St. Christopher's le Stocks, near the Old Exchange, London.§ He was an exact linguist, well acquainted with the fathers and schoolmen, as well as with the modern divines; a zealous presbyterian, and a laborious preacher. Mr. *Fuller* adds,|| that he was a subtle disputant, orthodox in judgment, and a person of great humility, charity, and moderation towards all men. In the beginning of the civil wars, he was appointed licenser of the press in London, which gave him an occasion to write several epistles before books, besides some treatises

* Dr. Grey quotes passages from some of Mr. Sedgwick's sermons to shew, that he was a preacher of treason, rebellion, and nonsense.

† Wood's Athen. Oxon. vol. ii. p. 438. ‡ Ibid. 749. Ed.

§ Ibid. p. 433. || Fuller's Worthies, book iii. p. 128.

that he published of his own. He died April 27, 1657, aged about fifty-five years.

The protector's arms were no less successful this summer than they had been the last, for in the month of June, marshal *Turenne*, in conjunction with the English forces, laid siege to Dunkirk, then in possession of the Spaniards, which brought on an engagement between the two armies: The Spanish forces consisted of 30,000 men, but major-general *Morgan*, who covered the siege, attacked the right wing of the Spanish army which came to relieve it with 6000 English, who routed the whole army, which was followed with the surrender of the town June 25. The French looked on, and said, they never saw a more glorious action in their lives.* Cardinal *Mazarine* intended to keep this important place in French hands, contrary to the late treaty; of which his highness being informed, acquainted the ambassador; but his excellency denying any such intended breach of contract, the protector pulled out of his pocket a copy of the cardinal's private order, and desired him to let his *eminence* know, that if the keys of Dunkirk were not delivered to *Lockhart* within an hour after it was taken, he would come in person, and demand them at the gates of Paris;† and the cardinal had too

* Dr. Grey, though he allows that Mr. Neal had the authority of Eachard for the merit which he imputes to the English forces in the siege of Dunkirk, yet contends that the French had their share in the glories of the day. And, to prove this, he gives a full detail of the action from the History of Viscount *Turenne*. Impartial Examination, v. iii. p. 207—213. *Ed.*

† Dr. Grey, while he grants that Cromwell was a vain man, very much questions the truth of what is said above; as it does not agree with what Whitlocke says, concerning the surrender of Dunkirk. The story Mr. Neal relates is the same, that we find in Welwood's Memoirs. p. 97, 6th edition. Dr. Harris, treats it as all falsehood and invention; and as, authoritatively, confuted by Thurloe's State-Papers, vol. vii. p. 473; where Lockhart, in his letter to Thurloe, written the day before the surrender of Dunkirk, has these expressions: "To-morrow before five of the clock at night, his Highness's forces under my command will be possessed of Dunkirk. I have a great many disputes with the cardinal about several things; nevertheless, I must say I find him willing to hear reason; and though the generality of court, and arms, are even mad to see themselves part with what they call *un si bon morceau*, or so delicate a bit, yet he is still constant to his promises, and seems to be as glad in the general, (notwithstanding our differences in little particulars)

great a dread of the name of *Cromwell*, to deny any thing he required. By this conquest the protector gained immortal glory, because it gave the English a settlement on the continent, and made them masters of both sides of the channel. How basely it was sold by lord *Clarendon* to the French, will be seen hereafter.

The enthusiastic republicans, or fifth monarchy men, having failed in their design in parliament, agreed, to the number of three hundred, to attempt a revolution of government by force, and having killed the protector, to proclaim KING JESUS; but secretary *Thurloe*, who never spared expense to gain intelligence, had a spy among them, who discovered their intrigues, and seized their arms and ammunition in Shoreditch, with their standard, containing a *lion couchant*, alluding to the lion of the tribe of Judah, with this motto, WHO WILL ROUSE HIM UP? The chief of the conspirators, as *Venner*, *Grey*, *Hopkins*, &c. were imprisoned in the Gate-House till the protector's death, with their accomplices, major-general *Harrison*, colonel *Rich*, colonel *Danvers*, and others, after which they created new disturbances, which hastened their own destruction soon after the king's restoration.

But the most formidable conspiracy against the government, was a new one of the *cavaliers*, with which the protector acquainted the lord-mayor and common-council of the city in a speech, wherein he takes notice, that the marquis of *Ormond* had been privately in London three weeks, to promote the king's affairs, who lay ready on the coast with an army of eight thousand men, and twenty-two ships; that there was a design to seize the Tower; and that several ill-affected persons were endeavoring to put themselves in arms for that purpose; he therefore desired them to put the city into a posture of defence, professing a more passionate regard for their safety than his own. The citizens returned *his highness* thanks, and in an address promised to defend his person and government with their lives and fortunes. The like addresses came from several of

to give this place to his highness, as we can be to receive it. The king is also exceedingly obliging and civil, and hath more true worth in him, than I could have imagined." *Life of Cromwell*, 452, 3. *Ed.*

|| Compl. Hist. p. 223. Eachard, p. 730.

the regiments at home, and from the English army in Flanders. This was the plot the protector mentioned in his speech to the parliament, and was discovered by one *Stapley*, whose father had been one of the king's judges. Immediately after the dissolution of the parliament, three of the conspirators were apprehended, and tried before an *high court of justice*, according to the late act for the security of his highness's person. Mr. *Mordaunt*, youngest son and brother of the earl of *Peterborough*, was acquitted by one vote; but the other two, Sir *Henry Slingsby* and Dr. *Hewet* were condemned.—The doctor was indicted for holding correspondence with *Charles Stuart*, for publishing him to be king of England, Scotland, and Ireland; and for sending him money. He behaved with great boldness towards his judges, keeping his hat upon his head while the indictment was reading; but an officer being sent to take it off, he saved him the trouble. The doctor then refused to plead three times, disowning the jurisdiction of the court; but though they read the clause in the late act, by which they were empowered to be his judges, he continued mute; upon which one of the judges summed up the charge, and was going to pronounce sentence, when he offered to put himself upon his trial, but was told it was then too late, so judgment was given against him as a *mute*. The doctor had prepared a plea and demurrer to the jurisdiction and proceedings of the court, and exceptions to their judgment, drawn up in form by counsel, and ready to be engrossed, but was not suffered to have them argued. However, he had the favor of being beheaded on Tower-hill, June 8, 1658, being attended by Dr. *Wild*, Dr. *Warmestry*, and Dr. *Barwick*.* His funeral sermon was preached the Sunday following, by Mr. *Nath. Hardy*, at St. Dionis Back-Church, in Lime-street; and soon after, both the sermon and the doctor's intended defence were published, entitled, *Beheaded Dr. John Hewet's Ghost crying for justice*; containing his legal plea, demurrer, and exceptions to the jurisdiction of the court, &c. drawn up by his council Mr. *Wm. Prynne*. The doctor was a Cambridge divine, but lived at Oxford, and in the army, till the end of the war, when he came to

* Life of Barwick, p. 175.

London, and was permitted to preach in the church of St. Gregory's, London; though he was known to be a malignant. After his conviction, the lady *Claypole* and lady *Falconbridge*, the protector's daughters, interceded with their father for his life; but because he disputed the authority of the court, which struck at the very life of his government, the protector would not pardon him. He told Dr. *Manton*, one of his chaplains, that if Dr. *Hewet* had shewn himself an ingenuous person, and would have owned what he knew was his share in the design against him, he would have spared his life; but he said he would not be trifled with, and the doctor was of so obstinate a temper that he was resolved he should die; and the protector convinced Dr. *Manton* before they parted, that he knew, without his confession, how far he was engaged in the plot. Three more of the conspirators were executed in other parts of the city, but the rest were pardoned.

A little before the protector's death, the independents petitioned *his highness* for liberty to hold a synod, in order to publish to the world an uniform confession of their faith. They were now become a considerable body, their churches being increased both in city and country,* by the

* The number of these churches was, proportionally, much greater in the two counties of Norfolk and Suffolk. than in most other parts of the kingdom. This was owing to the particuilar intercourse which those counties have with the city of Rotterdam and Holland, where the more rigid *puritans*, who were driven out of England by the severities of the times. before the civil wars began, had taken refuge. and formed several congregational churches. On the return of the English exiles to England, at the commencement of those dissensions, they brought with them their sentiments on church government, and formed churches on the *independent* plan. Of these the most ancient was the church of Yarmouth, consisting of members resident in that town and at Norwich: and the Lord's supper was administered alternately at the two places. This, after a time, was found very troublesome, and by a majority of votes the seat of the church was fixed at Yarmouth. This new arrangement was attended with great inconvenience to those who lived at Norwich. They therefore, with the consent of the other part who resided at Yarmouth, formed a separate church, June 10, 1644. This consent was given with expressions of the most tender and endeared affection; as having been, many of them, "companions together in the patience of our Lord Jesus in their own and in a strange land, and having long enjoyed sweet communion together in divine ordinances." On these models other churches were settled through these counties. As at Denton in May or June of the year 1655. At Tun-

addition of great numbers of rich and substantial persons; but they were not agreed upon any standard of faith or discipline. The presbyterians in the assembly of divines had urged them to this; and their brethren in New-England had done it ten years ago; nor were the English independents insensible of the defect; for hitherto, (say they) there have "been no association of our churches, no meetings of our ministers to promote the common interest; our churches are like so many ships launched singly, and sailing apart and alone in the vast ocean of these tumultuous times, exposed to every wind of doctrine; under no other conduct than the *word* and *spirit*, and their particular elders, and principal brethren, without associations among themselves, or so much as holding out a common light to others, whereby to know where they were."* To remedy this, some of their divines and principal brethren in London met together, and proposed that there might be a correspondence among their churches in city and country for counsel and mutual edification; and for as much as all sects and parties of christians had published a *confession of their faith*, they apprehended the world might reasonably expect it from them; for these reasons they petitioned the *protector* for liberty to assemble for this purpose. This was opposed by some of the court, as tending to establish a separation between them and the presbyterians; nor was the protector himself fond of it; however, he gave way to their importunity; and, as Mr. *Eachard* represents that matter, when he was moved upon his death-bed to discountenance their petition, he replied, *They must be satisfied, they must*

stead, North-Walsham, Wymondham, and Guestwick, in 1652. In the same year was laid the foundation of the congregational church of Beccles in Suffolk, by nine persons joining together in church fellowship, and by July 29, 1653. their number was increased to forty. The church at Walpole was settled into fellowship in the year 1647. That of St. Edmund's Bury, in 1648. That of Woodbridge, in 1651. That at Wattesfield, May 2, 1678. That of Wrentham was first gathered Feb. 4, 1649, under Mr. John Philip, and one of its first members was Francis Brewster, Esq. lord of the manor of Wrentham, who gave the church plate which bears his arms; and some considerable legacies were left by him and different branches of his family. The hall was a place of refuge and concealment for the ministers or any of the people in time of persecution. Mr. Thompson's MSS. Collections, under the words Norfolk and Suffolk. *Ed.* * Confess. Pref. p. 6.

be satisfied, or we shall all run back into blood again.

However, the protector did not live to see the fruits of this assembly, which was appointed to be held at the Savoy, October 12, 1658, where ministers and messengers from above one hundred congregational churches met together, of which the majority were laymen, the rest pastors in churches, and some younger divines about the court, as the reverend and learned Mr. *John Howe*, at that time chaplain to the young protector and others.* They opened their synod with a day of fasting and prayer, and after some debate, whether they should adopt the doctrinal articles of the Westminster assembly for their own, with some amendments and additions, it was thought more advisable to draw up a *new confession*, but to keep as near as possible to the method and order of the other. A committee of the most eminent divines was chosen for this work, viz. Dr. *Thomas Goodwin* Dr. *Owen*, Mr. *Phil. Nye*, Mr. *Wm. Bridge* of Yarmouth, Mr. *Jos. Caryl*, and Mr. *William Greenhill*. While these were employed in preparing, and putting together the articles of their confession, the synod heard complaints, and gave advice in several cases which were brought before them, relating to disputes or differences in their churches.

The particular heads of doctrine agreed to by the committee, were presented to the synod every morning, and read by the reverend Mr. *Geo. Griffith* their scribe. There were some speeches and debates upon words and phrases, but at length all acquiesced, and the whole was soon after published in quarto, under the title of *A declaration of the faith and order owned and practised in the congregational churches in England, agreed upon, and consented unto by their elders and messengers in their meeting at the Savoy, October 12, 1658*. Next year it was translated into Latin by professor *Hornbeck*, and published at the end of his *Epistola ad Duræum de Independentissimo*. Some imputed their unanimity to the authority and influence of Dr. *Owen*, Mr. *Nye*, and the rest of the elder divines over the younger; but they themselves, in their preface, “look upon it as a great and special work of the Holy Ghost, that so numerous a company of ministers, and oth-

* Calamy's Abridg. vol. ii. p. 444.

er principal brethren, should so readily, speedily, and jointly give up themselves to such a whole body of truths as is there collected." They add further, "that this agreement of theirs fell out without their having held any correspondence together, or prepared consultation, by which they might be advised of one another's minds." Which I confess is very extraordinary, considering the confession consists of thirty-three chapters, in which are almost two hundred distinct articles of faith and discipline; and that the whole time of the synod's sessions or continuance, was not above eleven or twelve days.

The Savoy *confession* proceeds upon the plan of the Westminster assembly, which made the work very easy; and in most places retains their very words. They tell the world in their preface, that they fully consent to the Westminster *confession* for the substance of it, but have taken liberty to add a few things, in order to obviate some erroneous opinions that have been more boldly maintained of late than in former times. They have likewise varied the method in some places, and have here and there expressed themselves more clearly, as they found occasion. They have omitted all those chapters in the assembly's confession which relate to discipline, as the 30th and 31st, with part of the 20th and 24th, relating to *the power of synods, councils, church censures, marriage and divorce, and the power of the civil magistrate in matters of religion*. These (say they) were such doubtful assertions, and so unsuited to a confession of faith, that the English parliament would never ratify them, there being nothing that tends more to heighten dissensions among brethren, than to place these doubtful speculations under so high a title as *a confession of faith*. After the 19th chapter of the assembly's confession, *of the law*, the Savoy divines have added an entire chapter, *of the gospel*, in which what is dispersed up and down the assembly's confession is collected, and put together. Upon the whole, the difference between these two confessions, in points of doctrine, is so very small, that the modern independents have in a manner laid aside the use of it in their families, and agreed with the presbyterians in the use of the assembly's catechism.

At the end of the Savoy confession there is a chapter of

discipline, entitled, *of the institution of churches, and the order appointed in them by Jesus Christ*; in which they assert,

“That every particular society of visible professors agreeing to walk together in the faith and order of the gospel is a complete church, and has full power within itself to elect and ordain all church officers, to exclude all offenders, and to do all other acts relating to the edification and well-being of the church.

“That the way of ordaining officers, that is, *pastors, teachers, or elders*, is after their election, by the suffrage of the church, to set them apart with fasting and prayer, and imposition of the hands of the eldership of the church, though if there be no imposition of hands, they are nevertheless rightly constituted ministers of Christ; but they do not allow that ordination to the work of the ministry, though it be by persons rightly ordained, does convey any office-power, without a previous election of the church.

“That no persons may administer the sacrament but such as are ordained and appointed thereunto. Nor are the pastors of one church obliged to administer the sacraments to any other, than to the members of that church to whom they stand related in that capacity. Nor may any person be added to the church, as a private member, but by the consent of the church, after a confession of his faith,[†] declared by himself, or otherwise manifested.

“They disallow the power of all stated synods, presbyteries, convocations, and assemblies of divines, over par-

[†] It was also a practice of the *independents*, at the first formation of their churches, to sign an agreement, or covenant, which they entered on their church-books. This, sometimes, ran out into various articles, expressive of their devotedness to the service of God, their trust in *Christ*, their determination to study the scriptures, and to form their faith and worship by them, of their mutual engagement to keep the christian ordinances, to watch over one another in the Lord, to bear one another's burthens, and to preserve union and love, and of their resolutions to persevere in a course of faith and holiness. Of these forms of agreement, one of the most simple is that which was adopted by the church at Wottesfield in Suffolk. It was in these words: “We do covenant or agree in the presence of God, through the assistance of his holy spirit, to walk together in all the ordinances of the Lord *Jesus*, as far as the same are made clear unto us, endeavoring the advancement of the glory of our Father, the subjection of our will to the will of our Redeemer, and the mutual edification of each other in his most holy faith and fear.” Mr Thomson's MSS. Collections, under the name Wottesfield. *Ed.*

ticular churches, but admit, that in cases of difficulty, or difference relating to doctrine or order, churches may meet together by their messengers in synods or councils, to consider and give advice, but without exercising any jurisdiction.

“And lastly, they agree, that churches, consisting of persons sound in the faith and of good conversation, ought not to refuse communion with each other, though they walk not in all things according to the same rule of church order; and if they judge other churches to be true churches, though less pure, they may receive to occasional communion such members of those churches as are credibly testified to be godly, and to live without offence.

“These opinions (say they) may appear new to a great many people, because they have not been openly and publicly professed in the English nation, but we are able to trace the footsteps of an independent congregational way, in the ancientest practice of the church, and in the writings of the soundest protestant divines.” They add, “that their principles do not in the least interfere with the authority of the civil magistrate, nor do they concern themselves upon any occasions with him, any further than to implore his protection, for the preservation of the peace and liberty of their churches.” They glory in this, that ever since they appeared in the world, they have distinguished themselves in the cause of christian liberty. “We have always, say they, maintained this principle, *that among all christian states and churches, there ought to be a forbearance, and mutual indulgence to christians of all persuasions, that keep to, and hold fast the necessary foundations of faith and holiness.* This principle we have maintained for the sake of others, *when we ourselves had no need of it.*” They conclude with thankfulness to their present governors, for permitting those who could not comply with the presbyterian establishment to enjoy the liberty of their consciences, and equal encouragement and protection with others; and that this liberty is established by a law, as long as they disturb not the public peace. This should engage us (say they) to promote the honor and prosperity of such a government to be peaceably disposed one towards another,

and to love as brethren ; forasmuch as the differences between presbyterians and independents are differences between fellow-servants, neither of them having authority from God or man, to impose their opinions upon one another.

Mr. *Baxter*,|| in the main, a very peaceable and candid divine, loses all temper when he speaks of this assembly : He finds fault with their definition of *justification*, and makes these remarks : “ They thought it not enough expressly to contradict St. *James*, and to say unlimitedly, that *we are justified by the righteousness of Christ only, and not by any works*, but they contradicted St. *Paul* also, who says, that *faith is imputed for righteousness* ; and not only so, but they asserted, that *we have no other righteousness but that of Christ*. A doctrine abhorred by all the reformed and christian churches, and which (says he) would be an utter shame of the protestant name, if what such men held and did, were imputable to sober protestants.” But is it possible that Mr. *Baxter* could believe, that the Savoy divines denied the necessity of sanctification, or personal holiness ? when they have a whole chapter in their confession upon *sanctification*, another upon repentance and good works, and a third upon the moral law, which they declare does for ever bind all men to obedience, both justified and unjustified. When Mr. *Baxter* asked some honest men who joined them, whether they subscribed the confession ? They said, no ; he then enquired, why they did not contradict this ? To which they answered, because the meaning was, that they had no other righteousness but that of Christ *to be justified by* ; which is certainly the doctrine of the Westminster assembly. What does Mr. *Baxter* reply to this ? Why nothing, but adds, very uncharitably, “ that the independent confessions are like such oaths as speak one thing and mean another ; so much could two men, [Dr. *Owen* and *Goodwin*] do with many honest tractable young men, who had more zeal for separating strictness than judgment to understand the word of God, the interest of the churches and of themselves.” And yet there were in that assembly many divines of as great age and learning as himself ; their design was not to underval-

ue the Westminster confession, but rather to answer the desires of that assembly, by publishing to the world such a declaration of their faith and discipline as they had demanded. And the *confession* was so far from raising any new divisions, that Mr. *Philip Henry* observes,|| upon the death of *Cromwell*, that there was a great change in the tempers of good people throughout the nation, and a mighty tendency to peace and unity, as if they were by consent weary of their long clashing. However, the *independents* lost their best friend in the *protector*, who was not only their patron upon the principle of liberty, but a balance to the presbyterian pretences to ecclesiastical power.

The hierarchy of the church of England was now at a very low ebb, and in danger of being lost beyond recovery; for if the bishops, who were now very ancient, had all died off, before others had been consecrated, the line of succession must have failed; for the church of Rome was so far from supporting it, that they published a treatise this year, *of the nature of the catholic faith, and of heresy*; in which they endeavor to invalidate the English ordinations, and revived the story of the Nags-head club; for the truth of which they appealed to Dr. *Moreton*, the ancient bishop of Durham, who in a solemn speech made in full parliament (say they) declared in express words, that our first bishops after the reformation had been consecrated in a tavern; and that this was so far from being doubted, that it was a fact most notorious to all the world; adding, that the rest of the bishops present rather approved, than in the least opposed what he had said. The bishop, then in the ninety-fourth year of his age, being advised of this calumny, sent for a public notary from London, and in the presence of proper witnesses, made a solemn protestation of the falshood of this story, and signed it in due form July 17, 1658. He then sent his chaplain Dr. *Barwick*, to all the lords spiritual and temporal then alive, who had sat in that parliament, desiring, that if they believed him undeservedly aspersed, they would attest it by subscribing their names; which was done by six bishops, and fourteen temporal lords, and by the several clerks and registers of the house. The bishop died soon after, but

|| Life, p. 40.

his protestation, with the proofs, was afterwards published by Dr. *Bramhal*, bishop of *Derry*, in a treatise entitled, *The consecration and succession of protestant bishops justified; the bishop of Duresme vindicated; and the fable of the ordination of the Nags-head club clearly confuted*. This awakened the clergy to enter upon measures for the continuance of a succession of bishops, though they could not be regularly chosen, lest the validity of the episcopal ministry should cease; which will come under consideration in the transactions of the next year.

Lord *Clarendon* mentions an address of the *anabaptists* to the king, who, being disappointed in their expectations of a commonwealth, threw themselves at his majesty's feet, offering their assistance to pull down the present government. In their address they say, "they took up arms in the late war for liberty and reformation, but assure his majesty that they were so far from entertaining any thoughts of casting off their allegiance, or extirpating the royal family, that they had not the least intent to abridge him of his just prerogatives, but only the restraining those excesses of government, which were nothing but the excrescencies of a wanton power, and were rather a burthen, than an ornament to the royal diadem." They then go on to declaim against the *protector*, calling him, that *grand impostor*, that *loathsome hypocrite*, that *detestable traitor*, the *prodigy of nature*, the *opprobrium of mankind*, a *landskip of iniquity*, a *sink of sin*, a *compendium of baseness*. And then, begging pardon for their former offences, they promise to sacrifice their lives and fortunes for his majesty's restoration, provided his majesty would be so gracious as to restore the remains of the long parliament; to ratify the treaty of the Isle of Wight; to establish liberty of conscience; to take away tithes, and provide some other maintenance for the national clergy; and to pass an act of oblivion, for all who had been in arms against his father and himself, except those who should adhere to that ungodly tyrant who calls himself *protector*. His lordship adds, that the messenger that brought these propositions, asking the sum of two thousand pounds to carry on the project, his majesty dismissed him with civil expressions, telling him, he had no designs to trouble any man for his

opinion. However, if there had been such an address from the body of the anabaptists, it is a little strange that after the restoration it was not remembered to their advantage. But his lordship seems to have had no great acquaintance with these men, when he says, they always pretended a just esteem and value for all men who faithfully adhered to the king, whereas they were of all sects the most zealous for a commonwealth, and were enemies to the *protector* for no other reason but because he was for government by a single person. In truth, this whole affair seems no more than an artifice to get a little money out of the poor king's purse. §

The protector's health was now declining, through his advanced age, and excessive toils and fatigues. The restless spirits of the royalists and republicans put him upon his guard, insomuch that he usually wore under his clothes a piece of armor, or a coat of mail. The loss of his beloved daughter *Claypole*, who died this summer, had also a very sensible influence on his health. About the middle of August he was seized with a slow fever, which turned to a tertian ague; but the distemper appeared so favorable for a while, that he walked abroad in the gardens at Hampton-court. *Ludlow* says, the protector had a humor in his leg, which he desired the physicians to disperse, by which means it was thrown into his blood: At length his pulse began to intermit, and he was advised to keep his bed; and his ague fits growing stronger, it was thought proper to remove him to Whitehall, where he began to be light-headed; upon which his physicians declared his life in danger, and the council being summoned to desire him to nominate his successor, he appointed his eldest son *Richard*. In the intervals of his fits, he behaved with great devotion and piety, but manifested no remorse for his public actions; he declared in general, that he designed the good of the nation, and to preserve it from anarchy and a new war. He once asked Dr. *Goodwin*, who attended at his bed-side,

§ Notwithstanding the suspicions which rest upon this affair, Crosby has seen fit to preserve the address, propositions, and letter, in the Appendix to his first volume, No. v. *Ed.*

and is said to have expressed an unbecoming assurance† to Almighty God in prayer of his recovery, *whether a man could fall from grace?* which the doctor answering in the negative, the protector replied, *then I am safe, for I am sure I was once in a state of grace.*‡ About twelve hours before he died he lay very quiet, when major *Butler* being in his chamber, says he heard him make his last prayer to this purpose: “Lord, I am a poor foolish creature; this people would fain have me live; they think it best for them, and that it will redound much to thy glory, and all the stir is about this. Others would fain have me die; Lord pardon them, and pardon thy foolish people, forgive their sins, and do not forsake them, but love and bless, and give them rest, and bring them to a consistency, and give me rest, for Jesus Christ’s sake, to whom, with thee, and thy Holy Spirit, be all honor and glory, now and for ever, *Amen.*” The protector died, Sept. 3, 1658, about three in the afternoon, the day on which he had triumphed in the battles of Marston-Moor,§ Dunbar, and Worcester, when he had lived fifty-nine years, four months, and eight days: four years and eight months after he had been declared protector by the *instrument of government*; and one year and three months after his confirmation by the *humble petition and advice*. As he had lived most part of his life in a storm, his death was attended with one of the greatest hurricanes

† The language of Dr. Goodwin was thus extravagant: “Lord, we beg not for his recovery; for that thou hast already granted and assured us of; but for his speedy recovery.” And when news was brought of his death, Mr. Peter Sterry stood up, and desired them not to be troubled. “For” said he, “this is good news: because if he was of great use to the people of God when he was amongst us, now he will be much more so, being ascended to heaven to sit at the right hand of Jesus Christ, there to intercede for us, and to be mindful of us on all occasions.” Ludlow’s *Memoirs*, 4to. p. 258, 9. Dr. Grey does not fail to notice these strange flights. And Sewel the historian’s reflection on this last instance of the flattery, or phrensy, of these courtiers, was just. “O horrid flattery! Thus I call it, though he had been the greatest saint on earth; which he came much short of, though he was once endued with some eminent virtues.” *History of the Quakers*, p. 189. *Ed.*

‡ *Baxter’s Life*, p. 98.

§ This, as Dr. Grey notices, is an error; the battle of Marston-Moor was fought on the 2d of July, 1644. *Ed.*

that had been known for many years.* Some have said that next night after his death, his body was wrapped up in lead and buried in Naseby-field, according to his desire. Others, more probably, that it was deposited privately in a vault in king *Henry* the seventh's chapel, sometime before the public funeral, which was performed Nov. 23, with all imaginable grandeur and military pomp,† from Somerset-house, where he had lain in state, to the Abbey-church in Westminster, where a fine mausoleum was erected for him, on which his effigies was placed, and exhibited to the view of all spectators for a time; but after the king's restoration, his coffin was taken out of the vault, and drawn upon a sledge to Tyburn, where he was hanged up till sun-set, and then buried under the gallows.

Thus died the mighty *OLIVER CROMWELL*, the greatest soldier and statesman of his age, after he had undergone excessive fatigues and labors in a long course of warlike actions, and escaped innumerable dangers from the plots and conspiracies of domestic enemies. Few historians have spoken of him with temper, though no other genius, it may be, could have held the reigns, or steered the commonwealth, through so many storms and hurricanes, as the factions of these times had raised in the nation. He was

* Dr. Grey tells us also, that on the day his coffin was taken up and hung at Tyburn, almost as remarkable a storm rose in the northern parts of the kingdom. Superstition and a hatred of Cromwell construed these circumstances as appearances of nature or the God of nature, by physical phenomena, expressing an abhorrence of his character. But sound philosophy sees nothing but a singular coincidence of events happening together, but without any correspondence in their causes: and will reflect, how many storms disturb the elements, when no wicked tyrant dies in the political world! *Ed.*

† The expences of Cromwell's funeral amounted to 60,000l. The body laid in a more private apartment, till the first of November; in imitation of the solemnities used upon the like occasion for Philip II. king of Spain, who was thus represented to be in purgatory for two months. It was then removed into the great hall of Somerset-House; the part where the bed stood was railed in, and the rails and ground within covered with crimson velvet. Four or five hundred candles set in flat shining candlesticks were so placed round near the roof of the hall, that the light they gave seemed like the rays of the sun: by all which he was represented to be in a state of glory. This folly and profusion so far provoked the people, that they threw dirt, in the night, on his esentecheon, placed over the great gate. *Ludlow's Memoirs, 4to. p. 260. Ed.*

born at Huntingdon, April 25, 1599, and descended of the family of *Williams*, of Glamorgan in Wales, which assumed the name of *Cromwell* by marrying with a daughter of *Cromwell* earl of *Essex*, in the reign of king *Henry VIII.* The seat of the eldest branch of the family was called *Hinchinbrook*, now belonging to the earl of *Sandwich*, who were reputed to possess an estate of 30,000*l.* a year. *Oliver*, who was descended of a younger branch, was educated in *Cambridge*, and from thence became a student of *Lincoln's-Inn*, being a wild and extravagant youth till about the thirty-fifth year of his age, when he quitted his irregular life, and became remarkably sober. In the year 1640, he was chosen representative in parliament for the town of *Cambridge*, and sat two years undistinguished in the house, as a mere country gentleman, appearing (says *Sir Philip Warwick*) in a plain cloth suit of clothes made by a country taylor, his linen not very clean, his band unfashionable, his hat without an hat band, and his sword close by his side; his countenance was swoln and reddish, his voice hoarse and untunable, but his elocution was full of fervor and warmth, and he was well heard in the house. His person somewhat exceeded the middle stature,* but was well proportioned, compact, and strong. He had a masculine countenance, a sparkling eye, a manly stern look, a vigorous constitution, and was an enemy to ease and excess; the motto upon his coat of arms was, *pax queritur bello.*

* *Sir John Resesby* calls *Cromwell*, "one of the greatest and bravest men, had his cause been good, the world ever saw. His figure did not come up to his character: he was indeed a likely person, but not handsome, nor had he a very bold look with him. He was plain in his apparel, and rather negligent than not. Tears he had at will, and was doubtless the greatest dissembler on earth." *Memoirs*, p. 2. Since *Mr. Neal* wrote, various historians have reviewed the actions and character of *Cromwell*. Amongst whom the faithful and judicious *Dr. Harris* deserves particular mention. The candid and copious account of this extraordinary man, in the first edition of the "*Biographia Britannica*," has been enriched with new and curious matter by the learned and accurate pen, which has conducted the second edition. The history of the *Cromwell* family has been accurately investigated by *Mr. Noble*, in his "*Memoirs of the Protectoral House of Cromwell*:" not to mention other writers, who have elucidated this subject. To other particulars, with which *Dr. Kippis* has improved the article *Cromwell*, in the *Biogr. Britan.* is added an ample exhibition of the characters of him, drawn by foreigners and natives. *Ed.*

Upon the breaking out of the civil war he took arms for the parliament, and though he was forty-three years of age before he drew a sword, he soon became colonel of a regiment of chosen men, who declared they fought not for gain, but for the *cause of religion and liberty*. He always went to prayer before battle, and returned solemn thanks for his success afterwards. He was careful to promote an exact discipline in the army, and would not have pardoned his own brother, (says my author*) if he had found him plundering the country people. The army had not an officer who faced danger with greater intrepidity, or more eagerly sought occasions to distinguish his personal valor. He had a great presence of mind in the heat of action, and taught his soldiers to fight in a more desperate manner than usual, not allowing them to discharge their musquets, till they were so near the enemy as to be sure of doing execution. His reputation rose so fast, that he quickly became a major-general, then lieutenant-general under *Fairfax*, and at last supplanted him. His troops believed themselves invincible under his conduct; he never lost a battle where he had the chief command. The victory of Marston-Moor was chiefly ascribed to his valor. The reduction of Ireland in less than a year made him the terror of his enemies; and the battles of Dunbar and Worcester completed his martial glory.

How far his usurping the *protectorship* of the three nations, without the previous consent of a free parliament, was the result of ambition or necessity, has been considered already; but if we view him as a *statesman*, he was an able politician, a steady resolute governor; and though he had more numerous and powerful enemies than any man of the age, he was never intimidated, having a peculiar art of keeping men quiet, and giving them by turns hopes of his favor. He had a wonderful knowledge of mankind, and an inimitable sagacity and penetration. If there was a man in England who excelled in any faculty or science, he would find him out, and reward him according to his merit. In nothing was his good understanding better discovered (says bishop *Burnet*) than in seeking out able and worthy men for all employments, which gave a general satisfaction.

* Carrington's Life of Cromwell, p. 243. Welwood's Mem. p. 104.

By these methods, in the space of four or five years, he carried the reputation and glory of the English nation as high as it was capable of being raised. He was equally dreaded by France, Spain, and the United Provinces, who condescended to servile compliances, to obtain his friendship; *Charles Gustavus*, king of Sweden, thought himself honored by his alliance; and cardinal *Mazarine* said, that nothing but the king of France's having the small-pox could have hindered him from coming over to England, that he might have the honor of waiting on one of the greatest men.

The protector had an uncommon command of his passions, and knew how to behave in character upon all occasions; though in private life he would be jocose and merrily with his inferiors; yet no prince was more jealous of his dignity on public occasions. His ambassadors in foreign courts had all the respects paid them that our kings ever had. All Europe trembled at his name! And though he could converse with no foreigners but in broken Latin, yet no man ever had better intelligence, nor understood the views and interests of the several courts of Europe better than himself. He had spies at Madrid and Paris, and was so happy as to fix upon persons who never failed him. Mr. *Algernon Sydney*, who was not inclined to think or speak well of kings, commended him to bishop *Burnet*, as one who had just notions of public liberty; and though he made some severe and cruel laws against the episcopal clergy, it was not for their religion, but because they were open and declared enemies to his person and government.

The protector was a protestant, but affected to go under no denomination or party: He had chaplains of all persuasions; and though he was by principle an *independent*, he esteemed all reformed churches as part of the catholic church; and without aiming to establish any tenets by force or violence, he witnessed, on all occasions, an extreme zeal for the protestant religion, and a just regard for liberty of conscience.

As to his moral character, his greatest enemies have not charged him with any public vices. Dr. *Welwood* admits, that he was not addicted to swearing, gluttony, drunkenness, gaming, avarice, or the love of women, but kept close

to his marriage bed. Nor is he chargeable with covetousness, for it has been computed (says the writer of his life†) that he distributed forty thousand pounds a year out of his privy purse to charitable uses.§ He promoted virtuous men, and was inflexible in his punishment of ill actions. His court was regulated according to a most strict discipline (says Mr. *Eachard*) where every vice was banished, or severely punished. He maintained a constant appearance of piety, and was regular in his private and public devotions: He retired constantly every day to read the scriptures and prayer; and some who watched him narrowly have reported, that after he had read and expounded a chapter, he prostrated himself with his face on the ground, and with tears poured out his soul to God for a quarter of an hour. He was a strict observer of the sabbath, and an encourager of goodness and austerity of life.* Mr. *Baxter* admits, that, “he kept as much honesty and godliness as his cause and interest would allow; that he had a zeal for religion, meant honestly in the main, and was pious in the main course of his life,‡ till prosperity corrupted him.”

But with all these good qualities it is certain, the protector was a strong enthusiast, and did not take up his re-

† Carrington, p. 248.

§ An observation of Dr. Gibbons, as just in itself and doing honor to Cromwell, deserves to be mentioned here. It is this; “that it does not appear that in the height of his power he ever diverted any part of the national property to the private emolument of himself or family, as he left them possessors of the small estates only which he enjoyed before he arrived to the protectorate.” Funeral Sermon for William Cromwell, p. 48. *Ed.*

* To this must be ascribed his prohibition of all theatrical exhibitions. There was, indeed, a remarkable exception, in his permitting, from hatred to the Spaniards, the representation of a performance entitled, “The Cruelty of the Spaniards in Peru.” Roseius Anglicanus, p. 29, in the Literary Museum, 8vo. printed in 1792. *Ed.*

‡ That his religious character was not originally assumed, however it might afterwards be abused, to carry political views, and was prior to his dignity and power, it has been observed, is evinced from his letters written long before that period, and from what Milton says of him; “that being arrived to manly and mature age, which he spent as a private person, and noted for nothing than the cultivation of pure religion and integrity of life, he was grown wealthy in retirement at home.” Gibbons’s Funeral Sermon for William Cromwell, p. 47, 8. *Ed.*

ligion upon rational or solid principles, which led him into sundry mistakes, not supported by reason or scripture. One of his favorite principles was a *particular faith*; that is, if any thing was strongly impressed upon his mind in prayer, he apprehended it came immediately from God, and was a *rule of action*; but if there were no impressions, but a flatness in his devotions, it was a *denial*. Upon this maxim he is said to suffer the late king to be put to death, in an arbitrary and illegal manner. Another maxim was, that *in extraordinary cases something extraordinary, or beyond the common rules of justice, may be done; that the moral laws, which are binding in ordinary cases, may then be dispensed with; and that PRIVATE JUSTICE must give way to PUBLIC NECESSITY*. Which was the protector's governing principle in all his unwarrantable stretches of power. A third principle by which the protector was misled, was, *his determining the goodness of a cause by the success*. An appeal to the sword was with him *an appeal to God*; and as victory inclined, God owned or discountenanced the cause.—It is impossible that a man's conduct could be just or consistent, while it was directed by such mistaken principles.

It has been further objected to the protector's character, that he was notoriously guilty of *hypocrisy and dissimulation both to God and man; that he mocked God by the pretence of piety and devotion, and by long prayers full of hypocritical zeal*. But who can penetrate the heart, to see whether the outward actions flow from an inward principle? With regard to men, it is certain the protector knew how to address their passions, and talk to them in their own way; and if in his devotions he uttered with his mouth what his heart never meant, no one can vindicate him: But men are not slightly to be arraigned (says *Rapin*) for the inward motions of their heart, which pass all human knowledge. Besides, it is not easy to conceive the watchful eyes that were upon him, and the vast difficulties he had to contend with. Queen *Elizabeth's* dissimulation has been extolled, for the very same reason that the protector's is condemned: If therefore such a conduct was necessary to govern the several parties, there is nothing greatly blame-worthy in it, (says the same

author) unless it was a crime in him not to put it into the power of his enemies, to destroy him with the greater ease.

Ambition and thirst of glory might sometimes lead the protector aside, for he imagined himself to be a second *Phineas*, raised up by Providence to be the scourge of idolatry and superstition, and in climbing up to the pinnacle of supreme power, did not always keep within the bounds of law and equity: To this passion some have ascribed his assuming the protectorship, and putting himself at the head of three kingdoms; though others are of opinion, it was owing to *hard necessity* and *self-preservation*. I will not venture to decide in this case; possibly there might be a mixture of both. When he was in possession of the sovereign power, no man ever used it to greater public advantage, for he had a due veneration for the laws of his country, in all things wherein the life of his jurisdiction was not concerned: And though he kept a standing army, they were under an exact discipline, and very little burthen to the people.

The charge of *cruelty*, which is brought against him, for having put some men to death for conspiring against his person and government, deserves no confutation, unless they would have had him sit still, till some conspiracy or other had succeeded. Cruelty was not in his nature;|| he was not for unnecessary effusion of blood. Lord *Clarendon* assures us, that when a general massacre of the royalists was proposed by the officers in council, he warmly opposed and prevented it.

Dr. *Welwood* compares the protector to an unusual meteor, which with its surprising influences over-awed not only three kingdoms, but the most powerful princes and states about us. A great man he was, (says he) and posterity might have paid a just homage to his memory, if he had

|| Such was the sensibility of his spirit, that if an account were given him of a distressed case, the narration would draw tears from his eyes. It speaks strongly in favor of his temper and his domestic deportment, that the daughter of Sir Francis Russel, married to his second son Henry, who before her marriage had entertained an ill opinion of his father Oliver, upon her coming into the family felt all her prejudice removed and changed into a most affectionate esteem for her father-in-law, as the most amiable of parents. Gibbons' Funeral Sermon for William Cromwell, Esq. p. 46. *Ed.*

not embrued his hands in the blood of his prince, and trampled upon the liberties of his country.

Upon the whole, it is not to be wondered, that the character of this great man has been transmitted down to posterity with some disadvantage, by the several factions of *royalists*, *presbyterians*, and *republicans*, because each were disappointed, and enraged to see the supreme power wrested from them; but his management is a convincing proof of his great abilities: He was at the helm in the most stormy and tempestuous season that England ever saw; but by his consummate wisdom and valor, he disconcerted the measures and designs of his enemies, and preserved both himself and the commonwealth from shipwreck. I shall only observe further, with *Rapin*, that the confusions which prevailed in England after the death of *Cromwell*, clearly evidence the necessity of this usurpation, at least till the constitution could be restored. After his death his great achievements were celebrated in verse, by the greatest wits of the age, as *Dr. Sprat*, afterwards bishop of Rochester, *Waller*, *Dryden*, and others, who in their panegyrics, out-did every thing, which till that time had been written in the English language.

Four divines of the assembly died this year: *Dr. John Harris*, son of *Richard Harris* of Buckinghamshire, born in the parsonage-house of Hardwick in the same county, educated in Wickham school near Winchester, and in the year 1606 admitted perpetual fellow of New-college. He was so admirable a Grecian, and eloquent a preacher, that *Sir Henry Saville* called him a second *St. Chrysostom*. In 1619 he was chosen Greek professor of the university. He was afterwards prebendary of Winchester, rector of Meonstoke in Hampshire, and in the year 1630, warden of Wickham-college near Winchester; in all which places he behaved with great reputation. In the beginning of the civil wars he took part with the parliament, was chosen one of the assembly of divines, took the covenant, and other oaths, and kept his wardenship till his death; he published several learned works, and died at Winchester, August 11, 1658, aged seventy years.

Mr. *Sydrach Sympson*, a meek and quiet divine, of the independent persuasion, was educated in Cambridge, but forced to fly his country for non-conformity, in the times of archbishop *Laud*. He was one of the dissenting brethren in the assembly, and behaved with great temper and moderation. Bishop *Kennet* says, he was silenced for some time from preaching, because he differed in judgment from the assembly in points of church discipline, but was restored to his liberty Oct. 28, 1646. He afterwards gathered a congregation in London, after the manner of the *independents*, which met in Abchurch near Canon-street. Upon the resignation of Mr. *Vines* in the year 1650, for refusing the *engagement*, he was by the visitors made master of *Pembroke-hall*, Cambridge. He was a divine of considerable learning, and of great piety and devotion. In his last sickness he was under some darkness, and melancholy apprehensions; upon which account some of his friends and brethren assembled in his own house to assist him with their prayers; and in the evening, when they took their leave, he thanked them, and said, he was now satisfied in his soul; and lifting up his hands towards heaven said, *He is come, he is come*. And that night died.

Dr. *Robert Harris* was born at Broad-Campden in Gloucestershire, 1578, and educated in Magdalen-college, Oxon. He preached for some time about Oxford, and settled afterwards at Hanwell, in the place of famous Mr. *Dodd*, then suspended for non-conformity; here he continued till the breaking out of the civil wars, when by the king's soldiers he was driven to London. He was appointed one of the assembly of divines, and minister of St. Botolph, Bishopsgate. In the year 1646, he was one of the six preachers to the university of Oxford, and next year one of their visitors, when he was created *D. D.* and made president of Trinity-college, and rector of Garlington near Oxford, which is always annexed to it. Here he continued till his death, governing his college with a paternal affection, being revered by the students as a father. The inscription over his grave gives him a great character; but the royalists charge him, and I believe justly, with being a notori-

ous pluralist.* He died December 11, 1658, in the eightieth year of his age.‡

Mr. *William Carter* was educated in Cambridge, and afterwards a very popular preacher in London. He was a good scholar, of great seriousness, and though a young man, appointed one of the assembly of divines. After some time he joined the *independents*, and became one of the dissenting brethren in the assembly. He had offers of many livings but refused them, being dissatisfied with the parochial discipline of those times; nevertheless, he was indefatigable in his ministry, preaching twice every Lord's-day to two large congregations in the city, besides lectures on the week days: This wasted his strength, and put an end to his life about Midsummer 1658, in the fifty-third year of his age. His family were afterwards great sufferers by the purchase of bishops lands.

* Against this charge, if the truth of it should be admitted, ought to be set his charity; which, we are told, exceeded the ordinary proportion of his revenues. *Ed.*

§ Clarke's Lives in his Martyrology, p. 314, 339.

CHAP. IV.

The Inter-Regnum from the Death of OLIVER CROMWELL to the Restoration of King CHARLES II. and the re-establishment of the Church of England.

1659.

UPON the death of the *protector*, all the discontented spirits who had been subdued by his administration resumed their courage, and within the compass of one year, revived the confusions of the preceding ten. *Richard Cromwell*, being proclaimed protector upon his father's decease, received numberless addresses from all parts,* congratulating his accession to the dignity of protector, with assurances of lives and fortunes cheerfully devoted to support his title. He was a young gentleman of a calm and peaceable temper, but had by no means the capacity or resolution of his father, and was therefore unfit to be at the helm in such boisterous times. He was highly caressed by the presbyterians, though he set out upon the principles of general toleration, as appears by his declaration of Nov. 25, entitled, *A proclamation for the better encouraging godly ministers and others*; and for their enjoying their dues and liberties according to law, without being molested with indictments for not using the common-prayer book.

The young protector summoned a parliament to meet on the 27th of Jan. 1658-9. The elections were not according to the method practised by his father, but according to the old constitution, because it was apprehended that the smaller boroughs might be more easily influenced than

* Of these addresses. Dr. Grey says, "nothing ever exceeded them in point of flattery, except those canting addresses of the *dissenters* to king James upon his indulgence:" and he gives several at length, as specimens of the strain of adulation in which they were drawn up, from different corporations: from which the reader will see that mayors, recorders, and aldermen of that day could rival the *independent ministers*, whom the doctor reproaches as "most foully guilty," in their effusions of flattery. In truth, all were paying their *devoirs* to the rising sun. *Ed.*

cities and counties ; but it was ill judged to break in upon the instrument of government, by which he held his protectorship. The parliament met according to appointment, but did little business, the lower house not being willing to own the upper. The army was divided into two grand factions ; the Wallingford-house party, which was for a commonwealth ; and the presbyterian, which, with the majority of the parliament, was for the protector. The Wallingford-house party, of which *Fleetwood* and *Desborough* were the head, invited Dr. *Owen* and Dr. *Manton* to their consultations. Dr. *Owen* went to prayer before they entered on business, but Dr. *Manton*, being late before he came, heard a loud voice from within, saying, *He must down, and he shall down*. *Manton* knew the voice to be Dr. *Owen's*, and understood him to mean the deposing of *Richard*, and therefore would not go in. But the writer of Dr. *Owen's* life discredits this story ; though, in my opinion, it is very probable, for the doctor inclined to a republican government : He sided with the army, and drew up their address against *Oliver's* being king : upon which he declined in the protector's favor, and as soon as *Richard* became chancellor of Oxford, he turned him out of the vice-chancellorship. The cabinet council at Wallingford-House having gained over several to their party, prevailed with *Richard* to consent to their erecting a *general council* of officers, though he could not but know they designed his ruin, being all republicans ; and therefore, instead of supporting the protector, they presented a remonstrance, complaining of the advancement of disaffected persons, and that the *good old cause* was ridiculed. *Richard*, sensible of his fatal mistake, by the advice of lord *Broghil*, dissolved the council, and then the parliament voted they should meet no more ; but the officers bid him defiance, and like a company of sovereign dictators armed with power, sent the protector a peremptory message to dissolve the parliament, telling him that it was impossible for him to keep both the parliament and army at his devotion, but that he might choose which he would prefer ; if he dissolved the parliament he might depend upon the army, but if he refused, they would quickly pull him out of Whitehall. Upon this the timorous gentleman being at a plunge, and destitute of his fath-

er's courage, submitted to part with the only men who could support him.

After the dissolution of the parliament, *Richard* became a cypher in the government; lord *Broghil*, afterwards earl of *Orrery*, advised him to the last to support the parliament and declare against the council of officers; and if he had allowed the captain of his guard at the same time to have secured *Fleetwood* and *Desborough*, as he undertook to do, with the hazard of his life, he might have been established; but the poor-spirited protector told him, that *he was afraid of blood*; upon which the captain, lord *Howard*, made his peace with the king. The officers at Wallingford-house, having carried their point, published a declaration about twelve days after, without so much as asking the protector's leave, inviting the remains of the long-parliament to resume the government, who immediately declared their resolutions for a commonwealth without a single person, or house of peers. Thus was the grandeur of *Cromwell's* family destroyed by the pride and resentment of some of its own branches: *Fleetwood* had married the widow of *Ireton*, one of *Oliver's* daughters, and being disappointed of the protectorship by his last will, was determined that no single person should be his superior. *Desborough*, who had married *Oliver's* sister, joined in the fatal conspiracy. *Lambert*, whom *Oliver* had dismissed the army, was called from his retirement to take his place among the council of officers. These, with Sir *H. Vane*, and one or two more behind the curtain, subverted the government, and were the springs of all the confusions of this year, as is evident by the letters of Mr. *Henry Cromwell*, lord-lieutenant of Ireland, now before me, who saw farther into their intrigues at that distance, than the protector who was upon the spot. I shall take the liberty to transcribe some passages out of them to my present purpose.

Upon the surprising news of *Oliver's* death he writes to his brother, Sept. 18, 1658, — "I am so astonished at the news of my dear father's sickness and death, that I know not what to say or write on so sad and grievous an occasion; but the happy news of leaving your highness his successor gives some relief, not only on account of the public, but of our poor family, which the goodness of God has

preserved from the contempt of our enemies. I may say without vanity, that your highness has been proclaimed here with as great joy, and general satisfaction (I believe) as in the best-affected places of England; and I make no doubt of the dutiful compliance of the army. Now, that the God of your late father and mine, and your highness's predecessor, would support you, and pour down a double portion of the same spirit that was so eminently in him, and would enable you to walk in his steps, and do worthily for his name-sake and people, and continually preserve you in so doing, is the prayer of

“Your's, &c.

“H. C.”

In another letter of the same date, sent by an express messenger, he writes, that “he had caused a very dutiful address to be sent to the army, which had been already signed by several of the field officers, and when perfected, should be sent to him as a witness against any single officer that should hereafter warp from his obedience; so that I may and do assure your highness of the active subjection of this army to your government, and will answer for it with my life.—”

In his letter of October 20, 1658, he says, “If the account be true which I have received of the state of affairs in England, I confess it is no more than I looked for, only I had some hopes it might have been prevented by keeping all officers at their respective charges; but as things now stand, I doubt the flood is so strong you can neither stem it, nor come to an anchor, but must be content to go adrift and expect the ebb. I thought those whom my father had raised from nothing, would not so soon have forgot him, and endeavor to destroy his family before he is in his grave. Why do I say I thought, when I know ambition, and affection of empire, never had any bounds. I cannot think these men will ever rest till they are in the saddle; and we have of late years been so used to changes, that it will be but a nine days' wonder; and yet I fear there is no remedy, but what must be used gradually and *pedetentim*. Sometimes I think of a parliament, but am doubtful whether sober men will venture to embark themselves when

things are in so high a distraction ; or if they would, whether the army can be restrained from forcing elections.—I am almost afraid to come over to your highness, lest I should be kept there, and so your highness lose this army, which, for ought I know, is the only stay you have, though I cannot but earnestly desire it. I also think it dangerous to write freely to you, for I make no question but all the letters will be opened that pass between us, unless they come by a trusty messenger. I pray God help you, and bless your councils.

I remain, yours, &c.

H. C.”

In a letter of the same date to his brother-in-law *Fleetwood*, he writes :

“ *Dear Brother,*

“I received your account of the petition of the officers ; but pray give me leave to expostulate with you ; how came these two or three hundred officers together ? If they came of their own heads, their being absent from their charge without licence would have flown in their face when they petitioned for a due observance of martial discipline. If they were called together, were they not also taught what to say and do ? If they were called, was it with his highness’s privity ? If they met without leave in so great a number, were they told their error ? I shall not meddle with the matter of their petition ; but *dear brother*, I must tell you, I hear that dirt was thrown upon his late highness at that great meeting ; that they were exhorted to stand up for that good old cause which had long lain asleep.—I thought my father had pursued it to the last. He died, praying for those that desired to trample on his dust. Let us then not render evil for good, and make his memory stink before he is under ground. Let us remember his last legacy, and for his sake render his successor considerable, and not make him vile, a thing of nought, and a by-word. Whither do these things tend ? What a hurlyburly is there ? One hundred independent ministers called together ; a council, as you call it, of two or three hundred officers of a judgment. Remember what has always be-

fallen imposing spirits. Will not the loins of an imposing independent, or anabaptist be as heavy as the loins of an imposing prelate, or presbytery? And is it a dangerous opinion, that *dominion is founded in grace*, when it is held by the church of Rome, and a sound principle when it is held by the fifth monarchy men. *Dear brother*, let us not fall into the sins of other men, lest we partake of their plagues. Let it be so carried, that all the people of God though under different forms; yea, even those whom you count *without*, may enjoy their birthright and civil liberty; and that no one party may tread upon the neck of another. It does not become the magistrate to descend into parties; but can the things you do tend to this end? Can these things be done, and the world not think his highness a knave or a fool, or oppressed with mutinous spirits; *Dear brother*, my spirit is sorely oppressed with the consideration of the miserable state of the innocent people of these nations: What have these sheep done that their blood should be the price of our lust and ambition? Let me beg you to remember, how his late highness loved you; how he honored you with the highest trust, by leaving the sword in your hand, which must defend or destroy us. And his declaring his *highness* his successor, shews, that he left it there to preserve him and his reputation. *O brother!* use it to curb extravagant spirits, and busy-bodies, but let not the nations be governed by it. Let us take heed of arbitrary power; let us be governed by the known laws of the land; and let all things be kept in their proper channels; and let the army be so governed, that the world may never hear of them unless there be occasion to fight. And truly, *brother*, you must pardon me, if I say God and man may require this duty at your hand, and lay all miscarriages of the army, in point of discipline, at your door. You see I deal freely and plainly with you, as becomes your friend, and a good subject. And the great God, in whose presence I speak, knows that I do it not to reproach you, but out of my tender affection and faithfulness to you. And you may rest assured, that you shall always find me,

Your true friend, and loving brother,

H. C."

In other letters to lord *Broghil*, afterwards earl of *Or-rery*, with whom he maintained an intimate correspondence, “he complains of his being forbid to come over into England; and that the clause in his new commission was left out; namely, the power of appointing a deputy, or juries, in order to prevent his coming over to England, which he hopes his highness will permit, their being much more cause to press it now than ever.” “I find (says he in a letter to the protector) that my enemies have sentenced me to an honorable banishment; I am not conscious of any crime which might deserve it; but if they can denounce judgment upon my innocence they will easily be able to make me criminal. They have already begot a doubt among my friends, whether all be right; but I will rather submit to any sufferings with a good name, than be the greatest man upon earth without it.”—In a letter to secretary *Thurloe*, he writes, “that since he was not allowed to leave Ireland, he could do no more than sit still and look on. The elections for parliament are like to be good here, (says he) though I could wish the writs had come so timely that the members might have been there before they had been excluded by a vote, which, it is said, will be the first thing brought upon the stage.—” From these, and some other of his letters, it is natural to conclude, that lieutenant-general *Fleetwood* was at the head of the councils which deposed *Richard*, which might be owing either to his republican principles, or to his disappointment of the protectorship. However, when he found he could not keep the army within bounds, who were for new changes, he retired from public business, and spent the remainder of his life privately among his friends at Stoke-Newington, where he died soon after the revolution, being more remarkable for piety and devotion than for courage and deep penetration in politics.†

† “He thought that prayers superseded the use of “carnal weapons,” and that “it was sufficient to trust in the hand of Providence without exerting the arm of flesh.” “He would fall on his knees and pray when he heard of a mutiny among the soldiers; and was with the utmost difficulty roused to action on several emergencies.” Granger’s *Hist. of England*, vol. iii. 8vo. p. 47. *Ed.*

To return :—After the rump parliament had sat about a week, the officers petitioned “1. That the laws might have their free course. 2. That all public debts unsatisfied might be paid. 3. That all who profess faith in the holy trinity, and acknowledge the holy scriptures to be the revealed will of God, may have protection and encouragement in the profession of their religion, while they give no disturbance to the state, except papists, prelatists, and persons who teach licentious doctrines. 4. That the two universities, and all schools of learning, may be countenanced. 5. That those who took part with the king in the late wars, or are notoriously disaffected to the parliament’s cause, may be removed from all places of trust. 6. That the protector’s debts be paid, and an allowance of ten thousand pounds *per ann.* be allowed to *Richard* and his heirs for ever. 7. That there may be a representative of the people, consisting of one house successively chosen by the people; and that the government of the nation may be placed in such a representative body, with a select senate co-ordinate in power; and that the administration of all executive power of government may be in a council of state, consisting of a convenient number of persons eminent for godliness, and who are in principle for the present cause.”

The parliament thanked the officers for their petition, but postponed the affair relating to *Richard*, till he should acquiesce in the change of government. The protector, having parted with the parliament who were his chief support, had not the resolution to strike a bold stroke for three kingdoms, but tamely submitted to resign his *high dignity*,§ by

§ Richard Cromwell has been reproached as “extremely pusillanimous,” as “a fool and a sot,” and “a titmouse prince,” because he yielded to the times, and relinquished power and royalty.” “But, in the name of common sense,” says Dr. Harris, with virtuous animation, “what was there weak and foolish in laying down a burthen too heavy for the shoulders? What in preferring the peace and welfare of men, to blood and confusion, the necessary consequences of retaining the government? Or what, in a word, in resigning the power to such as, by experience, had been found fully equal to it, and intent on promoting the common welfare? Ambition, glory, fame, sound well in the ears of the vulgar; and men, excited by them, have seldom failed to figure in

a writing under his hand, after he had enjoyed it eight months. How little the soul of OLIVER survived in his son *Richard* may be seen by this conduct! His brother *Henry*, who was at the head of an army in Ireland, offered to come immediately to his assistance, but was forbid, and the timorous young gentleman returned to a private life, with more seeming satisfaction than he had accepted the sovereignty. Upon his quitting Whitehall, and the other royal palaces, the parliament voted him a maintenance, but refused to concern themselves with his father's debts,* the payment whereof swept away the greatest part of his estate, which was far from being large, considering the high preferments his father had enjoyed for several years. This was a further contempt thrown upon the *protector's* memory; former obligations were forgotten, and a new council of state being chosen, the nation seemed to slide peaceably into a commonwealth government.

The presbyterians would have been content with *Richard's* government; but seeing no likelihood of restoring the covenant, or coming into power, by the rump parlia-

the eyes of the world: but the man who can divest himself of empire for the sake of his fellow-men, must, in the eye of reason, be entitled to a much higher renown, than the purpled hero who leads them on to slaughter, though provinces or kingdoms are gained to him thereby."

- Ambition, cease: the idle contest end:
- 'Tis but a kingdom thou canst win or lose.
- And why must murder'd myriads lose their all,
- (If life be all) why desolation lower,
- With famish'd frown on this affrighted hall,
- That thou may'st flame the meteor of an hour.'

Harris's Life of Charles II. vol. i. p. 214. *Ed.*

MASON.

* The parliament instituted, however, an enquiry into the debts of *Richard Cromwell*, and a schedule of them was given in: by which it appeared, that *Richard*, even after having reduced his father's debts from 28,000*l.* to 23,550*l.* owed 29,640*l.* It was resolved to acquit *Richard Cromwell* from this debt, and to provide for the payment of it by the sale of the plate, hangings, goods, and furniture, in Whitehall and Hampton-Court, belonging to the state, which could be conveniently spared. It was also resolved to settle on him an annuity of 8700*l.* so as to make to him with his own fortune a yearly income of 10,000*l.* But, through the changes that followed, *Richard Cromwell* derived no benefit from these resolutions. *Grey's Examination*, vol. iii. p. 241. *Dr Harris's Life of Charles II.* vol. i. p. 208, &c. *Ed.*

ment, which was chiefly made up of enthusiasts, and declared enemies to monarchy, they entered into a kind of confederacy with the royalists, to restore the king and the old constitution. The particulars of this union (says *Rapin*) are not known, because the historians who write of it being all royalists, have not thought fit to do so much honor to the presbyterians. But it is generally agreed, that from this time the presbyterians appeared no longer among the king's enemies, but very much promoted his restoration. Upon the foundation of this union, an insurrection was formed in several parts of the country, which was discovered by sir *Richard Willis*, a correspondent of secretary *Thurloe's*, so that sir *George Booth*, a presbyterian, had an opportunity of appearing about Chester, at the head of five or six hundred men, declaring for a free parliament, without mentioning the king; but he and sir *Thomas Middleton*, who joined him, were defeated by *Lambert*, and made prisoners.* The king and duke of *York* came to Calais, to be in readiness to embark in case it succeeded, but upon the news of its miscarriage they retired; and his majesty, in despair, determined to rely upon the Roman catholic powers for the future. Several of the presbyterian ministers appeared in this insurrection, as the reverend Mr. *Newcomb*, of Manchester, Mr. *Eaton* of Walton, and Mr. *Finch*, chaplain to sir *George Booth*, all afterwards ejected by the act of uniformity.

The parliament, to secure the *republican* government, first appointed an oath of abjuration, whereby they renounced allegiance to *Charles Stuart*, and the whole race of king *James*, and promised fidelity to the commonwealth, without a single person or the house of peers. They then attempted the reduction of the army, which had set them up, depending upon the assurances general *Monk* had given them from Scotland, of his army's entire submission to their orders; but the English officers, instead of submitting, stood in their own defence, and presented another petition to the house, desiring their former address from Wallingford-House might not lie asleep, but that *Fleetwood*, whom they had chosen for their general, might be confirmed in his

* The parliament so much resented this insurrection, that they *disfranchised* the city of Chester. Dr. Grey's Examination, vol. iii. p. 242. Ed.

high station. The house demurred upon the petition, and seeing there was like to be a new contest for dominion, endeavored to divide the officers, by cashiering some, and paying others their arrears. Upon this the officers presented a third petition to the same purpose; but the parliament, being out of all patience, told them their complaints were without just grounds, and cashiered nine of the chiefs, among whom were lieutenant-general *Fleetwood*, *Lambert*, *Desborough*, *Berry*, *Kelsey*, *Cobbet*, and others of the first rank: by means whereof things were brought to this crisis, that the army must submit to the parliament, or instantly dissolve them. The discarded officers resolved on the latter, for which purpose, October 13, *Lambert* with his forces secured all the avenues to the parliament house, and as the *speaker* passed by Whitehall he rode up to his coach, and having told him there was nothing to be done at Westminster, commanded major *Creed* to conduct him back to his house. At the same time all the members were stopped in their passage, and prevented from taking their seats in parliament; *Fleetwood* having placed a strong guard at the door of the parliament-house for that purpose. Thus the remains of the long parliament, after they had sat five months and six days, having no army to support them, were turned out of their house a second time, by a company of headstrong officers, who knew how to pull down, but could not agree upon any form of government to set up in its place.

There being now a perfect anarchy, the officers, who were masters of the nation, first appointed a council of ten of their own body to take care of the public, and having restored their general officers, they concluded upon a select number of men to assume the administration, under the title of a *Committee of safety*, which consisted of twenty-three persons, who had the same authority and power that the late *council of state* had, to manage all public affairs, till they could agree upon a new settlement. The people of England were highly disgusted with these changes, but there was no parliament nor king to fly to; many of the gentry therefore from several parts, sent letters to general *Monk* in Scotland, inviting him to march his army into England to obtain a free parliament, and promising him all necessary assistance.

The *committee of safety*, being aware of this, attempted an accommodation with *Monk* by *Clarges* his brother-in-law, but without success, for they had not sat above a fortnight before they received letters from Scotland, full of reproaches for their late violation of faith to the parliament, and of the general's resolution to march his army into England to restore them. Upon this *Lambert* was sent immediately to the frontiers, who, quartering his soldiers about Newcastle, put a stop to *Monk's* march for about a month. In the mean time, the general, in order to gain time, sent commissioners to London, to come to terms with the *committee of safety*, who were so supple, that a treaty was concluded November 15, but when it was brought to *Monk* he pretended his commissioners had exceeded their instructions, and refused to ratify it. The *council of state*, therefore, which sat before the rump parliament was interrupted, taking advantage of this, resolved to gain over *Monk* to their party, and being assembled privately, sent him a commission, constituting him *general of the armies of England, Scotland and Ireland*, which was the very thing he desired.

At this juncture died serjeant *Bradshaw*, who sat as judge and pronounced sentence of death on King *Charles* at his trial; He died with a firm belief of the justice of putting his majesty to death in the manner it was done, and said that if it were to do again, he would be the first man that should do it: He was buried in a very pompous manner in Westminster-Abbey, being attended by most of the members of the long parliament, and other gentlemen of quality, Nov. 22, 1659, but his body was not suffered to rest long in its grave.

The general having secured Scotland, and put garrisons into the fortified places, marched to the borders with no more than five thousand men; but while *Lambert* was encamped about Newcastle to oppose his progress, it appeared that the nation was sick of the frenzies of the officers, and willing to prefer any government to the present anarchy; Portsmouth, and part of the fleet revolted, and declared for a *free parliament*, as did several detachments of the army; upon which *Lambert* retired towards London, and made way for *Monk's* entering England. The *committee of safety*, seeing all things in confusion, and not knowing

whom to trust, resigned their authority, and restored the parliament, which met again Dec. 26, and would now have been glad to have had *Monk* back again in Scotland: for this purpose they sent letters to acquaint him with their restoration, and that now he might return to his government in Scotland: but the general, having entered England, Jan. 2, continued his march towards London, designing a new as well as a free parliament. When he came to York, lord *Fairfax* received him into that city, and declared for a new and free parliament; as did the London apprentices, and great numbers of all ranks and orders of men both in city and country. The rump, being suspicious that *Monk* had some further design, either of establishing himself after the example of *Cromwell*, or of restoring the king, obliged him to take the oath of abjuration of *Charles Stuart*, already mentioned, and to swear, that by the grace and assistance of Almighty God, he would be true, faithful, and constant to the parliament and commonwealth; and that he would oppose the bringing in, or setting up any single person or house of lords in this commonwealth. They also sent Mr. *Scot* and *Robinson* to be spies upon his conduct, who came to him at Leicester, where he received addresses from divers parts, to restore the secluded presbyterian members of 1648, which was the first step towards the king's restoration. Thus a few giddy politicians at the head of an army, through ambition, envy, lust of power, or because they knew not what to carve out for themselves, threw the whole kingdom back into confusion, and made way for that restoration they were most afraid of, and which without their own quarrels, and insulting every form of government that had been set up, could not have been accomplished.

When the general came to St. Albans, he sent a message to desire the parliament to remove the regiments quartered in the city to some distance, which they weakly complied with, and made way for *Monk's* entrance with his forces in a sort of triumph, February 3, 1659-60. Being conducted to the parliament-house, the speaker gave him thanks for his great and many services; and the general, having returned the compliment, acquainted the house, "that several applications had been made to him in his march from

Scotland, for a full and free parliament; for the admission of the secluded members in 1648, without any previous oath or engagement, and that the present parliament would determine their sitting. To all which he had replied, that they were now a *free* parliament, and had voted to fill up their house in order to their being a *full* parliament; but to restore the secluded members without a previous oath to the present government, is what had never been done in England; but he took the liberty to add, that he was of opinion, that the fewer oaths the better, provided they took care that neither the *cavaliers* nor *fanatics* should have any share in the administration."

The citizens of London being presbyterians fell in with *Monk*, in hopes of a better establishment, and came to a bold resolution in common-council Feb. 17, to pay no more taxes till the parliament was filled up. Upon this the house, to shew their resentments, ordered the general to march into the city; to seize eleven of the most active common-councilmen, and to pull down their gates, chains, and portcullises. This was bidding them defiance, at a time when they ought to have courted their friendship.—*Monk*, having arrested the common-councilmen, prayed the parliament to suspend the execution of the remaining part, but they insisting upon his compliance, he obeyed. The citizens were enraged at this act of violence; and *Monk's* friends told him, that his embroiling himself with the city in this manner would inevitably be his ruin, for without their assistance he could neither support himself, nor obtain another parliament; people being now generally of opinion with *O. Cromwell*, that the *rump parliament* was designed to be perpetual, and their government as arbitrary as the most despotic king. *Monk* therefore, convinced of his mistake, resolved to reconcile himself to the magistracy of the city, in order to which, he sent his brother *Clarges* to assure them of his concern for what he had done; and having summoned a council of officers in the night, he sent a letter to the parliament, insisting upon their issuing out writs to fill up their house, and when filled, to rise at an appointed time, and give way to a full and free parliament. Upon reading this letter the house voted him thanks, and sent to acquaint him, that they were

taking measures to satisfy his request ; but the *general*, not willing to trust himself in their hands, broke up from Whitehall, and having been invited by the lord-mayor of London, and the chief presbyterian ministers, marched his whole army into the city ; and a common-council being called, he excused his late conduct, and acquainted them with the letter he had sent to the house, assuring them, that he would now stand by them to the utmost of his power. This appeased the angry citizens, and caused them to treat him as their friend, notwithstanding what had happened the day before. When the news of this reconciliation was spread through the town, the parliament were struck with surprise ; but there was a perfect triumph among the people, the bells rung, bonfires were made, and numbers of *rumps* thrown into them, in contempt of the *parliament*.

The *general*, being now supported by the citizens, proceeded to restore the secluded members of 1648, who were of the presbyterian party ; § for this purpose he appointed a conference between them and some of the sitting members, which miscarried, because the sitting members could not undertake that the parliament would stand to their agreement. Upon which *Monk* resolved to restore them immediately by force, lest the parliament and their army should come to an accommodation, and dislodge him from the city. Accordingly he summoned the secluded members to Whitehall, Feb. 21, and having acquainted them with his design, exhorted them to take care of the true interest of the nation, and told them, “ that the citizens of London were for a *commonwealth*, the old foundations of *monarchy* being so broken that it could not be restored but upon the ruins of the people, who had engaged for the parliament ; for if the king should return (says he) he will govern by arbitrary will and power. Besides, if the government of the state be *monarchical*, the church must follow, and prelacy be brought in, which I know the nation cannot bear, and have sworn against ; and therefore a moderate, not a rigid presbyterian government, with liberty of conscience, will be the most acceptable way to the church’s

§ Dr. Grey has given a list of those secluded members. Examination, vol. iii. p. 250. Ed.

* Kennet’s Chron. p. 63, 64.

settlement." He then obliged them to subscribe the following articles : " 1. To settle the armies so as to preserve the peace. 2. To provide for their support, and pay their arrears. 3. To constitute a council of state for Scotland and Ireland. And 4. To call a new parliament and dissolve the present." And so dismissed them with a strong party of guards to see them take their places in the house. This speech was very different from what is pretended the general had in view, and seems to have been drawn up by some of the moderate presbyterians, with whom he kept a close correspondence. And though he did not turn the members out of the house as *Cromwell* did, yet his discharging the parliament guards, and placing a strong body of his own horse at the door, without leave of the parliament, gave them sufficiently to understand, what would be the consequence of their making opposition.

The house thus enlarged became entirely presbyterian. They ratified the vote of December 1648, viz. That the king's concessions at the Isle of Wight were a sufficient ground for peace.—They annulled the *engagement* of 1649.—They put the militia into new hands, with this limitation, that *none should be employed in that trust but who would first declare under their hands, that they believed the war raised by both houses of parliament against the king was just and lawful, till such time as force and violence was used upon the parliament in 1648.*—They repealed the oath of abjuration of *Charles Stuart.*—They appointed a new council of state, and declared for a free commonwealth—for a learned and pious ministry—for the continuance of tithes, and for the augmentation of smaller livings by the tenths and first-fruits.—They resolved to encourage the two universities, and all other schools of learning.—And (to content the *independents*) they voted, that provision should be made for a due liberty of conscience in matters of religion, according to the word of God.

Thus all things seemed to return to the condition they were in at the treaty of the Isle of Wight. The presbyterians being now again in the saddle, a day of thanksgiving was kept ; after which the city ministers petitioned for the redress of sundry grievances ; as, 1. " That a more effec-

tual course be taken against papists. 2. That the quakers be prohibited opening their shops on the sabbath day. 3. That the public ministers may not be disturbed in their public services." They requested the house to establish the assembly's confession of faith, directory, and catechisms; to appoint persons for approbation of ministers, till the next parliament should take further order; and to call another assembly of divines, to be chosen by the ministers of the several counties, to heal the divisions of the nation.*

In answer to these requests, the house agreed to a bill, March 2, for approbation of public ministers, according to the directory, and named Mr. *Manton*, and several others of the presbyterian persuasion, for that service; which passed into an act March 14. They declared for the assembly's confession of faith, except the 30th and 31st chapters of discipline, and appointed a committee to prepare an act, declaring it to be the *public confession of faith of the church of England*. The act passed the house March 5, and was ordered to be printed; Dr. *Reynolds*, Mr. *Manton*, and Mr. *Calamy*, to have the care of the press. On the same day they ordered the *solemn league and covenant* to be re-printed, and set up in every church in England, and read publicly by the minister once every year.

Thus presbytery was restored to all the power it had ever enjoyed; and the ministers of that persuasion were in full possession of all the livings in England. A reform was made in the militia; and the chief places of profit, trust, and honor, were put into their hands. The army was in disgrace; the *independents* deprived of all their influence, and all things managed by the presbyterians, supported by *Monk's* forces. After this the long parliament passed an act for their own dissolution, and for calling a new parliament to meet April 25, 1660, the candidates for which were to declare under their hands, *that the war against the late king was just and lawful*;† and all who had assisted in any war

* Kennet's Chron. p. 52, 75.

† This was the requisition put to such as sought a commission in the army, rather than to candidates for a seat in parliament: though Kennet, in his margin, applies it to the eligibility of members. He says nothing of the candidates being obliged to sign the declaration. So that Mr. Neal is not quite accurate in his statement of this matter. *Ed.*

against the parliament since January 1, 1641, they and their sons, were made incapable of being elected, unless they had since manifested their good affection to the parliament.† They then appointed a new council of state, consisting of thirty-one persons, to take care of the government; and dissolved themselves March 16, after they had sat, with sundry intermissions, nineteen years, four months, and thirteen days.

We are now come to the dawn of the restoration, of which general **MONK** has had the reputation of being the chief instrument. This gentleman was son of sir *Thomas Monk*, of Potheridge in Devonshire, and served the king in the wars for some years, but being taken prisoner he changed sides, and acted for the parliament. He afterwards served *O. Cromwell*, and was by him left commander in chief of the forces in Scotland, from whence he now marched into England to restore the parliament. Lord *Clarendon* and *Eachard* say, “he was of a reserved nature, of deep thoughts, and of few words; and what he wanted in fine elocution he had in sound judgment. That he had a natural secrecy in him, prevalent upon all his qualifications of a soldier; a strong body, a mind not easily disordered, an invincible courage, and a sedate and uniform contempt of death, without any frenzy of fanaticism or superstition to turn his head.” This is the language of flattery. Others have set him forth in a very different light; they admit, that he was bold and enterprizing, but had nothing of the gentleman, nor had any depth of contrivance; that he was perpetually wavering, and betrayed all whom he served but *Cromwell*. *Ludlow* says, he was a man of a covetous temper, and of no principles; of a vicious life and scandalous conversation. Father *Orleans* says, that he was a man of slow understanding. And *Whitlocke* reports, that the French ambassador said, he had neither sense nor breeding. The truth is, he had a cloudy head, and in no action of his life discovered a quick or fine genius. In the latter part of life he was sordidly covetous, and sunk into most of the vices of the times. No man ever went beyond him in dissimulation and falsehood, as appears in this very affair of the king’s restoration. He took the *abjuration oath*, once under *Oliver*: and again this very year, whereby he

† Kennet’s Chron. p. 85.

renounced the title of *Charles Stuart*, and swore *to be true to the commonwealth, without a single person or house of lords.* § And yet in his first message to the king by sir *John Grenville*, he assures his majesty, *that his heart had been ever faithful to him, though he had not been in a condition to serve him till now.** When he came with his army to London, he assured the rump parliament of his cheerful obedience to all their commands, and desired them to be very careful that the cavalier party might have no share in the civil or military power. When he restored the secluded members, he promised the parliament *to take effectual care that they should do no hurt.* When the *commonwealth's* men expressed their fears, and asked the general whether he would join with them against the king? he replied, *I have often declared my resolution so to do;* and taking sir *Arthur Haslerigge* by the hand, he said. *I do here protest to you, in the presence of all these gentlemen, that I will oppose to the utmost, the setting up of Charles Stuart, a single person, or a house of peers.* He then expostulated with them about their suspicions; *What is it I have done in bringing these members into the house, (says he) are they not the same that brought the king to the block, though others cut off his head, and that justly?* And yet this very man, within six months, condemned these persons to the gallows. Nay further, the general sent letters to all the regiments, assuring them *that the government should continue a COMMONWEALTH, that they had no purpose to return to their old bondage, that is, monarchy; and if any made disturbances in favor of Charles Stuart, he desired they might be secured.* So that if this gentleman was in the secret of restoring the king from his entrance into England, or his first coming to London, I may challenge all history to produce a scene of hypocrisy and dissimulation equal to his conduct. Dr. *Welwood* adds,† that he acted the part of a politician much better than that of a christian; and carried on the thread of dissimulation with wonderful dexterity. Bishop *Burnet* differs from the doctor, and says, that “though he had both the praise and the reward, yet a very small share of the restoration belonged to him.—

§ *Welwood's Mem.* p. 117, &c. * *History of the Stuarts*, p. 459.

† *Memoirs*, p. 117, 120.

The tide ran so strong that the general only went into it dexterously enough to get much fame and great rewards.

—If he had died soon after, he might have been more justly admired; but he lived long enough to make it known how false a judgment men are apt to make upon outward appearance.”*

But before we relate the particulars of the restoration, it will be proper to consider the abject state of the church of England, and the religion of the young king. If *Cromwell* had lived ten or twelve years longer, episcopacy might have been lost beyond recovery, for by that time the whole bench of bishops would have been dead, and there would have been none to consecrate or ordain for the future, unless they could have obtained a new conveyance from the church of Rome, or admitted the validity of presbyterian ordination. This was the *case in view*, which induced some of the ancient bishops to petition the king to fill up the vacant sees with all expedition, in which they were supported by sir *Edward Hyde*, chancellor of the *exchequer*, who prevailed with his majesty to nominate certain clergymen for those high preferments, and sent over a list of the names to Dr. *Barwick*, to be communicated by him to the bishops of London, Ely, Sarum, and others who were to be concerned in the consecration. It was necessary to carry on this design with a great deal of secrecy, lest the governing powers should secure the bishops, and by that means put a stop to the work. It was no less difficult to provide persons of learning and character who would accept the charge, when it would expose them to sufferings, as being contrary to the laws in being, and when there was no prospect of restoring the church. But the greatest difficulty of all was, how to do it in a canonical manner, when there were no *deans* and *chapters* to elect, and consequently no persons to receive a *conge d' elire*, according to ancient custom.

Several expedients were proposed for removing this difficulty. Sir, *Edward Hyde* was of opinion, that the proceeding should be by a mandate from the king to any three or four bishops, by way of collation, upon the lapse, for the dean and chapters' non-election. But it was objected,

* Burnet's History, vol. i. p. 126, 12mo.

that the supposal of a *lapse* would impair the king's prerogative more than the collation would advance it, because it would presuppose a power of election *pleno jure* in the deans and chapters, which they have only *de facultate regia*; nor could they petition for such a license, because most of the deans were dead, some chapters extinguished, and all of them so disturbed, that they could not meet in the chapter-house, where such acts regularly are to be performed.

Dr. *Barwick*,* who was in England, and corresponded with the *chancellor*, proposed, that his majesty should grant his commission to the bishops of each province respectively, assembled in provincial council, or otherwise, as should be most convenient, to elect and consecrate fit persons for the vacant sees, with such dispensative clauses as should be

* The Dr. Barwick, to whom Mr. Neal refers, was a singular and eminent character at this period; an active and zealous adherent to the kings Charles I. and II. He managed with great address and dexterity the correspondence of the first with the city of London, when he was at Oxford. He corresponded with the second, while he was abroad: and was sent by the bishops, as will afterwards appear, with their instructions to him at Breda, where he preached before him, and was made one of his chaplains. He had the chief hand in the "*Quere-la Cantabrigiensis*," and wrote against the covenant. It was much owing to his influence, that the Cambridge plate was presented to the king: and he is said to have furnished lord Clarendon with a great part of the materials for his history. He was so dexterous in all his communications, as to elude the vigilance of Thurloe. He was born April 20, 1612, at Wetherslack in Westmorland, and received his classical learning at Sedberg-School in Yorkshire, where he distinguished himself by acting the part of *Hercules* in one of Seneca's tragedies. In the eighteenth year of his age he was sent to St. John's college, Cambridge. Where, so eminent were his abilities and attainments, he was chosen, when he was little more than twenty, by the members of his college, to be their advocate in a controverted election of a master, which was heard before the privy-council. He resided, some time, in Durham-House in London, as chaplain to the bishop, Dr. Morton; who bestowed on him a prebend in his cathedral, and the rich rectories of Wolsingham and of Houghton-in-le-Spring. In 1660, Charles II. promoted him to the deanery of Durham; and before the end of the year he was removed from that dignity to the deanry of St. Paul's. On the 18th of February, 1661, he was chosen prolocutor of the convocation. He died in the year 1664, aged fifty-two. He united in his character, with his loyalty, sincere devotion with sanctity of manners, and an undaunted spirit under his sufferings in the royal cause, for which he was imprisoned in a dungeon in the Tower. He was then far gone in a consumption; but living upon gruel and vegetables, he, after some time, recovered to a miracle. See his *Life*, and Granger's *Hist. of England*, vol. iii. p. 257, 8vo. *Ed.*

found necessary upon the emergency of the case, (his majesty signifying his pleasure concerning the persons, and the sees,) which commission may bare date before the action, and then afterward upon certificate, and petition to have his majesty's ratification and confirmation of the whole process, and the register to be drawn up accordingly by the chiefactuary, who may take his memorials hence, and make up the record there.*

Dr *Bramhall*, bishop of Derry, was for the Irish way, where the king has an absolute power of nomination, and therefore no way seemed to him so safe as consecrating the persons nominated to void sees in Ireland, and then removing them to others in England, which he apprehended would clearly elude all those formalities which seemed to perplex the affair; but this was thought an ill precedent, as it opened a door for destroying the privileges of the church of England in their capitular elections. The old bishop of *Ely* was so far from wishing, with Dr. *Bramhall*, that the Irish method might be introduced into England, that he said, if he should live to see the church restored, he would be an humble suitor to his majesty, that the privileges of the English church, in their elections of bishops, might be introduced into Ireland.

Dr. *Wren* bishop of Ely, and Dr. *Cosins* of Peterborough, were for an expedient something like the second, to which the court agreed, and Mr. chancellor *Hyde* wrote to Dr. *Barwick* for the form of such a commission as they judged proper, and urged, that it might be dispatched with all possible expedition. The chancellor had this affair very much at heart, but the old bishops were fearful lest it should be discovered, in which case they were sure to be the sufferers. Dr. *Brownrigge* of Exeter, and Dr. *Skinner* of Oxford, declined meddling in the affair; the rest declared their willingness to advance the work, but lived in hopes there might be no occasion for the hazard. The chancellor, in one of his letters says, *the king was much troubled that no more care was taken of the church, by those who should be the guardians of it.* He censures the slowness of the clergy, and says, it was very indecent, that when their afflicted mother was in extremity, any of her sons

* Life of Barwick, p. 204. Kennet's Chron. p. 14, 15.

should be timorous and fearful. Such were the chancellor's narrow principles, who seemed to hang the essence of christianity, and the virtue of all divine ordinances, upon the conveyance of ecclesiastical power by an uninterrupted succession from the apostles.

The nonjurors had the like *case in view* after the revolution, and provided for it in the best manner they could. But is not the christian world in a sad condition, if the christian bishop cannot be chosen or consecrated without a royal mandate, and the suffrage of a dean and chapter, when there were no such officers in the church for three hundred years after the apostles? and if the validity of all sacerdotal ministrations must depend on a regular uninterrupted succession from *St. Peter*? especially as *Baronius* a popish historian confesses, that in a succession of fifty popes not one pious or virtuous man sat in the chair; that there had been no popes for some years together; and at other times two or three at once; and when the same writer admits, between twenty and thirty schisms, one of which continued fifty years, the popes of Avignon and Rome excommunicating each other, and yet conferring orders upon their several clergy. How impossible is it to trace the right line through so much confusion?

But with regard to the king, his concern for the regular consecration of protestant bishops was a mere farce; for if he was not a papist before this time, it is certain he was reconciled to the church of Rome this year, at the *Pyrenean* treaty concluded between France and Spain at Fontarabia, whither he had repaired *incognito* to engage them in his interest. Here the king stayed twenty days, in which time his majesty, with the earl of *Bristol* and sir *H. Bennet* embraced the Roman-catholic religion. The secret of this affair was well known to lord *Clarendon*, though he is pleased to mention it with great tenderness. "It is believed, says his lordship, by wise men, that in that treaty somewhat was agreed to the prejudice of the protestant interest; and that in a short time there would have been much done against it, both in France and Germany, if the measures they had then taken had not been shortly broken, chiefly by the surprising revolution in England, which happened the next year, and also by the

death of the two great favorites of the two crowns, *Don Lewis de Haro*, and cardinal *Mazarine*, who both died not long after it.”† But the secret of the king’s reconciliation to the church of Rome has been more fully acknowledged of late years, by the eldest son of lord *Clarendon*, and by the duke of *Ormond*, who declared to several persons of honor, that “he himself, to his great surprise and concern, accidentally in a morning early, saw the king in the great church on his knees before the high altar, with several priests and ecclesiastics about him. That he was soon after confirmed in his sentiments by sir *Henry Bennet* and the earl of *Bristol*, who both owned the king to be a catholic as well as themselves; but it was agreed, that this change should be kept as the greatest secret imaginable.” There is another story (says bishop *Kennet*) which I have reason to think true: “Sir *H. Bennet* was soon after seen to wait on the king from mass, at which sight the lord *Culpepper* had so much indignation, that he went up to *Bennet*, and spoke to this effect; *I see what you are at; is this the way to bring our master home to his three kingdoms? Well, Sir, if ever you and I live to see England together, I will have your head, or you shall have mine*; which words struck such a terror upon sir *Harry Bennet*, that he never durst set his foot in England till after the death of lord *Culpepper*, who met with a very surprising end, soon after the king’s return.”‡

But though the prime ministers of France and Spain were now first witnesses of his majesty’s abjuring the protestant religion, there are strong presumptions that he was a papist long before, even before his brother *James*, if we may credit the testimony of his confessor *Father Huddleston*.* To the proofs of this fact already mentioned under the year 1652, I would add the testimony of the author of the *Mystery of Iniquity*, printed 1689, who writes thus; “The king’s [*Charles the second’s*] apostacy, is not of so late a date as the world is made commonly to believe, for tho’ it was many years concealed, and the contrary pretended and dissembled, yet it is certain he abjured the protestant religion soon after the exilement of the royal family, and

† Eachard, p. 751.

‡ Kennet, p. 238.

* Welwood’s *Memoirs*, p. 126.

was reconciled to the church of Rome at St. Germain's in France. Nor were several of the then suffering bishops and clergy ignorant of this, though they had neither integrity nor courage to give the nation warning of it."§ Bishop *Burnet*, in the *History of his Life and Times*, confirms this testimony from the cardinal minister, who sent an advertisement of it to the bishop himself; he says, "that before the king left Paris, (which was in June 1654) he changed his religion, but by whose persuasion is not yet known, only cardinal *De Retz* was in the secret, and lord *Aubigny* had a great hand in it. Chancellor *Hyde* had some suspicion of it, but would not suffer himself to believe it quite."|| And sir *Allen Broderick* declared upon his death-bed, that king *Charles* the second made profession of the popish religion at Fontainebleau, before he was sent out of France to Cologne.

The Dutch protestants suspected the change, but the king denied it in the most public manner; for when he was at Brussels in the year 1658, he wrote the following letter to the reverend Mr. *Cawton*, the presbyterian minister of the English congregation at Rotterdam.

"CHARLES REX.

"TRUSTY and well-beloved, we greet you well. We have received so full testimony of your affection to our person, and zeal for our service, that we are willing to recomment an affair to you in which we are much concerned. We do not wonder, that the malice of our enemies should continue to lay all manner of scandals upon us, but are concerned that they should find credit with any to make our affection to the protestant religion suspected, since the world cannot but take notice of our constant and uninterrupted profession of it in all places.—No man has, or can more manifest his affection to, and zeal for the protestant religion than we have done. Now, as you cannot but have much conversation with the ministers of the Dutch church, we presume and expect that you will use your utmost diligence and dexterity to root out those unworthy aspersions, so maliciously and groundlessly laid upon us by wicked

§ Kennet's Chron. p. 508.

|| Burnet, vol. i. p. 103, 4, 12mo.

men; and that you assure all that will give credit to you, that we value ourselves so much upon that part of our title, of being *defender of the faith*, that no worldly consideration can ever prevail with us to swerve from it, and the protestant religion in which we have been bred, the propagation whereof we shall endeavor with our utmost power. Given at Brussels, Nov. 7, in the 10th year of our reign."

To carry on the disguise, Dr. *Morley*, afterwards bishop of Winchester, was employed to write an apologetical letter to Dr. *Trigland*, the Dutch minister at the Hague, to assert and prove the king's stedfastness to the reformed faith and communion. The letter was dated June 7, 1659, a little before the king's going to the *Pyrenean* treaty, to engage the Roman catholic powers for his restoration. §

But to confirm the presbyterians further, and to put an end to all suspicions of his majesty's being turned papist, sir *Robert Murray* and the countess of *Balcarres* were employed to engage the most eminent reformed ministers in France, to write to their presbyterian brethren in England, and assure them of the king's stedfastness in the protestant faith, and to excuse his not joining with the church at Charenton. Accordingly these credulous ministers, not being acquainted with the secret, wrote to their brethren at London to the following purpose;

Monsieur *Raymond Gaches*, pastor of the reformed church at Paris, to the reverend Mr. *Baxter*, March 23, 1659-60.—"I know what odium has been cast upon the king; some are dissatisfied in his constancy to the true religion.—I will not answer what truly may be said, that it belongs not to subjects to enquire into the prince's religion: be he what he will, if the right of reigning belongs to him, obedience in civil matters is his due. *But this prince never departed from the public profession of the true religion; nor did he disdain to be present at our religious assemblies at Roan and Rochel, though he never graced our church at Paris with his presence, which truly grieved us.*—"*

Monsieur *Drelincourt*, another of the French pastors at Paris, writes March 24,—"A report is here, that the thing which will hinder the king's restoration, is the

opinion conceived by some, of his being turned Roman catholic, and the fear that in time he will ruin the protestant religion. But I see no ground for the report, his majesty making no profession of it, but on the contrary has rejected all the aids and advantages offered him upon that condition. —Charity is not jealous, and if it forbids us to suspect on slight grounds private persons, how can it approve jealousies upon persons so sacred! Besides, there are in the king's family, and among his domestics, some gentlemen of our religion, and my old friends; who at several times have given me assurances of the piety of this prince, and his stability in the profession he makes. Your presbyterians are now entrusted with the honor of our churches; if they recal this prince without the intervening of any foreign power, they will acquire to themselves immortal glory, and stop their mouths for ever, who charge us falsely as enemies to royalty, and make appear that the maxim, *No bishop, no king*, is falsely imputed to us.—”

The famous monsieur *Daille* of Paris, in his letter of April 7, 1660, writes to the same purpose:—“I know it is reported that the king has changed his religion; but who can believe a thing so contrary to all probability? Nothing of this appears to us; on the contrary we well know, that when he has resided in places where the exercise of his religion is not permitted, he has always had his chaplains with him, who have regularly performed divine service. Moreover, all Paris knows the anger the king expressed at the endeavors that were used to pervert the duke of Gloucester. And though it is objected, that he never came to our church at Charenton, yet as we are better informed of this than any one, we can testify, that religion was not the cause of it, but that it was upon political and prudential considerations, which may be peculiar to our church, for he has gone to sermon in Caen, and some other towns; and in Holland he heard some sermons from the famous monsieur *More*, our present colleague. Thus, sir, it is more clear than the day, that whatsoever has been reported till this time, of the change of this prince's religion, is a mere calumny.—”†

† Kennet's Chron. p. 94, 95.

Monsieur de *L'Anglo*, minister of the protestant church at Rouen, wrote upon the same subject to his friend in London, more fully to evidence the king's steadfastness in the protestant religion. These letters were printed and industriously spread over the whole kingdom.

The king himself in his letter to the house of commons says, "Do you desire the advancement of the protestant religion? We have by our constant profession and practice given sufficient testimony to the world, that *neither the unkindness of those of the same faith towards us, nor the civilities and protestations of those of a contrary profession, could in the least degree startle us, or make us swerve from it.*"

It is a surprising reflection of Mr. *Baxter*,* upon occasion of these letters: "These divines (says he) knew nothing of the state of affairs in England. They knew not those men who were to be restored with the king. They pray (says he) for the success of my labors, when they are persuading me to put an end to my labors by setting up those *prelates*, who will silence me and many hundreds more. They persuade me to that which will separate me from my flock, and then pray, that I may be a blessing to them; and yet (says he) I am for restoring the king, that when we are silenced, and our ministry at an end, and some of us lie in prisons, we may there and in that condition, have peace of conscience in the discharge of our duty, and the exercise of faith, patience, and charity in our sufferings." Was there ever such reasoning as this! But the reader will make his own remarks upon these extraordinary paragraphs.

To return back to general *Monk* in Scotland. As long as the army governed affairs at Westminster, the general was on their side, and entertained Mr. *John Collins*, an independent minister, for his chaplain; but upon the quarrel between the army and parliament, and *Monk's* declaring for the latter, it was apprehended he had changed sides, and would fall in with the *presbyterians*; upon which Mr. *Caryl* and *Barker* were sent to Scotland with a letter from Dr. *Owen*, expressing their fears of the danger of their re-

* Life, part ii. p. 216.

ligious liberties upon a revolution of government. The general received them with all the marks of esteem; and after a few days returned the following answer, in a letter directed to Dr. Owen, Mr. Greenhill, and Mr. Hook, to be communicated to the churches, in and about London.

“Hon. and dear friends,

“I Received yours, and am very sensible of your kindness expressed to the army in Scotland, in sending such honorable and reverend persons, whom we received with thankfulness and great joy as the messengers of the churches, and the ministers of Christ of these three nations. I do promise you for myself, and the rest of the officers here, that your interest, liberty, and encouragement, shall be very dear to us. And we shall take this as a renewed obligation to assert to the utmost, what we have already declared to the churches of Jesus Christ. I doubt not, but you have received satisfaction of our inclinations to a peaceable accommodation. I do hope, that some differences being obviated, we shall obtain a fair composure. I do assure you, that the great things that have been upon my heart to secure and provide for, are our liberties and freedom, as the subjects and servants of Jesus Christ, which we have conveyed to us in the covenant of grace, assured in the promises purchased by the blood of our Savior for us, and given as his great legacy to his church and people; in comparison of which we esteem all other things as dung and dross, but as they have a relation to, and dependence upon this noble end. The others are our laws and rights as men, which must have their esteem in the second place; for which many members of the churches have been eminent instruments to labor in sweat and blood for these eighteen years last past, and our ancestors for many hundred years before; the substance of which may be reduced to a parliamentary government, and the people’s consenting to the laws by which they are governed. That these privileges of the nation may be so bounded, that the churches may have both security and settlement, is my great desire, and of those with me. So that I hope you will own these just things, and give us that assistance that becomes the church-

es of Christ, in pursuance of this work. And we do assure you, we shall comply as far as possible, with respect had to the security and safety of the nation, and the preservation of our ancient birth-right and liberties. And we shall pray, that we may be kept from going out of God's way in doing God's work.

"I do, in the name of the whole army and myself, give all our affectionate thanks for this your work of love; and though we are not able to make such returns as are in our hearts and desires to do, yet we shall endeavor by all ways and means, to express our care and love to the churches, and shall leave the reward to him who is the God of peace, and has in special assured all blessings to the peace-makers. I conclude with the words of *David*, 1 Sam. xxv. 32, Blessed be the Lord God of Israel, and blessed be your advice, and blessed be you all. Now the Lord God be a wall of fire round about you, and let his presence be in his churches, and they be filled with his glory. I have no more, but to intreat your prayers for an happy issue of this unhappy difference; which is the prayer of him, who is, reverend sirs, and dear friends, your very affectionate brother and servant,

"Edinburgh, Nov. 23, 1659.

G. Monk."

In one of the general's letters to the parliament, written about June 1659, he declares strongly for liberty of conscience, and an absolute commonwealth, in language which in another would be called the *fumes of fanaticism*. "You are the people (says he) who have filled the world with wonder, but nothing is difficult to faith; and the promises of God are sure and certain. We acknowledge that we ourselves have very much contributed to the Lord's departing from our Israel, but we see God's hour is come, and the time of the people's deliverance, even the set time is at hand. *He cometh skipping over all the mountains of sin, and unworthiness, &c.* We humbly beseech you, not to heal the wounds of the daughter of God's people slightly, but to make so sure and lasting provision for both christian and civil rights, as both this and future generations may have cause to rise up and call you blessed, and the

blackest of designs may never be able to cast dirt in your faces any more.—”† He then desires them to encourage none but godly ministers and magistrates, that no yoke may be imposed upon conscience but what is agreeable to the word of God, and that they would establish the government in a *free state or commonwealth*. Signed by general *Monk* and twenty-five of his chief officers.

Upon the *general's* coming to London, he was transformed at once into a zealous presbyterian, and thought no more of the independent churches; he received the sacrament at Mr. *Calamy's* church, and would suffer none to preach before him but whom *he* approved. He consulted the presbyterian ministers; and asked their advice in all important affairs. It seems these were the gentlemen that beat him out of his commonwealth principles, if we may believe the reverend Mr. *Sharp*, afterwards archbishop of *St. Andrews*, whose words are these, in one of his letters to the reverend Mr. *Douglas* in Scotland, “Sunday last, March 11, the general sent his coach for Mr. *Calamy*, Mr. *Ash*, and me; we had a long conversation with him in private, and convinced him that a *commonwealth* was impracticable; and to our sense beat him off that sence he has hitherto maintained.—We urged upon him, that the *presbyterian interest which he had espoused*, was much concerned in keeping up this house, and settling the government upon terms. But the subtle general replied, that in regard he had declared so lately against a house of lords, and the continuing this house of commons, he could not so reputationally do it.”§ Afterwards, when some gentlemen of quality, suspecting the *king* to be at the bottom, were earnest with the general, that if the king must be brought in by the next parliament, it might be *upon the terms of his late majesty's concessions at the Isle of Wight*; the general at first recoiled, and declared he would adhere to a *commonwealth*; but at last seeming to be conquered into a compliance, he intimated to them, that *this was the utmost line he could or would advance in favor of the king*; and yet when this was moved in the convention parliament by sir

† Welwood's Memoirs, Appendix, No. xi.

§ Kennet's Chron. p. 81.

Matthew Hale, the general stood up, and declared against all conditions, and threatened them that should encourage such a motion with all the mischiefs that might follow.— Thus the credulous presbyterians were gradually drawn into the snare, and made to believe, that *presbytery* was to be the established government of the church of England under King *Charles II.*

The Scots were equally concerned in this affair, and much more zealous for their discipline. The general therefore sent letters to the kirk, with the strongest assurances that he would take care of their discipline.* But the Scots, not willing to trust him, commissioned Mr. *Sharp* to be their agent, and gave him instructions to use his best endeavors, that the kirk of Scotland might, without interruption or encroachment, enjoy the freedom and liberty of her established judicatories, and to represent the sinfulness and offensiveness of a *toleration* in that kingdom. *Sharp* was to concert measures with Mr. *Calamy*, *Ash*, *Manton*, and *Cowper*; but these gentlemen being not very zealous for the discipline, *Sharp* informed his principals, that it was feared the king would come in, and with him moderate episcopacy, at least in England, but that the more zealous party were doing what they could to keep on foot the covenant. To which *Douglass* replied, “It is best that the presbyterian government be settled simply, for you know that the judgment of honest men here is for admitting the king on no other but covenant terms.”

The *independents* and *anabaptists* were in such disgrace, that their leaders had not the honor of being consulted in this weighty affair. General *Monk* and the presbyterians were united, and had force sufficient to support their claims: the tide was with them, and the parliament at their mercy. The independents offered to stand by their friends in parliament, and to raise four new regiments from among themselves, to force the general back into Scotland. Dr. *Owen* and Mr. *Nye* had frequent consultations with Mr. *Whitlocke* and *St. John*; and at a private treaty with the officers at Wallingford-House, offered to raise one hundred thousand pounds for the use of the army, provided they would protect them in their religious liberties, which they

* Kennet's Chron. p. 50.

were apprehensive *Monk* and the presbyterians designed to subvert; but those officers had lost their credit; their measures were disconcerted and broken; one party was for a treaty, and another for the sword, but it was too late; their old veteran regiments were dislodged from the city, and *Monk* in possession. In this confusion their general *Fleetwood*, who had brought them into this distress, retired, and left them a body without a head, after which they became insignificant, and in a few months quite contemptible. Here ended the power of the army, and of the independents.

Being now to take leave of this people, it may be proper to observe, that the *independents* sprang up and mightily increased in the time of the civil wars, and had the reputation of a wise and politic people: they divided from the presbyterians upon the foot of discipline, and fought in the parliament's quarrel, not so much for hire and reward, as from a real belief that it was *the cause of God*; this inspired their soldiers with courage, and made them face death with undaunted bravery, in so much that when the army was new modelled, and filled up with men of this principle, they carried all before them. When the war was ended, they boldly seized the person of the king, and treated him with honor till they found him unsteady to his promises of a *toleration of their principles*, and then they became his most determined enemies; when they were assured afterwards by the treaty of the Isle of Wight, that they were to be crushed between both parties, and to lose their religious liberty, for which they had been fighting, they tore up the government by the roots, and subverted the whole constitution. This they did, not in consequence of their religious principles, but to secure their own safety and liberty. After the king's death they assumed the chief management of public affairs, and would not part with it on any terms, lest they should be disbanded and called to account by a parliamentary power, and therefore they could never come to a settlement, tho' they attempted it under several forms: the first was an *absolute commonwealth*, as most agreeable to their principles, but when the commonwealth began to clip their military wings, they dispossessed them; and set up their own general, with the title of *protector*, who had skill enough to keep them in

awe, though they were continually plotting against his government. After his death they dispossessed his son, and restored the commonwealth. When these again attempted to disband them, they turned them out a second time, and set up themselves under the title of a *committee of safety*; but they wanted *Oliver's* head, their new general *Fleetwood* having neither courage nor conduct enough to keep them united. Thus they crumbled into factions, while their wanton sporting with the supreme power, made the nation sick of such distractions, and yield to the return of the old constitution.

The officers were made up chiefly of independents and anabaptists, most of them of mean extraction, and far from being as able statesmen as they had been fortunate soldiers; they were brave and resolute men, who had the cause of religion and liberty at heart; but they neglected the old nobility and gentry so much, that when they fell to pieces, there was hardly a gentleman of estate or interest in his country that would stand by them. As to their moral character, they seem to have been men of piety and prayer; they called God into all their councils, but were too much governed by the false notions they had imbibed, and the enthusiastic impulses of their own minds. I do not find that they consulted any number of their clergy, though many of the independent ministers were among the most learned and eminent preachers of the times, as Dr. *Goodwin*, *Owen*, *Nye*, and *Greenhill*, &c. some of whom had no small reputation for politics; but their pulling down so many forms of government, without adhering steadily to any, issued in their ruin. Thus as the army and independents outwitted the presbyterians in 1648, the presbyterians in conjunction with the Scots blew up the independents at this time; and next year the episcopal party, by dexterous management of the credulous presbyterians, undermined and deceived them both.

This year died Dr. *Ralph Brownrigge* bishop of Exeter, born at Ipswich, in the year 1592, educated in Pembroke-hall, Cambridge, and at length chosen master of Katherine-hall in that university.* He was also prebendary of Dur-

* He was esteemed one of the greatest ornaments of his time to this seminary. He was one of those excellent men with whom archbishop

ham, and rector of Barly in Hertfordshire. In the year 1641, he was nominated to the see of Exeter, and installed June 1, 1642, but the wars between the king and parliament did not allow him the enjoyment of his dignity. He was nominated one of the assembly of divines; and was vice-chancellor of the university of Cambridge in the year 1644, when the earl of *Manchester* visited it; and complied so far as to keep his mastership till the next year, when he was deprived for a sermon he preached upon the anniversary of his majesty's inauguration. He was no favorer of archbishop *Laud's* innovations; † for while he was vice-chancellor he sent for one of *Mr. Barwick's* pupils, and said to him, "I wonder your tutor, no ill man in other respects, does not yet abstain from that form of worship [bowing towards the East] which he knows is disagreeable to our excellent parliament, and not very acceptable to God himself; but be you careful to steer your course clear of the dangerous rock of every error, whether it savor of the impiety of *arminianism*, or of the superstition of popery." †

He was succeeded by *Dr. Sparstow*; and suffered in common with the rest of the bishops; but being a *calvinist*, and a person of great temper and moderation, he was allowed by the protector *Cromwell* to be a preacher at the Temple, in which employment he died, Dec. 7, 1659, about the sixty-seventh year of his age. *Dr. Gauden* says,

Tillotson cultivated an acquaintance at his first coming to London, and by whose preaching and example he formed himself. His sermons were not exceeded by any published in that period; and they derived great advantage in the delivery, from the dignity of his person, and the justness of his elocution. *Granger's History of England*, vol. ii. p. 161, 8vo. *Ed.*

‡ *Dr. Grey* neglects not to inform the reader, on the authority of *Dr. Gauden*, that bishop *Brownrigge* was tenacious of the doctrine, worship, devotion, and government of the church of England; "which, he said, he liked better and better as he grew older." He seems to have been very free in his advice to *Cromwell*: for when the protector, with some shew of respect to him, demanded his judgment in some public affairs, then at a *nonplus*, bishop *Brownrigge*, with his wonted gravity and freedom, replied, "My lord, the best counsel I can give you is that of our Saviour, *Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's*:" with which free answer the protector rested, rather silenced than satisfied. *Dr. Grey's Examination*, vol. iii. p. 258. *Ed.*

† *Life of Barwick*, p. 17.

he was a person of great candor, sweetness, gravity and solidity of judgment. He was consulted by Mr. *Baxter*, and others, in several points of controversy, and was indeed a most humble christian, and very patient under most severe fits of the stone, which were very acute and tedious for some time before his death.

The reverend Mr. *Charles Herle*, sometime prolocutor of the assembly of divines at Westminster, was born of honorable parents at Prideaux-Herle, near Lystwithyel in Cornwall, in the year 1598.* He was educated in Exeter college, Oxon. In the year 1618, he took the degrees in arts, and was afterwards rector of Winwick in Lancashire, one of the richest livings in England, and was always esteemed a puritan. When the wars broke out, he took part with the parliament, was elected one of the members of the assembly of divines, and upon the death of Dr. *Twisse* in 1646, was appointed prolocutor. After the king's death, he retired to his living at Winwick, and was in very high esteem with all the clergy in that country. In the year 1654, he was appointed one of the assistant commissioners for ejecting scandalous ministers, together with Mr. *Isaac Ambrose* and Mr. *Gee*. He was a moderate presbyterian, and left behind him some practical and controversial writings. Mr. *Fuller* says,|| he was so much of a christian, scholar, and gentleman, that he could agree in affection with those who differed from him in judgment. He died at his parsonage at Winwick in the sixty-first year of his age, and was buried in his own church, Sept. 29, 1659.

The reverend Mr. *Thomas Cawton*, born at Raynham in Norfolk, and educated in Queen's college, Cambridge; he was afterwards minister of Wivenhoe in Essex, 1637, and at last of St. Bartholomew behind the Exchange. He was (says the Oxford historian†) a learned and religious puritan, driven into exile for preaching against the murder of King *Charles I.* and for being in the same plot with Mr. *Love*, for raising money to supply the army of King *Charles II.* when he was coming into England to recover his right.

* Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. ii. p. 151-2.

|| Fuller's *Worthies*, p. 205.

† Wood's *Athenæ Ox.* vol. ii. p. 432.

He fled to Rotterdam, and became preacher to the English church there, where he died August 7, 1659, in the fifty-fourth year of his age. §

The new year [1660] began with the restoration of King *Charles II.* to the throne of his ancestors. The long parliament dissolved themselves March 16, and while the people were busy in choosing a new one, general *Monk* was courted by all parties. The *republicans* endeavored to fix him for a commonwealth; the French ambassador offered him the assistance of France, if he would assume the government either as *king* or *protector*, which, it is said, he would have accepted, if sir *Anthony Ashley Cooper* had not prevented it, by summoning him before the council, and keeping the doors locked till he had taken away the commissions from some of his most trusty officers, and given them to others of the council's nomination. But be this as it will, it is certain *Monk* had not as yet given the king any encouragement to rely upon him, though his majesty had sent him a letter as long ago as July 21, 1659, by an express messenger, with the largest offers of reward.

The presbyterians were now in possession of the whole power of England; the council of state, the chief officers of the army and navy, and the governors of the chief forts and garrisons, were theirs; their clergy were in possession of both universities, and of the best livings in the kingdom. There was hardly a loyalist, or professed episcopalian, in any post of honor or trust; nor had the king any number of friends capable of promoting his restoration, for there was a disabling clause in the qualification act, that *all who had been in arms against the long parliament, should be disqualified from serving in the next.* The whole government therefore was with the presbyterians, who were shy of the *independents* as of a body of men more distant from

§ Mr. Cawton had few equals in learning and scarcely a superior in piety. Those great works the *Polyglot Bible*, and Dr. Castle's *Polyglot Lexicon*, owed much to his encouragement and exertions. It shewed a most deep seriousness of spirit, though probably mingled with superstitious notions of the Lord's supper, that he fainted, when he first received it; and he ever afterwards expressed, at that solemnity, the profoundest reverence and most elevated devotion. Grauger's Hist. of England, vol. iii. svo. p. 47. *Ed.*

the church, and more inclined to a commonwealth. They were no less vigilant to keep out of parliament the *republicans* of all sorts, some of whom, says *Burnet*,* ran about every where like men that were giddy or amazed, but their time was past. On the other hand, they secretly courted the episcopalians, who dispersed papers among the people, protesting their resolutions to forget all past injuries, and to bury all rancor, malice, and animosities, under the foundation of his majesty's restoration. "We reflect (say they) upon our sufferings as from the hand of God, and therefore do not cherish any violent thoughts or inclinations against any persons whatsoever who have been instrumental in them; and if the indiscretion of any particular persons shall transport them to expressions contrary to this general sense, we shall disclaim them."† This was signed by eighteen noblemen, and about fifty knights and gentlemen.‡ *Dr. Morley* and some of his brethren met privately with the presbyterian ministers, and made large professions of lenity and moderation, but without descending to particulars. The king and chancellor *Hyde* carried on the intrigue. The chancellor in one of his letters from Breda, dated April 20, 1660, says, that "the king very well approved that *Dr. Morley* and some of his brethren should enter into conferences, and have frequent conversation with the presbyterian party, in order to reduce them to such a temper as is consistent with the good of the church; and it may be no ill expedient (says he) to assure them of present good preferments; but in my opinion you should rather endeavor to win over those who, being recovered, will both have reputation, and desire to merit from the church, than be over-solicitous to comply with the pride and passion of those who propose extravagant things."§ Such was the spirit or professions of the church party, while they were decoying the others into the snare! The presbyterian ministers did not want for cautions from the independents and others, not to be too forward in trusting their new

* History, vol. i. p. 123, 12mo.

† Baxter, p. 216, 218. History of the Stuarts, p. 458.

‡ Kennet's Chron. p. 121, 144. Baxter's Life, part ii. p. 217.

§ Life of Barwick, p. 525.

allies, but they would neither hear, see, or believe, till it was too late. They valued themselves upon their superior influence, and from an ambitious desire of grasping all the merit and glory of the restoration to themselves, they would suffer none to act openly with them, but desired the episcopal clergy to lie still for fear of the people, and leave the conducting this great affair to the hands it was in.

Accordingly the presbyterian ministers wrote to their friends in their several counties, to be careful that men of republican principles might not be returned to serve in the next parliament, so that in some counties the elections fell upon men void of all religion. And in other places the people broke through the disabling cause. Dr. *Barwick* says, they paid no regard to it; and *Monk* declared, that if the people made use of their natural rights in choosing whom they thought fit, without reserve, no injury should be done them. So that when the houses met it was evident to all wise men it would be a court parliament.

But the Scots were more steady to the *covenant*, and sent over the reverend Mr. *James Sharp*, with the earls of *Crawford* and *Lauderdale* to Holland, humbly to put his majesty in mind, that the kirk of Scotland expected protection upon the footing of the presbyterian establishment, without indulgence to *sectaries*. Their brethren in the north of Ireland joined in the address to the same purpose: And some of the English presbyterians were of the same mind; ten of whom met the Scots commissioners at London, and made earnest applications to the general, not to restore the king, but upon the concessions made by his father in the Isle of Wight.* But this was only the resolution of a few; the majority (says Mr. *Sharp*) were for moderate episcopacy, upon the scheme of archbishop *Usher*, and therefore willing to hearken to an accommodation with the church. Dr. *Barwick* adds,† “What the presbyterians aimed at, who were now superior to the *independents*, was, that all matters should be settled according to the treaty of the Isle of Wight,” which gave the court a fair opportunity of referring all church matters to a conciliatory synod, the divines of each party to be summoned when the king should

* Kennet's Chron. p. 101, 101, 110.

† Life, p. 256.

be settled on his throne. This was the bait that was laid for the presbyterians, and was the ruin of their cause. The Scots kirk stood to their principles, and would have bid defiance to the old clergy, but Mr. *Calamy*, *Manton*, and *Ash*, informed them, in the name of the London ministers, that the general stream and current being for the old prelacy, in its pomp and height, it was in vain to hope for establishing presbytery, which made them lay aside the thoughts of it, and fly to archbishop *Usher's* moderate episcopacy. Thus they were beaten from their first works.

But if the tide was so strong against them, should they have opened the sluices and let in the enemy at once, without a single article of capitulation? It is hard to account for this conduct of the presbyterians, without impeaching their understandings. Indeed the episcopal clergy gave them good words, assuring them, that all things should be to their minds when the king was restored; and that their relying upon the royal word, would be a mark of confidence which his majesty would always remember, and would do honor to the king, who had been so long neglected. But should this have induced the ministers to give up a cause that had cost so much treasure and blood, and become humble petitioners to those who were now almost at their mercy? For they could not but be sensible, that the old constitution must return with the king, that diocesan episcopacy was the only legal establishment, that all which had been done in favor of presbytery not having had the royal assent, was void in law, therefore they and their friends who had not episcopal ordination and induction into their livings, must be looked upon as intruders, and not legal ministers of the church of England.

But notwithstanding this infatuation, and vain confidence in the court and the clergy, Mr. *Eachard* would set aside all their merit, by saying, "Whatever the presbyterians did in this affair, was principally to relieve themselves from the oppression of the *independents*, who had wrested the power out of their hands, and not out of any affection to the king and church." Directly contrary to his majesty's declaration concerning ecclesiastical affairs, which says, "When we were in Holland we were attended with many

grave and learned ministers of the presbyterian persuasion, whom to our great satisfaction and comfort we found to be *full of affection to us, of zeal for the peace of the church and state, and neither enemies* (as they have been given out to be) *to episcopacy or liturgy.*" Bishop *Burnet* acknowledges,* that many of the presbyterian ministers, chiefly in the city of London, had gone into the design of the restoration in so signal a manner, and with such success, that they had great merit, and a just title to very high preferments. Mr. *Baxter*† gives the following reasons of their conduct. "The presbyterians (says he) were influenced by the covenant, by which, and by the oaths of allegiance to the king and his heirs, they apprehended themselves bound to do their utmost to restore the king, let the event be what it will." But then he adds. "Most of them had great expectations of favor and respect; and because the king had taken the covenant, they hoped he would remove subscriptions, and leave the common-prayer and ceremonies indifferent; that they might not be cast out of the churches. Some, who were less sanguine, depended on such a liberty as the protestants had in France; but others, who were better acquainted with the principles and tempers of the prelates, declared that they expected to be silenced, imprisoned, and banished, but yet they would do their parts to restore the king, because no foreseen ill consequence ought to hinder them from doing their duty." Surely these were better christians than casuists! When the ministers waited on his majesty in Holland, he gave them such encouraging promises, (says Mr. *Baxter*) as raised in some of them high expectations. When he came to White-hall he made ten of them his chaplains; and when he went to the house to quicken the passing the act of indemnity, he said, "My lords, if you do not join with me in extinguishing this fear, which keeps the hearts of men awake, you keep me from performing my promise, which if I had not made, neither I nor you had been now here. *I pray let us not deceive those who brought or permitted us to come hither.*" Here is a royal declaration, and yet all came to nothing. The reader will judge hereafter who were most to blame, the episcopal party, for breaking

* Vol. i. p. 259.

† Life, p. 216.

through so many solemn vows and protestations; or the presbyterians, for bringing in the king without a previous treaty, and trusting a set of men, whom they knew to be their implacable enemies. I can think of no decent excuse for the former; and the best apology that can be made for the latter is, that most of them lived long enough to see their error and heartily repent it.

In the interval between the dissolution of the long parliament, and the meeting of the *convention* which brought in the king, general *Monk*, seeing which way the tide ran, fell in with the stream, and ventured to correspond more freely with the king by sir *J. Grenville*, who brought the general a letter, and was sent back with an assurance that he would serve his majesty in the best manner he could. He desired the king to remove out of the Spanish dominions, and promised, that if his majesty wrote letters to the parliament, he would deliver them at the opening of the sessions. Bishop *Burnet* says, that he had like to have let the honor slip through his fingers, and that a very small share of it really belonged to him.*

The *convention* met April 25, the earl of *Manchester* being chosen speaker of the house of peers, and sir *Harbottle Grimstone* of the commons. At the opening the sessions Dr. *Reynolds* preached before the houses. April 30 was appointed for a fast, when Dr. *Reynolds* and Mr. *Hardy* preached before the lords, and Dr. *Gauden*, Mr. *Calamy*, and *Baxter*, before the commons; all except *Gauden* of the presbyterian party. Lord *Clarendon* says, the presbyterian party in the house were rather troublesome than *powerful*; but others with great probability affirm, that the body of the commons were at first of that party. Next day after the fast, the king by the advice of the general, having removed privately to *Breda*, and addressed letters to both houses; the general stood up and acquainted the speaker, that one sir *J. Grenville*, had brought him a letter from the king, but that he had not presumed to open it; and that the same gentleman attended at the door with another to the house. Sir *John* was immediately called in, and having delivered his letter at the bar withdrew, and carried an-

* Burnet, vol. i p. 123.

other to the lords. § The letter contained an earnest invitation to the commons to return to their duty, as the only way to a settled peace; his majesty promising an act of oblivion for what was past, and all the security they could desire for their liberties, and properties, and the rights of parliament, for the future.

Under the same cover was inclosed his majesty's *declaration* from Breda, granting "a general pardon to all his loving subjects who should lay hold of it within forty days, except such who should be excepted by parliament. Those only excepted, (says he) let all our subjects, how faulty soever, rely upon the word of a king solemnly given, that no crime committed against us, or our royal father, shall ever be brought into question to the prejudice of their lives, estates, or reputation. *We do also declare a liberty to tender consciences, and that no man shall be disquieted or called in question for differences of opinion in matters of religion, which do not disturb the peace of the kingdom.* And we shall be ready to consent to such an act of parliament as upon mature deliberation shall be offered to us for the full granting that indulgence.—" Upon reading these letters, the *commons* voted, that according to the ancient constitution, the government of this kingdom is, and ought to be, by king, lords, and commons; and a committee was appointed to draw up a dutiful letter, inviting his majesty to return to his dominions: Money was voted to defray his expenses; a deputation of lords and commons was sent to attend his majesty; and the fleet was ordered to convey him home. Sir *Matthew Hale* moved, that a committee might be appointed to review the propositions of the Isle of Wight, and was seconded in the motion; but *Monk*, who was prepared for such a motion, stood up and said, "the nation was now quiet, but there were many incendiaries upon the watch trying where they could first raise a

§ Two days after, sir John Grenville received the thanks of the house, for delivering the king's letter, in a high strain of joy and adulation: and the house voted him 500*l.* to buy a jewel, as a badge of the honor due to the person whom "the king had honored to be the messenger of his gracious message." The city of London also presented to him and lord Mordaunt, who brought them his majesty's letter, 300*l.* to buy them rings. Dr. Grey's Examination, vol. iii. p. 260; 61, and note (°). Ed.

flame ; that he could not answer for the peace of the kingdom or army, if any delays were put to the sending for the king. What need is there of it, (says he) when he is to bring neither arms nor treasure along with him." He then added, " that he should lay the blame of all the blood and mischief that might follow, on the heads of those who should insist upon any motion that might retard the present settlement of the nation."† Which frightened the house into a compliance. And this was all the service general *Monk* did towards the king's restoration, for which he was rewarded with a garter, a dukedom, a great estate in land, and with one of the highest posts of honor and profit in the kingdom.

Thus was the king voted home in a hurry, which was owing to the flattering representations made by lord *Clarendon* in his letters of the king's good-nature, virtue, probity, and application to business ;|| so that when the earl of *Southampton* saw afterwards what the king was like to prove, he said once in great wrath to the chancellor, " that it was to him they owed all they either felt or feared ; for if he had not possessed them in all his letters with such an opinion of the king, they would have taken care to have put it out of his power either to do himself or them any mischief, which was like to be the effect of their trusting him so entirely." To which *Hyde* answered, that " he thought the king had so true a judgment, and so much good-nature, that when the age of pleasure should be over, and the idleness of his exile, which made him seek new diversions for want of other employment, was turned to an obligation to mind affairs, then he would have shaken off these entanglements." But here the chancellor was mistaken.

When the lords and commons sent over a deputation to the king at Breda, the London ministers moved that a pass might be granted to some of their number, to wait upon his majesty with an address from their brethren ; accordingly Dr. *Reynolds*, Dr. *Spurstow*, Mr. *Calamy*, Mr. *Hall*, Mr. *Manton* and Mr. *Case*, were delegated, who went over with three or four attendants, and had an audience May 17, wherein, according to lord *Clarendon*, " they

† Burnet, vol. i. p. 123, 4, 12mo.

|| Clarendon, p. 88, 89.

magnified their own, and the affection of their friends, who had always wished his majesty's restoration, according to the covenant, and had lately informed the people of their duty to invite him home. They thanked God for his majesty's constancy to the protestant religion, and declared themselves no enemies to moderate episcopacy, only they desired that such things might not be pressed upon them in God's worship, which in their judgments that used them were indifferent, but by others were held to be unlawful."* But the tables were now turned : The king spoke kindly to them, and acknowledged their services, but told them, he would refer all to the wisdom of the parliament. At another audience (if we may believe the noble historian) they met with very different usage ; for when they intreated his majesty at his first landing not to use the book of common-prayer entire and formally in his chapel, it having been long laid aside, the king replied with some warmth, " that while he gave *them* liberty, he would not have his own taken away. That he had always used that form of service which he thought the best in the world, and had never discontinued it in places where it was more disliked than he hoped it was by them. That when he came into England he should not severely enquire how it was used in other churches, but he would have no other used in his own chapel."† They then besought him with more importunity, that the use of the surplice might be discontinued by his chaplains, because it would give offence ; but the king was as inexorable in that point as the other, and told them, that it was a decent habit, and had been long used in the church ; that it had been still retained by him, and that he would never discountenance that good old practice of the church in which he had been bred. Mr. *Baxter* says, the king gave them such encouraging promises of peace, as raised some of them to high expectations. He never refused them a private audience when they desired it ; and to amuse them further, while they were once waiting in an anti-chamber, his majesty said his prayers with such an audible voice in the room adjoining, that the ministers might hear him ; " he thanked God that he was a covenanted king ; that he hoped

* Kennet's Chron. p. 139.

Compl. Hist. p. 247.

† Kennet's Chron. p. 152.

the Lord would give him an humble, meek, forgiving spirit; that he might have forbearance towards his offending subjects, as he expected forbearance from offended heaven." Upon hearing which old Mr. *Case* lifted up his hands to heaven,* and blessed God who had given them a *praying king*.

Though the bishops held a private correspondence with chancellor Hyde, and by him were assured of the king's favor, they were not less forward than the presbyterians in their application to his majesty himself; for while he remained at Breda, Mr. *Barwick* was sent over with the following instructions:—

1. He was to wait upon the right honorable the lord chancellor of England, and beg his lordship's assistance to present a most humble petition to his majesty in the name of the bishops, and then to deliver their lordships' letters to the chancellor, to the lord lieutenant of Ireland, and to the secretary of state, wherein they returned those great men their most thankful acknowledgments, for their piety and affection to the church in the late most afflicted state.

2. He was then to give his majesty a distinct account of the present state of the church in all the particulars wherein his majesty desired to be informed; and to bring the bishops back his majesty's commands, with regard to all that should be thought proper for them, or any of them, to do.

3. He was humbly to ask his majesty's pleasure, with regard to some of the bishops waiting on the sea-coast to pay their duty to his majesty, when by God's blessing he should soon land in England; and whether it was his royal pleasure, that they should attend him there in their episcopal

* Mr. Daniel Dyke, who, soon after the restoration, voluntarily resigned the living of Hadham-Magna in Hertfordshire, shewed more discernment and judgment. For when Mr. *Case*, to induce him to continue in it, related the king's behavior, and argued what a hopeful prospect it gave them, Mr. Dyke wisely answered, "That they did but deceive and flatter themselves; that if the king was sincere in his shew of piety and great respect for them and their religion; yet, when he came to be settled, the party that had formerly adhered to him, and the creatures that would come over with him, would have the management of public affairs, and would circumvent all their designs, and in all probability not only turn them out, but take away their liberty too." Crosby's History of the Baptists, vol. i. p. 357, and Palmer's Nonconformists' Memorial, vol. ii. p. 43. *Ed.*

habits; and at what time and place, and how many, and which of them his majesty pleased should wait his arrival.

4. He was also to enquire concerning the number of his majesty's chaplains; whether any of them, besides those in waiting, should attend his arrival upon the coast; and to beg that his majesty would vouchsafe to appoint how many, and who.

5. He was most humbly to beseech his majesty, that if Dr. *Lushington*, formerly the king's chaplain, should offer to officiate in that capacity, his majesty would be pleased not to indulge him in that favor, till enquiry should be made concerning his suspected faith and principles. [He was a *socinian*]

6. Since it has been customary for our kings to celebrate public thanksgivings in St. Paul's cathedral, he was humbly to beseech his majesty, to signify what was his royal pleasure in this behalf, considering the ruinous estate of that church.

7. His last instruction was to give a just and due account to his majesty, why the affair of filling up the vacant sees had met with no better success.

Mr. *Barwick* was most graciously received by the king and his ministers, and the Sunday after his arrival at Breda was appointed to preach before his majesty.* The court was as yet very much upon their guard with respect to the presbyterians; but the flames began to kindle at home; the episcopal clergy not observing any measures of prudence in their sermons; Dr. *Griffith*, having preached an angry sermon before the general at Mercers-Hall, March 25, on *Prov. xxiv. 21. My son, fear thou the Lord and the king, and meddle not with them that are given to change*, was for a pretence confined to Newgate, but in a few days was released, and published his sermon with a dedication to the general.—Others in their sermons took upon them to threaten those who had hitherto had the power in their hands: of which the king being advised, commanded chancellor *Hyde* to acquaint his correspondents, that he was extremely apprehensive of inconvenience and mischief to the church and himself, from offences of that kind, and or-

* *Life of Barwick*, p. 519, note.

dered him to desire Mr. *Barwick* and Dr. *Morley* to use their credit and authority with such men, and to let them know from his majesty the tenderness of the conjuncture. The *chancellor* accordingly, in his letter from Breda, April 16, 1660, wrote the king's sense, and added, that if occasion required they were to speak to the bishops of Ely and Salisbury to interpose their authority, to conjure these men, to make a better judgment of the season, and not to awaken those jealousies and apprehensions which all men should endeavor to extinguish. "And truly I hope, (says the chancellor) if faults of this kind are not committed, that both the church and the kingdom will be better dealt with than is imagined; and I am confident these good men will be more troubled that the church should undergo a new suffering by their indiscretion, than for all that they have suffered hitherto themselves."

The clouds gathering thus thick over the late managers, every one began to shift for himself. RICHARD CROMWELL resigned his chancellorship of the university of Oxford the very day the king was invited home, and retired beyond sea: he had offered to relinquish it when he was divested of the protectorship, as appears by his letter on that occasion, which says,—“You should have had fuller experience of my high esteem for learning and learned men, if Providence had continued me in my high station; but as I accepted of the honor of being your chancellor in order to promote your prosperity, I assure you I will divest myself of the honor when it will contribute to your advantage.”* Accordingly, as soon as the king's return was voted, he sent them the following resignation:

“Gentlemen,

“I SHALL always retain a hearty sense of my former obligations to you, in your free election of me to the office of your chancellor; and it is no small trouble to my thoughts, when I consider how little serviceable I have been to you in that relation. But since the all-wise providence of God, which I desire always to adore, and bow down unto, has been pleased to change my condition, that

* Kennet's Chron. p. 141.

I am not in a capacity to answer the ends of the office.—I do therefore most freely resign, and give up all my right and interest therein, but shall always retain my affection and esteem for you, with my prayers for your continual prosperity, that, amidst the many examples of the instability and revolutions of human affairs, you may still abide flourishing and fruitful. *Gentlemen,*

“Hursley. “*Your affectionate friend and servant,*
“May 8, 1660. “RICH. CROMWELL.”

Thus RICHARD went off the stage of public action. “As he was innocent of all the evil his father had done (says *Burnet**) so there was no prejudice laid against him. Upon his advancement to the protectorship, the city of London, and almost all the counties of England, sent him addresses of congratulation; but when he found the times too boisterous he readily withdrew, and became a private man; and as he had done no hurt to any body, so no-body ever studied to hurt him. A rare instance of the instability of human greatness; and of the security of innocence!” In his younger years he had not all that zeal for religion as was the fashion of the times; but those who knew him well in the latter part of life have assured me, that he was a perfect gentleman in his behavior, well acquainted with public affairs, of great gravity, and real piety; but so very modest, that he would not be distinguished or known by any name but the feigned one of Mr. *Clarke*.† He died at Theobalds about the year 1712.

The king landed at Dover, May 26, and came the same night to Canterbury, where he rested the next day, and on Tuesday, May 29, rode in triumph with his two brothers, through the city of London to Whitehall, amidst the acclamations of an innumerable croud of spectators.‡ As

* *Burnet*, vol. i. p. 116-17.

† Under this name he lived, for some years, privately at Hursley about seven miles from Romsey, now the seat of sir Thomas Heathcote, bart. and attended the meeting-house in Romsey. The pew in which he used to sit is still in being, and preserved entire at the church's removal to their new house, as a relic worthy of notice. Mr. Thomson's MS. Collections, under the word ROMSEY. *Ed.*

‡ Dr. Grey, gives from Eachard and Heath, a description of the procession. *Ed.*

he passed along, old Mr. *Arthur Jackson*, an eminent presbyterian minister, presented his majesty with a rich embossed bible, which he was pleased to receive, and to declare it his resolution to make that book the rule of his conduct.*

Two days after the king's arrival at Whitehall, his majesty went to the house of peers, and after a short congratulatory speech passed an act, turning the present convention into a parliament. After which the houses for themselves, and all the commons of England, laid hold of his majesty's most gracious pardon, and appointed a committee to prepare an act of indemnity for all who had been concerned in the preceding commotions, except the late king's judges, and two or three others.

Had the directions given for the choice of this parliament been observed, no royalist could have sat in the house; however, their numbers were inconsiderable; the convention was a *presbyterian parliament*, and had the courage to avow the justice and lawfulness of taking arms against the late king till the year 1648;† for when Mr. *Lenthall*, speaker of the long parliament, in order to shew the sincerity of his repentance, had said, that *he that first drew his sword against the late king, committed as great an offence as he that cut off his head*; he was brought to the bar, and received the following reprimand from the present speaker, by order of the house.

“SIR,

“THE house has taken great offence at what you have said, which in the judgment of the house, contains as high a reflection upon the justice of the proceedings of the lords and commons of the last parliament, in their actings before 1648, as could be expressed. They apprehend there is much poison in the said words, and that they were spoken out of design to inflame, and to render them *who drew the sword to bring delinquents to punishment, and to vindicate their just liberties*, into balance with them who cut off the king's head; of which they express their abhorrence and detestation. Therefore I am commanded to let you know, that had these words fallen out at any other

* Baxter's Life, p. 218.

† Eachard, p. 765.

time in this parliament, but when they had considerations of mercy and indemnity, you might have expected a sharper and severer sentence. Nevertheless, I am, according to command, to give you a sharp reprehension, and I do as sharply and severely as I can reprehend you for it."

But it was to little purpose to justify the civil war, when they were yielding up all they had been contending for to the court;† for though they stopt short of the lengths of the next parliament, they increased his majesty's revenues so much, that if he had been a frugal prince he might have lived without parliaments for the future. The restoring the king after this manner without any treaty, or one single article for the securing men in the enjoyment of their religious and civil liberties, was (as bishop *Burnet* observes*) the foundation of all the misfortunes of the nation under this reign. And as another right reverend prelate observes, the restoration of the king in this high and absolute manner, laid the foundation of all the king's future miscarriages; so that if the revolution by King *William* and Queen *Mary* had not taken place, the restoration had been no blessing to the nation.

But it ought to be remembered, that this was not a legal parliament, for the *rump* had no power to appoint *keepers of the liberties of England*; nor had the *keepers* a right to issue out writs for election of a new parliament; nor could the king's writ, without the subsequent choice of the people, make them so. All the laws therefore made by this convention, and all the punishments inflicted upon offenders in pursuance of them, were not stricly legal; which the court were so apprehensive of, that they prevailed with the next parliament to confirm them. When this convention parliament had sat about eight months, it was dissolved December 29, partly because it was not legally chosen, and because it was too much presbyterian; the prime minister [*Hyde*] having now formed a design in concert with the bishops, of evacuating the church of all the presbyterians.

The managing presbyterians still buoyed themselves up with hopes of a comprehension within the church, though

† Rapin, p. 258.

* Page 126.

they had parted with all their weight and influence ; and from *directors* were become humble supplicants to those very men who a few months before lay at their feet. They had now no other refuge than the king's clemency, which was directed by chancellor *Hyde* and the bishops ; but to keep them quiet, his majesty condescended, at the instance of the earl of *Manchester*, to admit ten of their number into the list of his chaplains in ordinary, viz.

Dr. <i>Reynolds</i>	Mr. <i>Calamy</i>
Dr. <i>Spurstow</i>	Mr. <i>Ashe</i>
Dr. <i>Wallis</i>	Mr. <i>Case</i>
Dr. <i>Manton</i>	Mr. <i>Baxter</i>
Dr. <i>Bates</i>	Mr. <i>Woodbridge</i> .†

But none of these divines were called to preach at court, except Dr. *Reynolds*, Dr. *Spurstow*, Mr. *Calamy*, and Mr. *Baxter*, each of them once. Here again the presbyterians were divided in their politics, some being for going as far as they could with the court, and others for drawing back. Of the former sort were Mr. *Calamy*, Dr. *Reynolds*, and Mr. *Ashe*, who were entirely directed by the earl of *Manchester*, and had frequent assemblies at his house ; to them were joined Dr. *Bates*, Dr. *Manton*, and most of the city ministers ; but Dr. *Seaman*, Mr. *Jenkins*, and others, were of another party ; these were a little estranged from the rest of their brethren, and meddled not with politics, (says Mr. *Baxter**) because the court gave them no encouragement, their design being only to divide them ; but the former had more confidence in their superiors, and carried on a treaty, till by force and violence they were beaten out of the field.

Upon the king's arrival at Whitehall, the liturgy of the church of England was restored in his majesty's chapel, and in several churches both in city and country ; for it was justly observed, that all acts and ordinances of the long parliament, which had not the royal assent, were in themselves null, and therefore prelacy was still the legal establishment, and the common-prayer the only legal form of worship, and that they were punishable by the laws of the land who officiated by any other. The king in his declar-

† Kennet's Chron. p. 462.

* Baxter's Life, p. 229.

ation had desired, that the presbyterians would read so much of the liturgy as they themselves had no exception against, but most of them declined the proposal. § But to set an example to the rest of the nation, the house of peers, two days after the king was proclaimed, appointed Mr. *Marston* to read divine service before them, in his formalities, according to the common-prayer book; and the Sunday following Dr. *Gauden* preached, and administered the sacrament to several of the peers, who received it kneeling. On the 31st of May they ordered, that the form of prayers formerly used, should be constantly read in their house, provided that no prejudice, penalty, or reflection, shall be on any who are not present. The house of commons followed the example of the lords; and before the end of the year many of the parochial clergy, who scrupled the use of the service-book, were prosecuted for offending against the statutes made in that behalf; the justices of the peace and others insisting, that the laws returned with the king, and that they ought not to be dispensed with in the neglect of them.

The old sequestered clergy flocked in great numbers about the court, magnifying their sufferings, and making interest for preferments; every one took possession of the living from which he had been ejected; by which means some hundreds of the presbyterian clergy were dispossessed at once. Upon this the heads of that party waited upon the king, and prayed, that though all who had lost their livings for malignancy, or disaffection to the late powers, were restored, yet that those ministers who succeeded such as had been ejected for *scandal*, might keep their places; but the court paid no regard to their petitions.—However, where the incumbent was dead, his majesty yielded that the living should be confirmed to the present possessor.

The heads of colleges and fellows who had been ejected in the late times, were no less forward in their applications to be restored; upon which the parliament appointed a committee to receive their petitions. Dr. *Goodwin* having resigned his presidentship of Magdalen college, the lords ordered, “that Dr. *Oliver* be restored in as full

and ample manner as formerly he enjoyed it, till the pleasure of his majesty be further known. And the three senior fellows were appointed to put this order in execution.”* The ejected fellows of New college, Oxon, petitioned at the same time to be restored; upon which the lords ordered, May 19, that “*Robert Grove, John Lampshire, &c.* late fellows of New college, Oxon, and all others who were unjustly ejected out of their fellowships, be forthwith restored; and that all such fellows as have been admitted contrary to the statute be forthwith ejected; and that no new fellows be admitted contrary to the statutes.”§ And to prevent further applications of this kind, the lords passed this general order, June 4, “That the chancellors of both universities shall take care, that the several colleges in the said universities shall be governed according to their respective statutes; and that such persons who have been unjustly put out of their headships, fellowships, or other offices relating to the several colleges or universities, may be restored according to the said statutes of the university, and founders of colleges therein.”||

Pursuant to this order, there followed a very considerable change in both universities, commissioners being appointed by the king to hear and determine all causes relating to this affair, who in the months of August and September restored all such as were unmarried to their respective places. In the university of Oxford, besides Dr. *Oliver* already mentioned, the following heads of colleges were restored, and the present possessors ejected.

Heads of colleges restored August 3,	President of	In the place of heads ejected,
Dr. <i>Hannibal Potter</i> ,	Trinity coll.	Dr. <i>Seth Ward</i>
Dr. <i>Richard Bayly</i> ,	St. John's coll.	Mr. <i>Thank. Owen</i>
Dr. <i>Francis Mansel</i> ,	Jesus college	Mr. <i>Fran. Howel</i>
Dr. <i>Robert Newlin</i> ,	Corp. Ch. coll.	Dr. <i>Edw. Staunton</i>
Dr. <i>Gilbert Sheldon</i> ,	All Souls coll.	Dr. <i>Meredith, dec.</i>
Dr. <i>Thomas Yate</i> ,	Br. Nose coll.	Dr. <i>D. Greenwood</i>
Mr. <i>Hen. Wightwick</i> ,	Pemb. coll.	Dr. <i>Hen. Langley</i> .

N. B. This Mr. Wightwick was ejected a second time 1664.

* Kennet's Chron. p. 152.

§ Ibid. 153.

|| Ibid. p. 173.

	St. Mary's hall	Mr. <i>Thomas Cole</i>
Dr. <i>Robert Saunderson</i>	{ <i>Regius Prof.</i> in } <i>Divinity</i>	{ Dr. <i>John Conant</i>
Dr. <i>Tho. Willis</i>	<i>Nat. Phil.</i> reader	Dr. <i>Joshua Crosse</i>
Dr. <i>John Fell</i>	{ <i>Can. of Chr. Ch.</i> }	{ Mr. <i>Ralph Button</i>
Dr. <i>Robert South</i>	{ & <i>Uni. orator</i> }	
Dr. <i>Tho. Barlow</i>	{ <i>Can. of Chr. Ch.</i> }	{ Dr. <i>Hen. Wilkinson</i>
	{ & <i>Marg. Prof.</i> }	{ sen.

Besides these, all surviving ejected fellows of colleges were restored without exceptions, and such as had been nominated by the commissioners in 1648, or elected in any other manner than according to the statutes, were ejected, and their places declared vacant.

The like alterations were made in the university of Cambridge. The earl of *Manchester* chancellor, was obliged to send the following letter to the university, dated August 3, for restoring Dr. *Martin* to the mastership of *Queen's college*, whom he had ejected for *scandal* by letters under his hand, dated March 13, 1643.

“Whereas I am informed, that Dr. *Ed. Martin* has been wrongfully put out of his mastership; these are to signify to all whom it may concern, that I do, by virtue of an authority given to me, by the lords assembled in parliament, restore him to his said mastership, together with all lodgings, &c. appertaining to his place, from henceforth to have and enjoy all profits, rights, priveleges, and advantages, belonging thereunto, unless cause be shewn to the contrary within ten days after the date hereof.”† This gentleman was accordingly restored, and with him several others; as,

Heads of coll. restored,	Master of	In place of heads ejected,
Dr. <i>J. Cosins</i>	Peter-house	Dr. <i>Laz. Seaman</i>
Dr. <i>Tho. Paske</i>	Clare hall	{ Resigned to Dr.
		{ <i>The. Dillingham</i>
Dr. <i>Benj. Laney</i>	Pembroke hall	Mr. <i>Will. Moses</i>
Dr. <i>Rob. King</i>	Trinity hall	Mr. <i>Bond</i>
Dr. <i>Rich. Sterne</i>	Jesus college,	Mr. <i>J. Worthington</i>
Dr. <i>Edw. Rainbowe</i>	{ <i>Madg. college,</i> }	{ Mr. <i>John Sadleir.</i>
	{ ejected for re-	
	{ fusing Eng.	

† Kennet's Chron. 321, 22.

All the surviving fellows unmarried were restored, as in the other university, by which means most of the presbyterians were dispossessed, and the education of youth taken out of their hands.† To make way for the filling up these and other vacancies in the church, the *honors of the universities* were offered to almost any, who would declare their aversion to presbytery, and hearty affection for episcopal government.* It was his majesty's pleasure, and the chancellor's, that there should be a creation in all faculties of such as had suffered for the royal cause, and had been ejected from the university by the visitors in 1648. Accordingly between seventy and eighty masters of arts were created this year, among whom (says the Oxford historian) some that had not been sufferers thrust themselves into the croud for their money; others, yet few, were gentlemen, and created by the favor of the chancellor's letters only; eighteen were created batchelors of divinity, seventy doctors of divinity, twenty-two doctors of physic, besides doctors of laws. The creations in the university of Cambridge were yet more numerous. On Midsummer day, a *grace* passed in the university in favor of some candidates for degrees.‡ August 2, the king sent letters to Cambridge for creating nine or ten persons, doctors of divinity;§ and on the fifth of September there were created, by virtue of his majesty's *mandamus*, no less than seventy-one doctors of divinity, nine doctors of civil law, five doctors of physic, and five batchelors of divinity. So that within the compass of little more than six months, the universities conferred one hundred and fifty doctors of divinity degrees, and as many more in the other faculties.—Some of these were deserving persons, but the names of most of them are no where to be found but in the university registers. Had the parliament visitors in 1648, or *O. Cromwell* in his protectorship, made so free with the honors of the universities, they might justly have been supposed to countenance the *illiterate*, and prostitute the honor of the two great luminaries of this kingdom; but his majesty's promoting such numbers in so short a time by a *royal mandamus*, without enquiring into their qualifications, or insisting upon their performing any aca-

† Fasti. p. 120.

* Kennet's Chron. p. 220-21, &c.

‡ Kennet's Chron. p. 188.

§ Ibid. p. 220-51.

demical exercise, must be covered with a vail, because it was for the service of the church. In the midst of these promotions, the marquis of *Hertford*, chancellor of the university of Oxford, died, and was succeeded by sir *Edward Hyde*, now lord chancellor of England, and created about this time earl of *Clarendon*. He was installed Nov. 15, and continued in this office till he retired into France in the year 1667.

These promotions made way for filling up the vacancies in cathedrals; July 5, Dr. *Killigrew*, *Jones*, *Doughty*, and *Busby*, were installed prebendaries of Westminster; and within a month or six weeks four more were added.‡ In the months of July and August, all the dignities in the cathedral of St. Paul's were filled up, being upwards of twenty. July 13, twelve divines were installed prebendaries in the cathedral of Canterbury; and before the end of the year, all the dignities in the cathedrals of Durham, Chester, Litchfield, Bristol, Hereford, Worcester, Gloucester, &c. were supplied with younger divines, who ran violently in the current of the times.*—There were only nine bishops alive at the king's restoration, viz.

Dr. <i>William Juxon</i> ,	bishop of London
Dr. <i>William Pierse</i> ,	Bath and Wells
Dr. <i>Matthew Wren</i> ,	Ely
Dr. <i>Robert Skinner</i> ,	Oxford
Dr. <i>William Roberts</i> .	Bangor
Dr. <i>John Warner</i> ,	Rochester
Dr. <i>Bryan Duppa</i> ,	Sarum
Dr. <i>Henry King</i> ,	Chichester
Dr. <i>Accepted Frewen</i> ,	Litchf. & Coventry.§

In order to make way for a new creation, some of the bishops abovementioned were translated to better sees; as,

Dr. *Juxon*, bishop of London, to Canterbury, who was promoted more out of decency (says bishop *Burnett*†) as being the eldest and most eminent of the surviving bishops: He never was a great divine, but was now superannuated.

Dr. *Accepted Frewen* was translated to York, Sept. 22, and confirmed October 4. He was the son of a puritani-

‡ Kennet's Chron. p. 199. * Ibid. p. 204. § Ibid. p. 252.

† Vol. i. p. 257.

cal minister, and himself inclined that way, till some time after the beginning of the civil wars, when he became a great loyalist, and was promoted in the year 1644 to the see of Litchfield and Coventry : He made no figure in the learned world,|| and died in the year 1664.

Dr. *Bryan Duppa* was translated to Winchester, and confirmed October 4. He had been the king's tutor, though no way equal to the service. He was a meek humble man, and much beloved for his good temper, (says bishop *Burnet*†) and would have been more esteemed if he had died before the restoration, for he made not that use of the great wealth that flowed in upon him, as was expected.*

To make way for the election of new bishops in a regular and canonical manner, it was first necessary to restore to every cathedral a dean and chapter ; which being done,

Dr. *Gilbert Sheldon* was advanced to the see of London; he was esteemed a learned man before the civil wars, but had since engaged so deep in politics, (says bishop *Burnet*†) that scarce any prints of what he had been remained ; he was a dextrous man in business, and treated all men in an obliging manner, but few depended much on his professions of friendship. He seemed not to have a deep sense of re-

|| Dr. Grey observes, however, on the authority of Wood, that Dr. Frewen, though he published only a Latin oration with some verses on the death of prince Henry. was esteemed a general scholar and a good orator. He was buried in his cathedral church, and a splendid monument was erected over his grave. He bequeathed 1000l. to Magdalen college, Oxon. of which he had been president. Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. ii. p. 663-4. Godwinus de *Præsulibus* cura Richardson, p. 714. *Ed.*

† Page 258.

* Dr. Grey censures Mr. Neal for adopting this mistake of bishop Burnet, and says that Dr. Duppa's charities were extraordinary. He gave for redeeming of captives, building and endowing alms-houses, with other charitable deeds in benevolences, repairs, &c. 16,000l. and was so good to his tenants as to abate 30,000l. in fines. Richardson says, that during the two years he lived after his translation to the see of Winchester, he expended great sums in public services ; and was meditating more undertakings. He built an alms-house at Richmond, and endowed it by his will with 1500l. He bequeathed 200l. to the alms-house at Pembridge in Herts ; and to omit private donations, he left to the church of Salisbury 500l. of Winchester 200l. of St. Paul's, London, 300l. and of Cirencester. 200l. Grey's *Examination*, vol. iii. p. 276, and Godwin de *Præsulibus*, p. 243. *Ed.*

† Page 257.

ligion, if any at all ; and spoke of it most commonly as an engine of government, and a matter of policy, for which reason the king looked upon him as a wise and honest clergyman. He was one of the most powerful and implacable adversaries of the non-conformists.

Dr. *Henchman* was consecrated bishop of Sarum, and Dr. *George Morley* bishop of Worcester, October 28. Dec. 2. seven bishops were consecrated together in St. Peter's, Westminster, viz.

Dr. <i>John Cosins</i> ,	bishop of Durham
Dr. <i>William Lawes</i> ,	St. David's
Dr. <i>Benjamin Laney</i> ,	Peterborough
Dr. <i>Hugh Lloyd</i> ,	Landaff
Dr. <i>Richard Sterne</i> ,	Carlisle
Dr. <i>Bryan Walton</i> ,	Chester
Dr. <i>John Gauden</i> ,	Exeter.

On the sixth of January following four other bishops were consecrated, viz.

Dr. <i>Gilbert Ironside</i> ,	bishop of Bristol
Dr. <i>Edward Reynolds</i> ,	Norwich
Dr. <i>Nicholas Monk</i> ,	Hereford
Dr. <i>William Nicholson</i> ,	Gloucester.

Four or five sees were kept vacant for the leading divines among the presbyterians, if they would conform ; but they declined, as will be seen hereafter. In Scotland and Ireland things were not quite so ripe for execution ; the Scots parliament disannulled the covenant, but episcopacy was not established in either of the kingdoms till next year.

The English hierarchy being restored to its former pre-eminence, except the peerage of the bishops, it remained only to consider what was to be done with the malecontents ; the *independents* and *anabaptists* petitioned the king only for a toleration ;|| and the English papists depending upon their interest at court, offered his majesty one hundred thousand pounds before he left Breda, to take off the penal laws, upon which his majesty ordered the chancellor to insert the following clause in his declaration

|| Kennet's Chron. p. 142.

concerning ecclesiastical affairs, that *others also be permitted to meet for religious worship, so be it they do it not to the disturbance of the peace ; and that no justice of peace offer to disturb them.** When this was debated in the king's presence after the restoration, the bishops wisely held their peace ; but Mr. *Baxter*, who was more zealous than prudent, declared plainly his dislike of a toleration of papists and socinians ; which his majesty took so very ill, that he said the presbyterians were a set of men who were only for setting up themselves. These still flattered themselves with hopes of a comprehension, but the *independents* and *baptists* were in despair.

And here was an end of those distracted times, which our historians have loaded with all the infamy and reproach that the wit of man could invent. The *puritan* ministers have been decried as ignorant mechanics, canting preachers, enemies to learning, and no better than public robbers. The universities were said to be reduced to a mere *Munster* ; and that if the *Goths* and *Vandals*, and even the *Turks*, had overrun the nation, they could not have done more to introduce barbarism, disloyalty, and ignorance ; and yet in these times, and by the men who then filled the university chairs, were educated the most learned divines and eloquent preachers of the last age, as the *Stillingtons*, *Tillotsons*, *Bulls*, *Barrows*, *Whitbys*, and others, who retained a high veneration for their learned tutors after they were rejected and displaced. The religious part of the common people have been stigmatized with the character of *hypocrites* ; their looks, their dress and behavior, have been represented in the most odious colors ; and yet one may venture to challenge these declaimers to produce any period of time since the reformation, wherein there was less open profaneness and impiety, and more of the spirit as well as appearance of religion. Perhaps there was too much rigor and preciseness in indifferent matters ; but the lusts of men were laid under a visible restraint ; and though the legal constitution was unhappily broken, and men were governed by false politics, yet better laws were never made against vice, or more vigorously executed. The dress and conversation of people was sober and virtuous, and their manner of living remarkably frugal :

* Compl. Hist. p. 258.

There was hardly a single bankruptcy to be heard of in a year; and in such a case the bankrupt had a mark of infamy upon him that he could never wipe off. Drunkenness, fornication, profane swearing, and every kind of debauchery, were justly deemed infamous, and universally discountenanced. The clergy were laborious to excess in preaching and praying, and catechising youth, and visiting their parishes. The magistrates did their duty in suppressing all kind of games, stage-plays, and abuses in public houses. There was not a play acted on any theatre in England for almost twenty years. The *Lord's day* was observed with unusual reverence; and there were a set of as learned and pious youths training up in the university as had ever been known. So that if such a reformation of manners had obtained under a legal administration, they would have deserved the character of the best of times.

But when the legal constitution was restored, there returned with it a torrent of debauchery and wickedness. — The times which followed the restoration, were the reverse of those that preceded it; for the laws which had been enacted against vice for the last twenty years being declared null, and the magistrates changed, men set no bounds to their licentiousness. A proclamation indeed was published against those loose and riotous cavaliers, whose loyalty consisted in drinking healths, and railing at those who would not revel with them; but in reality the king was at the head of these disorders; being devoted to his pleasures, and having given himself up to an avowed course of lewdness; his bishops and chaplains said, that he usually came from his mistresses apartments to church, even on sacrament days.† There were two play-houses erected in the neighborhood of the court. *Women actresses* were introduced into the theatres, which had not been known till that time; the most lewd and obscene plays were brought on the stage; and the more obscene, the better was the king pleased, who graced every new play with his royal presence. Nothing was to be seen at court but feasting, hard drinking, revelling, and amorous intrigues, which engendered the most enormous vices. From court the contagion spread like wildfire among the people, insomuch

† Kennet's Chron. p. 167.

that men threw off the very profession of virtue and piety, under color of drinking the king's health; all kinds of *old cavalier rioting* and debauchery revived; the appearances of religion which remained with some, furnished matters of ridicule to libertines and scoffers.* Some who had been concerned in the former changes, thought they could not redeem their credit better than by deriding all religion, and telling or making stories to render their former party ridiculous. To appear serious, or make conscience either of words and actions, was the way to be accounted a schismatic, a fanatic, or a sectarian; though if there was any real religion during the course of this reign, it was chiefly among those people. They who did not applaud the new ceremonies were marked out for *presbyterians*, and every *presbyterian* was a *rebel*. The old clergy who had been sequestered for scandal, having taken possession of their livings, were intoxicated with their new felicity, and threw off all the restraints of *their order*; every week (says Mr. *Baxter*,†) produced reports of one or other clergyman who was taken up by the watch drunk at night, and mobbed in the streets. Some were taken with lewd women; and one was reported to be drunk in the pulpit.‖ Such was the general dissoluteness of manners which attended the deluge of joy which overflowed the nation upon his majesty's restoration!

About this time died the reverend Mr. *Francis Taylor*, sometime rector of Clapham in Surry, and afterwards of

* Kennet's Chron. p. 493.

† Life, part ii. p. 288.

‖ Dr. Grey questions the truth of the above charge. But whoever reads Mr. Baxter's account of the matter, and of the conduct of himself and some of his brethren on the report of it, which rang through the city, will scarcely doubt the fact. But there is force and candor in what Dr. Grey adds concerning the reply of Mr. Selden to an *alderman* of the long parliament on the subject of episcopacy. The *alderman* said, "that there were so many clamors against such and such *prelates*, that they would never be quiet, till they had no more *bishops*." On this Mr. Selden informed the house, what grievous complaints there were against such and such *aldermen*; and therefore by parity of reasoning, it was his opinion, he said, that they should have no more *aldermen*. Here was the fault transferred to the office, which is a dangerous error; for not only government, but human society itself, may be dissolved by the same argument, if the frailties or corruptions of particular men shall be revenged upon the whole body. Grey's Examination, vol. iii. p. 267. Ed.

Yalden, from whence he was called to sit in the assembly of divines at Westminster, and had a considerable share in the annotations which go under their name. From Yalden Mr. *Taylor* removed to Canterbury, and became preacher of Christ-Church in that city, where I presume he died, leaving behind him the character of an able critic in the oriental languages, and one of the most considerable divines of the assembly. He published several valuable works, and among others a translation of the *Jerusalem Targum* on the *Pentateuch* out of the Chaldee into Latin, dedicated to the learned Mr. *Gataker*, of Rotherhithe, with a prefatory epistle of *Selden's*, and several others, relating to Jewish antiquities. Among the letters to archbishop *Usher* there is one from Mr. *Taylor*, dated from Clapham, 1635. He corresponded also with *Boetius*, and most of the learned men of his time. He left behind him a son who was blind,§ but ejected for non-conformity in the year 1662, from St. Alphage church in Canterbury, where he lies buried.

§ He lost his sight by the small-pox : but pursued his studies by the aid of others, who read to him. His brother, who was also blind, he supported, and took great pains to instruct and win over to serious religion, but not with all the success he desired : He was a man of good abilities, and noted for an eloquent preacher : and his ministry was much valued and respected. He did not long survive the treatment he met with, in being seized and carried to prison ; but was cheerful in all his afflictions. *Palmer's Nonconformist's Memorial*, vol. ii. p. 57, 8. *Ed.*

A SUPPLEMENT

TO

CHAPTERS III. AND IV.

MR. NEAL has allowed a few pages only, in the two preceding chapters, to the History of the QUAKERS : and they are chiefly spent on the wild extravagancies and sufferings of JAMES NAYLOR. But the lot of this people, while other sectarists breathed a freer air under the protectorship of *Cromwell*, was peculiarly hard and afflictive. The change of government, on his taking the reins, produced no revotation in their favor ; but their sufferings continued to increase with the increase of their numbers. The subordinate magistrates were continued in office ; and the ecclesiastics, their former persecutors, retained power to be troublesome to them. The protector has been represented as the friend to religious liberty ; and so, in some instances, he certainly shewed himself, but the *Quakers* derived little benefit from his liberal views and regard to the rights of conscience. For, though he himself did not openly disturb them on account of their religious opinions and practices ; yet those who acted under his authority grievously persecuted them, and he gave little or no check to their intolerance, although he had the power and was repeatedly and earnestly solicited to do it. The dominant parties had imbibed a spirit of hatred and animosity against this people : and the protector, it is supposed, might be fearful of disobliging them, by animadverting on their oppressive measures : or he might consider the *Quakers* as too contemptible or too pacific a body to fear any danger from, even under the greatest provocations. §

To give some color of law to the severities practised against them, pretexts were drawn from supposed violations

of the regulations of civil policy. "A christian exhortation to an assembly, after the priest had done and the worship was over, was denominated *interrupting* public worship, and disturbing *the priest in his office*: an honest testimony against sin in the streets or markets was styled *a breach of the peace*: and their appearing before the magistrates covered, *a contempt of authority*: hence proceeded *finés, imprisonments, and spoiling of goods*. Nay, so hot for persecution were some magistrates, that by an unparalleled misconstruction of the law against vagrants, they tortured with cruel whippings the bodies of both men and women of good estate and reputation, merely because they went under the denomination of *quakers*."*

In 1656, *Henry Clifton*, only riding through Upwell, in Cambridgeshire, after having been carried before two justices, was sent to prison, where he lay a considerable time in the dungeon among condemned felons. *Richard Hubberton* and *Richard Weaver*, travelling from home to pay a friendly visit to *Ann Blakely*, who was, for her open testimony against the sins of the times, imprisoned at Cambridge, were also committed to prison. *Thomas Curtis*, a woollen-draper of Reading, going to Plymouth on business, and from thence to West-Alvington, accompanied by *John Martindale*, they were both cast, as vagrants, into Exeter gaol; and, at the ensuing assizes, brought before the judge, where nothing was laid to their charge. But, for not taking off their hats, they were fined 40l. each for contempt, and for non-payment detained above a year in prison. During this term, *Martindale*, having obtained leave of the jailor to visit a friend at Ilchester, went to a meeting at Colyton; where he, *Humphrey Sprague*, and *Thomas Dyer*, lodging at a friend's house, were apprehended by a warrant, and carried before the justices at the quarter-sessions at Honiton; and, though one of them was but two, and another but five miles from home, were sentenced, as vagrants, to be whipped in the market-place, and sent with a pass from tything to tything; which was accordingly done. *George Whitehead*, a virtuous and learned young man of a reputable family in Westmore-

* Gough's History, vol. i. p. 139, 140.

land, preaching at Nayland in Suffolk, April 1657, was sentenced by two justices to be openly whipped, as a vagrant, till his body were *bloody*. The constable, to whom the warrant was given, employed a foolish fellow, void of discretion and feeling, to execute it; who laid on his stripes with unmerciful violence; whereby *Whitehead's* back and breasts were grievously cut, his skin torn, and his blood shed in abundance. But the insensible fool went on, unrestrained by the constable, till his hand was stayed by the cry of the spectators, who, affected with the cruelty, called out to him to stop. *Humphrey Smith* and *Samuel Curtis*, riding together near Axminster, *George Bewley*, *John Ellis*, and *Humphrey Sprague*, after a meeting in Bridport, were whipt as vagabonds, and sent away with passes. *Joan Edmunds*, wife of *Edward Edmunds*, of Totness, about ten miles from home being stopped by a drunken fellow who took away her horse, on complaining to a justice, was sent to Exeter goal because she had no pass; her horse was ordered to be sold, and part of the money applied to defray the charge of carrying her to prison. Her habitation lying in the direct road, she was taken six miles about, to prevent this injustice being exposed amongst her neighbors, who well knew she was no vagrant.*

Another pretext, on which many of these people suffered, under the form of law, very illegal severities, was that of breaking the sabbath. Their religious zeal, in frequenting their assemblies for public worship, obliged them to travel to the places, where they were held, sometimes at a considerable distance from their habitations. This was called a breach of the sabbath: and it was punished by impounding their horses, by distress of goods, by fines, by imprisonment, by whipping, and by setting in the stocks.†

If magistrates could be guilty of such unrighteous severities, it is not surprising, that the licentious rabble should attack this people with violence and abuse. In numerous instances and in various places, the houses, in which they held their assemblies for religious worship, were riotously assaulted. Their services were interrupted by hallooing, singing, and railing: the windows were broken by stones

* Gough's History, vol. i. p. 225-232.

† Ibid. p. 271-2. note.

and bullets : their persons were buffeted and stoned, their faces and clothes daubed with filth and excrements ; some were knocked down, and others had their teeth beaten out : nor did the tenderness of sex protect the women. The rabble were, too often, led and encouraged by clergymen.

“ Many of these abuses,” observes the historian, “ being committed on the first day of the week, the day they called their sabbath, with impunity, under a government and by a people who pretended to make it a point to observe it with all the pharisaical strictness, and in many cases beyond the strictness which the mosaical law appointed for observing the seventh day, furnish an occasion to reflect upon the irrational inconsistency of superstition in every shape ; by which, I understand an over-zealous attachment to some circumstantials of religion, while the essential part, viz. the inwardly sanctifying power thereof, whereby we are taught to honor God, and love and do good to mankind, is overlooked. These men, it is probable, would have thought it an heinous crime to have been employed on that day in any honest labor, though in itself lawful, and in some sort necessary, and yet shewed no reluctance or compunction in committing unlawful actions, as opposite to good government as religion, in assaulting persons and destroying the property of inoffensive, unresisting neighbors and fellow-citizens with violence and outrage, whose only crime was the applying the day to the best purpose, the assembling to worship their Maker in that way they were persuaded in their consciences was most acceptable to him.”*

So general was the persecution, under which this people suffered, that scarcely one of them, whose travels and services to the society are preserved on record, escaped personal abuse or cruel imprisonment in any quarter of the nation.

George Fox, in 1653, was summoned before the magistrates at Carlisle, and committed to prison till the assizes, as a *blasphemer*, an *heretic*, and a *seducer*. He had exasperated them by his plain-dealing, in endeavoring to shew them, that although they (being *presbyterians* and *independents*) were high in the profession of religion, they were without the possession of what they professed. The ground of his being summoned, was his having exhorted the people

* Gough's History, vol. i. p. 267-71, and the note.

to truth and honesty, at the market-cross on a market-day, and having preached to them on the Sunday, after the service was concluded. On which he had been assaulted by rude people in the church, and rescued by the governor. During his confinement the general wish was, *that he was to be hanged*: and the high-sheriff declared, with rancor, that he *would guard him to execution himself*. At the assizes, it was found that the charge of blasphemy could not be made good, and it was concluded not to bring him to trial; and he was left with the magistrates of the town. By whose order he was put among the felons and murderers, in a dungeon, noisome and filthy to the last degree, where men and women were kept together, one of whom was almost eaten up with lice; and the deputy of the jailor would often fall on him, and the friends who visited him with a cudgel: while the prisoners, vile as they were, behaved affectionately to him, received his admonitions with deference, and some embraced his doctrine. At length, the parliament having instituted an enquiry concerning his situation, and the governor having remonstrated on it, he was released. In 1654, at Whetstone in Leicestershire, he was brought before colonel *Hacker*, who gave him liberty to go home, if he would *stay there and not to go abroad to meetings*. To this *Fox* replied, "if he should agree thereto, it would imply that he was guilty of something, for which his home was made his prison; and if he went to meeting, they would consider that as a breach of their order; therefore he plainly told them he should go to meeting, and could not answer their requirings." Upon this he was, next day, carried prisoner by captain *Drury* to London. When *Cromwell* was informed of his arrival, he sent to him this message: "That the protector required of *George Fox*, that he should promise not to take up the sword, or any other weapon, against him or the government, as it then was: that he should write it in what words he saw proper, and set his hand to it." *Fox* returned an answer to this effect; and was afterwards introduced to *Cromwell*, and they had much discourse about religion, in which the protector carried himself with much moderation: and *Fox* had his liberty given him.†

† Gough's History, vol. i. p. 132, 136, p. 155-6.

In 1656, *Fox*, accompanied by *William Salt* of London, and *Edward Pyot* of Bristol, travelled through Devonshire into Cornwall, to Market-Jew, where he wrote a paper, containing an exhortation to fear God, and learn of *Christ* the light; which fell into the hands of major *Ceely*, a justice at St. Ives, who committed *Fox* and his companions to Launceston gaol, on the charge of spreading papers to the disturbance of the public peace, and having no pass, though persons unknown, for travelling up and down, and refusing to take the oath of abjuration and to give sureties for their good behavior. After nine weeks confinement they were brought to their trial, before judge *Glyn*, at the assizes; here they demanded justice for their false imprisonment; and major *Ceely*, not adhering to the charges in the mittimus, brought up new accusations of a treasonable proposal and an assault: and they were indicted for coming, by force and arms, into a court, into which they were conducted as prisoners. But on no ground could any illegal criminality be proved against them. The judge ordered them to be taken away; and, in their absence, fined them twenty marks apiece for coming into court with their hats on, and commanded that they should be detained in prison till their fines were paid. Seeing no prospect of an immediate release from such a commitment, they discontinued the weekly payment of seven shillings a-piece for themselves and as much for their horses, which the jailor had extorted. Upon this they were turned into a dismal and most noisome dungeon, called *Doomsdale*, where the excrements of former prisoners had been accumulating for many years. They were not allowed beds or straw to lie on; and, the filthiness of the place not allowing them room to sit down, they were obliged to stand all night. Neither were they permitted to cleanse it, or to have any victuals but what they received, with difficulty through the grate. This cruel treatment continued till the sessions at Bodmin, when, on a representation of their case to the justices, an order was obtained for opening the doors of *Doomsdale*, and for permission to clean it, and to buy their provisions in the town. About the end of thirty weeks they were discharged by an order from major-general *Desborrow*, in consequence of applications made

in their favor to *Cromwell*. During this imprisonment one of *Fox's* friends offered himself to the protector to lie in prison, body for body, in his stead : to which proposal *Cromwell* answered, *he could not grant it, being contrary to law* ; and turning to some of his council standing by him, asked, which of you would do *as much for me, if I were in the same condition ?** The next places, at which we find *Fox*, are Cardiff, Swansea, and Brecknock. He visited these towns in 1657 ; settled a meeting at Swansea ; and, at the latter place, met with rude treatment, and was exposed to danger from the populace, raised and stimulated to riot and tumult by the magistrates.†

Another sufferer amongst the *quakers*, was *Miles Halhead*, one of their first zealous preachers ; who, at Skipton and Doncaster, was sorely beaten and bruised by the populace, and left for dead. *Thomas Briggs*, in Lancaster, *Robert Widders* and *William Dewsbury*, in Cumberland, were also severally abused in like manner.‡ *John Cam* and *John Audland* were assaulted at Bristol, to the great risk of their lives, by hundreds of the rabble, instigated by *Farmer*, a clergyman. *William Caton* and *John Stubbs*, besides being haled before the magistrates at Dover, were at Maidstone sent to the house of correction, stripped, and their necks and arms put into the stocks, and so cruelly whipped with cords as to draw tears from the spectators. After this, under the plea that “ he that would not work should not eat,” they were kept several days without victuals, only on the allowance of a little water once a day : and soon after were sent out of town, by different ways, with a pass, as vagabonds.‡

At Wymondham in Norfolk, *Richard Hubberthorn* was committed to Bridewell for addressing the congregation after sermon in the parish church : and on the next day, removed to a very incommodious prison, being a poor hole in a cross wall of Norwich-Castle ; where he was detained till the sessions. The justices then, waving the original ground of his commitment, charged him with contempt of authority, for appearing before them with his hat on ; and

* Gough's History, vol. i. p. 210—217. † Ibid. p. 289.

‡ Ibid. p. 137. † Ibid. p. 162, 6, 7.

under this pretence, recommitted him to prison, where he lay a long time. §

The sufferings, in which the members of this society were involved by the sentence of magistrates, were, in many instances, heightened by the severity and injustice of the jailors: *James Lancaster*, *George Whitehead*, and *Christopher Atkinson*, for not complying with the jailor's extravagant demands, were obliged to lie in their clothes on the floor, in the prison at Norwich, for eight weeks in the cold winter of 1654.* At St. Edmundsbury, 1655, the same *Whitehead*, *John Harwood*, *George Rose*, *George Fox* the younger, and *Henry Marshall*, because they refused to gratify the avaricious demands of the jailor for lodgings, and required a free prison, were turned down to the common ward among the felons, in a low dungeon, with a damp earthen floor, where they lay upon rye-straw. In this situation they were exposed to abuse from the prisoners, who frequently took away their food and other necessities, alledging the jailor's permission: one desperate fellow frequently kicked and smote, and in a drunken fit threatened to kill them; saying, "if he killed them, he should not be hanged for it." After they had been in prison thirty weeks, arrears of dues of fourteen pence a week were demanded from each of them; and on their remonstrating against it, the turnkey was ordered to take away their clothes and boxes, which was done, with a threat to take their coats from off their backs. And for the space of twenty-four weeks, they were obliged to lie upon part of their body-clothes on straw. Some necessities of linen brought to them by a friend were seized, and the provisions sent to them were examined. Their friends were not admitted in; and, if they attempted to speak to them at the window or door of the gaol, water was frequently thrown on them to drive them away. At length, in consequence of an application to the protector, an enquiry into the treatment they had received was instituted, and the jailor was restrained from exercising, or permitting, the cruel abuse they had hitherto suffered. After an imprisonment from twelve to fifteen months, through repeated applications to *Cromwell*,

§ Ibid. p. 169.

* Gough's History, vol. i. p. 170.

seconded by the private solicitations of Mrs. *Mary Sanders*, a waiting gentlewoman in his family, an order for their release was obtained, directed to sir *Francis Russel*, a man of moderation and averse from persecution, who immediately caused them to be set at full liberty.|| But the case of *James Parnel*, a native of Retford in Nottinghamshire, who was educated in the schools of literature, in the sixteenth year of his age joined the quakers, and, though a youth was an affecting preacher and able disputant, and discovered the wisdom and understanding of age and experience, afforded most affecting instances of the severities a cruel jailor could inflict. His constitution was tender, and after ten or eleven months sunk under the multiplied hardships of his imprisonment, about the age of nineteen; the consideration of his youth exciting no commiseration.*

Besides the personal injuries these virtuous people suffered; they were exposed to great depredations in their property, by unreasonable fines and exorbitant distrains, especially on account of tithes: into the detail of which we have not room to descend. Suffice it to say, that in 1659, were 53l. 13s. 6d. only could be demanded, 138l. were exacted.†

To sum up this view of their sufferings, it may be observed, that when a printed account of them was presented to the parliament which the protector convened, it appeared that one hundred and forty of them were then in prison; and of one thousand nine hundred who had suffered in the preceding six years, twenty-one had died in prison, generally by hardship or by violent abuses.§

It is to be remarked, that they supported themselves under severe persecution, with meekness, patience, and fortitude, “as lambs dumb before their shearers:” and there were not wanting instances of their being so borne up by inward consolation and peace, by faith and hope in their afflictions, as frequently to sing praises to God, to the astonishment of the spectators and of their fellow-prisoners.

While they were exposed to hatred, contempt, and abuse from without, brotherly kindness and unfeigned charity increased, and connected them amongst themselves. While

† Gough's History, vol. i. p. 176—180.

* Ibid. p. 180—188.

† Ibid. p. 284.

§ Ibid. p. 274.

each seemed regardless of his own liberty, they were zealous advocates for that of their brethren, and almost incessant in their representations to those in authority of the sufferings of their friends ; going so far in their charity, as to offer themselves freely, person for person, to lie in prison, instead of such as they apprehended were in danger of perishing through the length or extremity of their confinement.†

This mutual and generous attachment was amiable : their moral conduct was regular : and their conscientious regard to fidelity in their commerce begat confidence. They were careful to manufacture or choose such goods as were substantial and would answer the expectations of the purchasers ; moderate in their profits ; sparing in their commendations ; punctual in their payments ; they asked no more for their ware than the precise sum they were determined to accept ; and they took no advantage of ignorance. So that, under all their sufferings, they prospered, and verified the proverb, that *honesty is the best policy*.‡

It was also a distinguishing trait in the character of this people that they attached themselves to none of the political parties of the day, nor entered into their ambitious views. It was with them a principle of religion to have no intermeddling with secular factions, and to demean themselves quietly and peaceably under the existing government. When the nation was in great commotion and fluctuation, on the death of *Cromwell*, *George Fox* addressed an exhortation to his friends “to live in love and peace with all men, to keep clear of all the commotions of the world, and not to intermeddle with the powers of the earth, but to let their conversation be in heaven.” He remarked, that “all who pretend to fight for Christ are deceived, for his kingdom is not of this world, and therefore his servants do not fight.” When sir *George Booth* rose in arms in favor of the exiled monarch, the committee of safety invited the *quakers* to take up arms, offering considerable posts and commands to some of them. But they esteemed war and violence to be inconsistent with pure christianity, and were not to be corrupted by the prospects of preferment and honors.*

† Gough's History, vol. i. p. 140, 175-76.

‡ Ibid. p. 141.

* Ibid. p. 273, 5, 7.

Unassisted by any alliance with the state, nay, treated with severity by all the contending powers in their turn, and every where pursued with contempt and cruel abuse, they increased, and spread themselves over the kingdom. In the year 1652, meetings of them were settled in many of the central and northern parts of the nation. Their preachers were zealous and active; not intimidated by sufferings, nor wearied by journies and labors. *Francis Howgill* and *Edw. Burroughs*, with *Anthony Pearson*, travelled to London; *John Cam* and *John Audland* to Bristol; *Richard Hubberthorn* and *George Whitehead*, to Norwich; and others to other parts. And we find *George Fox* disseminating their principles, and meeting the severest sufferings, in the remotest parts of the kingdom. The evils, which this people endured with singular meekness and patience, had great effect in awakening attention to their preaching, and softening the minds of numbers to the reception of their doctrine. It was justly remarked by *Hugh Peters* to *Oliver Cromwell*, "that he could not give *George Fox* a better opportunity of spreading his principles in Cornwall, than by imprisoning him there."*

The instances of the persecution and sufferings they endured, which we have selected, for we do not pretend to give their history in a minute detail, reflect disgrace on the magistracy of the age: and are a reproach to the administration of justice. But the mayor of Oxford, in the year 1654, deserves to be mentioned as an example of a more equitable and humane disposition. *Elizabeth Heavens* and *Elizabeth Fletcher*, two North-country women, were apprehended and sent to Bocardo, a prison usually appropriated to the reception of felons and murderers, for having exhorted the people, after service, in one of the churches. The mayor being sent for to meet the justices, by whose order they had been committed, to examine the *quakers*, he replied to the message: "Let them who committed them deal with them according to law, for my part I have nothing against them: if they wanted food, money, or clothes, I would willingly supply them." The justices, however, met, attended by Dr. *Owen* the vice-chancellor, who was

* Gough's History, p. 217.

the principal in examining them; and the sentence passed on them was, that they should be whipped out of the city. This sentence, according to the constitution of the town, was not valid without the signature and seal of the mayor: which, as he judged it unmerited and unjust, he refused to affix to it. But by the order of the vice-chancellor and his coadjutors, it was severely executed without being legalised by his sanction: though the conviction of their innocence affected even the heart of the executioner to that degree, that he performed his office with manifest reluctance.†

Another more remarkable and more public instance of protection and justice, which this people were so happy as once to receive in those times, reflects honor on the name of general *Monk*. On a complaint against some of his soldiers for disturbing their meetings, he issued out this order:

“St. James’s, March 9, 1659.

“I Do require all officers and soldiers to forbear to disturb the peaceable meetings of the *quakers*, they doing nothing prejudicial to the parliament or commonwealth of England.
George Monk.”*

I am sensible, that wild flights of rudeness and enthusiasm, that violations of decency, decorum, and order, are imputed to the *quakers* of this period. *Mosheim* stigmatizes them as “pernicious fanatics,” and speaks, as it were with approbation, of their being “severely chastised for their extravagance and folly.” But granting the justness of these imputations, which I conceive, however, are by no means to be admitted in all instances and to their full extent, and will scarcely apply to those cases of suffering which we have stated; every equitable and humane mind

† These women had a few days before, for exhorting the inhabitants and students to repentance, been pumped on by the scholars of St. John’s college, till they were almost suffocated: they were then tied arm to arm, and dragged up and down the college, and through a pool of water: and Elizabeth Fletcher, a young woman, was thrown over a grave, whereby she received a contusion on her side from which she never recovered, but soon after died. Yet it does not appear that the magistrates animadverted on this inhuman outrage. Gough’s History, vol. i. p. 147—149.

* Ibid. p. 279.

will feel indignant at seeing folly *illegally* chastised, and enthusiastic extravagancies restrained by acts of *cruelty*. Extravagance and folly rank almost with wisdom and virtue, when compared with the injustice and inhumanity of the **MAGISTRATES** from whom the quakers suffered persecution.

Their history during this period, though we have given an abstract only of it, has carried us farther than we intended. But we shall not be long detained by a survey of the situation of the other sectaries at this time.

An act of the Scotch presbytery, March 22. 1652-3, tended to convince the *baptists*, that their principles were not beheld with a favorable eye in that nation: for one of three declarations it then published, was “against the new Scots dippers.”|| Lying under an odium, and animated by a zeal to propagate what they deemed truth, they properly went on to exhibit, from time to time, a representation and defence of their sentiments, by their publications. In the year 1654, the reverend *William Britten*, who had embraced their opinions, printed a treatise, entitled “The Moderate Baptist; briefly shewing scripture-way for that initiatory sacrament of baptism; together with divers queries; considerations, errors, and mistakes, in and about the work of religion: wherein may appear, that the baptists of our times hold not those strange opinions as many heretofore have done; but as the scriptures are now more clearly understood, so they desire to come nearer to walk by the same light.” In 1656, the *baptist* churches in Somersetshire published a confession of their faith.§

When *Oliver Cromwell* had usurped the government, he discharged at once all the principal officers of his army, upon *this* among other reasons, that they were all anabaptists.* His intention of discarding them was first communicated to a Scots lord, called *Twidle*, and reached the ears of the *baptists* before it was executed. This occasioned a free and strong remonstrance against the design, written, it is supposed, by an officer, in a pamphlet, entitled

|| Whitlock's Memorial, p. 528.

§ Crosby's History of the Baptists, vol. i. p. 254, who has given this confession of faith in the Appendix, No. iii.

* Ibid. vol. ii. p. 5.

“ A Short Discovery of his Highness the Lord Protector’s intention touching the *Anabaptists* in the Army, &c. upon which there is propounded thirty-five queries for his highness to answer to his own conscience. By a well-wisher to the anabaptists’ prosperity, and the rest of the separates in England.” This pamphlet is given at length by *Crosby*.* It appears from it, that the *baptists* were, at this time a numerous body. For the writer of it asks the protector, “ Have they not filled your towns, your cities, your provinces, your islands, your castles, your navies, your tents, your armies, your court? your very council is not free: only we have left your temples for yourself to worship in them?”

The piece is on the side of toleration and liberty. Amidst the sad scenes of suffering for conscience and persecution which mark this period, it is a comfort to behold some gleams of light from the dawn of the day of liberty. The *independents*, while the *presbyterians* exclaimed that toleration was but an indulgence for soul-murder, were early and strenuous advocates for the rights of conscience. Dr. *John Owen*, though in the case of the women whose sufferings we have mentioned, he did not act up to his principles, was amongst the first of our countrymen who entertained just and liberal notions on this subject, which he had the integrity and resolution to avow and publish, when the times were the least encouraging: and the celebrity of his name, character, and learning, gave weight to his writings. In 1667, when the dissenters were suffering persecution under *Charles II.* he published two “ Pleas for indulgence and toleration.” But before this, he had argued very cogently against intolerance, in an Essay for the practice of Church government, and a Discourse of Toleration, which were, probably, first published about the beginning of 1647, when the parliament was arrived in full power, and he was in great repute.† The memorable *John Hale’s* celebrated “ Tract on Schism,” breathed a liberal catholic spirit; and much influence, in advancing the spread of just sentiments on liberty, may be justly ascribed to it.

In the period of which we are particularly speaking, the

* Vol. iii. p. 232—242.

† Palmer’s Non-conformists’ Memorial, vol. i. p. 157.

persecution of the excellent and pious *Biddle* contributed to expose the evil of intolerance, and brought forth advocates for liberty in several publications to which it gave origin; as, “A Narrative of the proceedings against *John Biddle* ;” “The true state of the case of Liberty of Conscience in England ;” and “The Spirit of Persecution again broke loose.”*

Mr. *Biddle*’s own publications, though they were chiefly controversial, had the same good tendency; as they led to the discussion of important questions, promoted religious enquiry, and called men to the exercise of the right of private judgment. Two pieces went more directly to elucidate, establish, and disseminate the principles of liberty; viz. “A Brief Enquiry touching a better way than is commonly made use of to refute *Papists*, and to reduce *Protestants* to certainty and unity in religion.” 1653. And another tract, entitled “A Discourse touching the Peace and Concord of the Church: wherein is elegantly and acutely argued, that not so much a bad opinion as a bad life excludes a christian out of the kingdom of heaven; and that the things necessary to be known for the attainment of salvation are very few and easy: and finally, that those who pass amongst us under the name of heretics, are notwithstanding to be tolerated.” 1653. These were translations, the former of a piece written in Latin by *Joachim Stegman*, a German, and minister of an *unitarian* church, at *Clausenburg*, in *Saxony*; the latter of a treatise, originally composed in Latin, by *Przipcivius*, a popish knight.† In this connexion should be mentioned his translation of the *Racovian* catechism, drawn up for the use of the *unitarian* churches in *Poland*; and particularly the preface to it, 1652. This catechism was reported to the parliament, and voted by them to “contain matters that are *blasphemous, erroneous, and scandalous*.” and all the printed copies were ordered to be burnt.‡

A piece on the side of liberty, published in 1659, deserving particular notice, was “A Treatise of Civil Power

* Crosby’s History of the Baptists, vol. i. p. 209—215.

† A Review of the Life, Character, and Writings of John Biddle, sect. xi.

‡ Whitlocke’s Memorials, p. 505.

in Ecclesiastical Causes : shewing that it is not lawful for any power on earth to compel in matters of religion. By JOHN MILTON." This manual has been republished, so lately as in 1790, addressed to Dr. *Richard Price*. It is written on the most liberal principles, in the strong and nervous manner of the author.*

It is not possible to say, at this remote period from their appearance, what impression these publications made. From the nature of truth, and the force of just reasoning, they could not fail to be useful : and though the immediate effect cannot be estimated, we know that the spirit of liberty has been growing and improving ever since that time.

* I am tempted here to quote a passage from this piece. " We read not that Christ ever exercised force but once ; and that," says the author, " was to drive profane ones out of his temple, not to force them in." " If by the Apostle, (Rom. xii. 1.) we are beseeched as brethren, by the mercies of God, to present our bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable to God, which is our reasonable service or worship ; then is no man to be forced, by the compulsive laws of men, to present his body a dead sacrifice, and so, under the gospel, most unholy and unacceptable, because it is his unreasonable service, that is to say, not only unwilling, but unconscionable."

CHAP. V.

*From the Restoration of King CHARLES II. to the
Conference at the Savoy.*

1660.

BEFORE we relate the conference between the episcopal and presbyterian divines in order to a *comprehension*, it will be proper to represent the views of the court, and of the bishops, who had promised to act with temper, and to bury all past offences under the foundation of the restoration. The point in debate was, *Whether concessions should be made, and pains taken to gain the presbyterians?* The king seemed to be for it; but the court bishops, with lord *Clarendon* at their head, were absolutely against it: *Clarendon* was a man of high and arbitrary principles, and gave himself up to the bishops, for the service they had done him in reconciling the king to his daughter's clandestine marriage with the duke of *York*. If his lordship had been a friend to moderate measures, the greatest part of the presbyterians might have been gained; but he would not disoblige the bishops; the reasons of whose angry behaviour were, 1. *Their high notions of the episcopal form of government, as necessary to the very essence of a christian church.* 2. *The resentments that remained in their breasts against all who had engaged with the long parliament, and had been the cause of their sufferings.* 3. *The presbyterians being legally possessed of most of the benefices in church and state, it was thought necessary to dispossess them; and if there must be a schism, rather to have it out of the church than within it; for it had been observed, that the half conformity of the puritans before the war, had, in most cities and corporations, occasioned a faction between the incumbents and lecturers, which latter had endeavored to render themselves popular at the expence of the hierarchy.* 4. *Besides, they had too much influence in the election of repre-*

sentatives to serve in parliament; therefore instead of using methods to bring them into the church (says bishop *Burnett*†) they resolved to seek the most effectual ones for casting them out. Here was no generosity, or spirit of catholicism, no remembrance of past services, no compassion for weak or prejudiced minds, but a fixed resolution to disarm their opponents at all events; so that the ensuing conferences with the presbyterians were no other than an amusement to keep them quiet, till they could obtain a law for their utter expulsion.

The king was devoted to his pleasures, and had no principles of *real religion*; his grand design was to lay asleep the former controversies, and to unite both protestant and papist under his government; with this view he submitted to the scheme of the bishops, in hopes of making it subservient to a *general toleration*; which nothing could render more necessary, than having great bodies of men shut out of the church, and put under severe penal laws, who must then be petitioners for a toleration which the legislature would probably grant; but it was his majesty's resolution, that *whatsoever should be granted of that sort should pass in so unlimited a manner, that papists as well as other sectaries should be comprehended within it*. The duke of York and all the Roman catholics were in this scheme; they declared absolutely against a *comprehension*, but were very much for a *general toleration*, as what was necessary for the peace of the nation, and promoting the catholic cause.

The well-meaning presbyterians were all this while striving against the stream, and making interest with a set of men who were now laughing in their sleeves at the abject condition to which their egregious credulity had reduced them. They offered archbishop *Usher's* model of primitive episcopacy as a plan of accommodation; that the *surplice*, the *cross* in baptism, and *kneeling* at the communion, should be left indifferent.¶ They were content to set aside the *assembly's confession*, and let the articles of the church of England take place with some few amendments. About the middle of June Mr. *Calamy*, Dr. *Reynolds*, Mr. *Ashe*, Mr. *Baxter*, Dr. *Wallis*, Dr. *Manton*, and Dr.

† Vol. i. p. 259, 60, 12mo.

¶ Kennet's Chron. p. 173.

Spurstow, waited upon the king, being introduced by the earl of *Manchester*, to crave his majesty's interposition for reconciling the differences in the church; that the people might not be deprived of their faithful pastors: Honest Mr. *Baxter* told his majesty, that the interest of the late usurpers with the people arose from the encouragement they had given religion; and he hoped the king would not undo, but rather go beyond the good which *Cromwell*, or any other had done.† They laid a good deal of stress on their own loyalty, and carefully distinguished between their own behavior and that of other sectaries, who had been disloyal and factious. The king replied, that "he was glad to hear of their inclinations to an agreement; that he would do his part to bring them together, but this must not be by bringing one party over to another, but by abating somewhat on both sides, and meeting in the mid-way; and that if it were not accomplished it should not be his fault; nay, he said, he was resolved to see it brought to pass."† Accordingly his majesty required them to draw up such proposals as they thought meet for an agreement about church government, and to set down the most they could yield; promising them a meeting with some episcopal divines in his majesty's presence, when the proposals were ready. Upon this they summoned the city ministers to meet and consult at *Sion College*, not excluding such of their country brethren as would attend, that it might not be said afterwards they took upon themselves the concluding so weighty an affair.* After two or three weeks consultation they agreed upon a paper to the following purpose, drawn up chiefly by Dr. *Reynolds*, Dr. *Worth*, and Mr. *Calamy*, which, together with archbishop *Usher's* reduction of episcopacy, they offered to the king, with the following address:

"May it please your most excellent majesty,

"WE your majesty's most loyal subjects cannot but acknowledge it as a very great mercy of God, that immediately after so wonderful and peaceable restoration to your throne and government (for which we bless his name)

† Kennet's Chron. p. 182.

† Ibid. p. 183.

* Baxter, part ii. p. 232.

he has stirred up your royal heart, as to a zealous testimony against profaneness, so to endeavor an happy composing of the differences, and healing the sad breaches which are in the church. And we shall, according to our bounded duty, become humble suitors to the throne of grace, that the God of peace, who has put such a thing as this into your majesty's heart, will, by his heavenly wisdom and holy spirit, assist you herein, that you may bring your resolutions to a perfect effect and issue.—

“In humble conformity to your majesty's christian designs, we, taking it for granted that there is a firm agreement between our brethren and us in the doctrinal truths of the reformed religion, and in the substantial parts of divine worship, humbly desire,

First, “That we may be secured of those things in practice of which we seem to be agreed in principle; as,

1. “That those of our flocks that are serious in matters of their salvation may not be reproachfully handled by words of scorn, or any abusive language, but may be encouraged in their duties of exhorting and provoking one another in their most holy faith, and of furthering one another in the ways of eternal life.

2. “That each congregation may have a learned, orthodox, and godly pastor, that the people may be publicly instructed by preaching every Lord's day, by catechising, by frequent administering the Lord's-supper and baptism; and that effectual provision by law may be made, that such as are insufficient, negligent, or scandalous, may not officiate.

3. “That none may be admitted to the Lord's supper till they personally own their baptismal covenant by a credible profession of faith and holiness, not contradicted by a scandalous life. That to such only *confirmation* may be administered; and that the approbation of the pastor to whom the instructing those under his charge doth appertain, may be produced before any person receives confirmation.

4. “That an effectual course be taken for the sanctification of the Lord's day, appropriating the same to holy exercises both in public and private, without any unnecessary divertisements.”

“Then for matters in difference, *viz.* church-government, liturgy, and ceremonies, we humbly represent,

“That we do not renounce the true ancient primitive episcopacy or presidency, as it was balanced with a due commixtion of presbyters. If therefore your majesty, in your grave wisdom and moderation, shall constitute such an episcopacy, we shall humbly submit thereunto. And in order to an accommodation in this weighty affair, we desire humbly to offer some particulars which we conceive were amiss in the episcopal government as it was practised before the year 1640.

1. “The great extent of the bishop’s diocese, which we apprehend too large for his personal inspection.

2. “That by reason of this disability the bishops did depute the administration, in matters of spiritual cognizance, to commissaries, chancellors, officials, whereof some are secular persons, and could not administer that power that originally belongs to the officers of the church.

3. “That the bishops did assume the sole power of ordination and jurisdiction to themselves.

4. “That some of the bishops exercised an arbitrary power, by sending forth articles of visitation, enquiring unwarrantably into several things; and swearing churchwardens to present accordingly. Also many innovations and ceremonies were imposed upon ministers and people not required by law.

“For remedy of these evils we crave leave to offer,

1. “The late most reverend primate of Ireland, his reduction of episcopacy into the form of synodical government.

2. “We humbly desire, that the *suffragans*, or *chorepiscopi*, may be chosen by the respective synods.

3. “That no oaths, or promises of obedience to the bishops, nor any unnecessary subscriptions or engagements, be made necessary to ordination, institution or induction, ministration, communion, or immunities of ministers, they being responsible for any transgression of the law. And that no bishops or ecclesiastical governors may exercise their government by their private will or pleasure, but only by such rules, canons, and constitutions, as shall be established by parliament.

Secondly, "Concerning Liturgy.

1. "We are satisfied in our judgments concerning the lawfulness of a liturgy, or form of worship, provided it be for matter agreeable to the word of God, and suited to the nature of the several ordinances and necessities of the church, neither too tedious, nor composed of too short prayers or responsals, not dissonant from the liturgies of other reformed churches, nor too rigorously imposed, nor the minister confined thereunto, but that he may also make use of his gifts for prayer and exhortation.

2. "Forasmuch as the book of common-prayer is in some things justly offensive, and needs amendment, we most humbly pray, that some learned, godly, and moderate divines of both persuasions, may be employed to compile such a form as is before described, as much as may be in scripture words; or at least to revise, and reform the old; together with an addition of other various forms in scripture phrase, to be used at the minister's choice."

Thirdly, "Concerning Ceremonies.

"We hold ourselves obliged, in every part of divine worship, to do all things decently and in order, and to edification; and are willing to be determined by authority in such things as being merely circumstantial, or common to human actions and societies, are to be ordered by the light of nature, and human prudence.

"As to divers ceremonies formerly retained in the church of England, we do, in all humility, offer to your majesty the following considerations:

"That the worship of God is in itself pure and perfect, and decent, without any such ceremonies. That it is then most pure and acceptable when it has least of human mixtures. That these ceremonies have been imposed and advanced by some, so as to draw near to the significancy and moral efficacy of sacraments. That they have been rejected by many of the reformed churches abroad, and have been ever the subject of contention and endless disputes in this church; and therefore being in their own nature indifferent, and mutable, they ought to be changed, lest in time they should be apprehended as necessary as the substantials of worship themselves.

“May it therefore please your majesty graciously to grant, that *kneeling at the Lord’s supper*, and such *holy-days* as are but of human institution, may not be imposed on such as scruple them. That the *use of the surplice and cross in baptism*, and *bowing at the name of Jesus*, may be abolished. And forasmuch as erecting altars and bowing towards them, and such like, (having no foundation in the law of the land) have been introduced and imposed, we humbly beseech your majesty, that such innovations may not be used or imposed for the future.”

When the presbyterian divines came to court with these proposals, the king received them favorably, and promised to bring both parties together. His majesty expressed a satisfaction in hearing they were disposed to a liturgy, and forms of prayer, and that they were willing to yield to the essence of episcopacy, and therefore doubted not of procuring an accommodation. The ministers expected to have met the bishops with their papers of proposals, but none of them appeared, having been better instructed in a private conference with the lord chancellor *Hyde*, who told them, it was not their business to offer proposals, because *they were in possession of the laws of the land*; that the *hierachy and service-book*, being the only legal establishment, ought to be the standard of agreement; and therefore their only concern was to answer the exceptions of the ministers against it. Accordingly, instead of a conference, or paper of proposals, which the ministers expected, the bishops, having obtained a copy of the paper of the presbyterians, drew up an answer in writing, which was communicated to their ministers, July 8.

In this answer, the bishops take notice of the ministers’ concessions in their preamble, as *that they agree with them in the substantial of doctrine and worship*; and infer from thence, that their particular exceptions are of less importance, and ought not to be stiffly insisted on to the disturbance of the peace of the church.*

To the particulars they answer,

1. *Concerning church-government*, “That they never

* Kennet’s Chron. p. 200. Baxter’s Life, part ii. p. 242;

heard any just reasons for a dissent from the ecclesiastical hierarchy of this kingdom, which they believe in the main to be the true *primitive episcopacy*, which was more than a mere presidency of order. Nor do they find that it was balanced by an authoritative commixtion of presbyters, though it has been in all times exercised with the assistance and counsel of presbyters in subordination to bishops. — They wonder that they should except against the government by one single person, which, if applied to the civil magistrate, is a most dangerous insinuation.”*

As to the four particular instances of things amiss.

1. “We cannot grant the extent of any diocese is so great, but that a *bishop* may well perform his duty, which is not a personal inspection of every man’s soul, but the pastoral charge, or taking care that the ministers, and other ecclesiastical officers within their diocese, do their duties; and if some dioceses should be too large, the law allows *suffragans*.

2. “Concerning *lay-chancellors*, &c. we confess the bishops did depute part of their ecclesiastical jurisdiction to *chancellors*, *commissaries*, *officials*, &c. as men better skilled in the civil and canon laws; but as for matters of mere spiritual concernment, as *excommunication*, *absolution*, and other censures of the church, we conceive they belong properly to the bishop himself, or his surrogate, wherein, if any thing has been done amiss, we are willing it should be reformed.

3. “Whether *bishops* are a distinct order from *presbyters*, or not? or, whether they have the sole power of ordination, is not now the question; but we affirm, that the bishops of this realm have constantly ordained with the assistance of presbyters, and the imposition of their hands together with the bishops, and for this purpose the colleges of deans and chapters are instituted.

4. “As to archbishop *Usher’s* model of church-government, we decline it, as not consistent with his other learned discourses on the original of episcopacy, and of metropolitans; nor with the king’s supremacy in causes ecclesiastical.”

* Baxter, p. 242.

II. Concerning Liturgy

“We esteem the liturgy of the church of England, contained in the book of common-prayer, and by law established, to be such an one as is by them desired, according to the qualifications which they mention; the disuse of which has been the cause of the sad divisions of the church, and the restoring it may be, by God’s blessing, a special means of making up the breach. Nor can the imposition of it be called rigorous, as long as clergymen have the liberty of using their gifts before and after sermon. Nevertheless we are not against revising the liturgy by such discreet persons as his majesty shall think fit to employ therein.

III. Of Ceremonies.

“Lawful authority has already determined the *ceremonies in question* to be decent and orderly, and for edification, and consequently to be agreeable to the general rules of the word. We allow the worship of God is in itself perfect in essentials, but still the church is at liberty to improve it with circumstantials for decency and order. Ceremonies were never esteemed to be *sacraments*, nor imposed as such; they are retained by most protestant churches; and that they have been the subject of contention is owing to men’s weakness, and their unwillingness to submit their private opinions to the public judgment of the church.—We acknowledge, that these things are in their nature mutable, but we can by no means think it expedient to remove them. However, as we are no way against such a tender and religious compassion in things of this nature, as his majesty’s piety and wisdom shall think fit to extend; so we cannot think that the satisfaction of some private persons is to be laid in the balance against the public peace and uniformity of the church.

“As for *kneeling at the Lord’s supper*, it is a gesture of the greatest reverence and devotion, and so most agreeable to that holy service.

“*Holy-days* of human institution having been observed by the people of God in the Old Testament, and by our blessed Savior himself in the gospel, and by all the church—

es of Christ in the primitive and following times, as apt means to preserve the memorials of the chief mysteries of the christian religion: And such *holy-days* also being fit times for the honest recreation of the meaner sort of people; for these reasons we humbly desire they may be continued in the church.

“As for the three other ceremonies, the *surplice*, the *cross after baptism*, and *bowing at the name of Jesus*, though we see not any sufficient reason why they should be utterly abolished, nevertheless, how far forth, in regard of tender consciences, a liberty may be thought fit to be indulged to any, his majesty is best able to judge.

They conclude thus: “We are so far from believing that his majesty’s condescending to the ministers demands will take away not only our differences, but the roots and causes of them, that we are confident it will prove the seminary of new differences, both by giving dissatisfaction to those that are well pleased with what is already established, who are much the greatest part of his majesty’s subjects; and by encouraging unquiet spirits, when these things shall be granted, to make further demands; there being no assurance by them given, what will content all dissenters, than which nothing is more necessary for settling a firm peace in the church.”

About a week after, the presbyterian divines sent the bishops a warm remonstrance, and defence of their proposals, drawn up chiefly by Mr. *Baxter*, to the following purpose:

Concerning the preamble.

“We are not insensible of the danger of the church, through the doctrinal errors of those with whom we differ about points of government and worship; but we choose to say nothing of the party that we are agreed with in doctrinals, because we both subscribe the same holy scriptures, articles of religion, and books of homilies; and the contradictions to their own confessions, which too many are guilty of, we did not think just to charge upon the *whole*.”*

* Kennet’s Chron. p. 205. Baxter, part ii. p. 248.

Concerning Church-government.

“Had you read *Gerson, Bucer, Parker, Baynes, Salmasius, Blondel, &c.* you would have seen just reason given for our dissent from the ecclesiastical hierarchy, as stated in England.”

Instances of things amiss.

“You would easily grant that *dioceses* are too great, if you had ever conscionably tried the task which Dr. *Hammond* describeth as the bishop’s work; or had ever believed *Ignatius*, and other ancient descriptions of a bishop’s church. You cannot be ignorant, that our bishops have the sole government of pastors and people; that the whole power of the keys is in their hands, and that their presbyters are but cyphers.”

Concerning Ceremonies.

“These divines argue for leaving them indifferent for the peace of the church, as being not essential to the perfection of christian worship, especially when so many looked upon them as sinful.”

They conclude thus: “We perceive your *counsels against peace* are not likely to be frustrated. Your desires concerning us are likely to be accomplished. You are like to be gratified with our silence and ejection; and yet we will believe, that *Blessed are the peace-makers*; and though we are prevented by you in our pursuits of peace, and are never like thus publicly to seek it more, yet are we resolved, as much as possible, to live peaceably with all men.”

The eyes of the presbyterians were now opened, and they began to discern their weakness in expecting an agreement with the bishops, who appeared to be exasperated, and determined to tie them down to the old establishment. The former severities began already to be revived, and the laws were put in execution against some who did not make use of the old *liturgy*. Many were suspended and turned out of their livings on this account; upon which the leading presbyterians applied to the king, and humbly requested,

1. "That they might with all convenient speed, see his majesty's conclusions upon the proposals of mutual condescensions, before they pass into resolves."

2. "That his majesty would publicly declare his pleasure for the suspension of all proceedings upon the act of uniformity, against non-conformists to the liturgy and ceremonies, till they saw the issue of their hoped-for agreement."

3. "That until the said settlement, there may be no oath of canonical obedience, nor subscription to the liturgy and ceremonies required, nor renunciation of their ordination by mere presbyters, imposed as necessary to institution, induction or confirmation."

4. "That his majesty would cause the broad seal to be revoked, where persons had been put into the possession of the livings of others not void by sequestration, but by the death of the former incumbents."

5. "That a remedy may be provided against the return of scandalous ministers, into the places from whence they had been ejected."†

His majesty gave them a civil audience, and told them he would put what he thought fit to grant them into the form of a *declaration*, which they should have the liberty of perusing, before it was made public. A copy of this was accordingly delivered by the chancellor to Mr. *Baxter*, and other presbyterian divines, Sept. 4, with liberty to make exceptions, and give notice of what they disliked.‡ These divines petitioned for some further amendments and alterations; upon which the king appointed a day to hear what could be said on both sides, and came to the chancellor's house, Oct. 22, attended by the dukes of *Albemarle* and *Ormond*, the earls of *Manchester*, *Anglesea*, and lord *Hollis*.

On the part of the bishops were,

Dr. <i>Sheldon</i> ,	bishop of London
Dr. <i>Morley</i> ,	Worcester
Dr. <i>Henchman</i> ,	Salisbury
Dr. <i>Cosins</i> ,	Durham

† *Baxter's Life*, part ii. p. 241.

‡ *Kennet's Chron.* p. 246. *Baxter's Life*, part ii. p. 275, 276.

Dr. *Gauden*, bishop of Exeter
 Dr. *Hacket*, Litchf. and Coventry
 Dr. *Barwick*, dean of St. Paul's;—Dr. *Gunning*, &c.

On the side of the presbyterians were,

Dr. <i>Reynolds</i>	Mr. <i>Ashe</i>	Mr. <i>Baxter</i>
Mr. <i>Calamy</i>	Dr. <i>Manton</i>	Dr. <i>Wallis</i>
Dr. <i>Spurstow</i> .		

As the chancellor read over the declaration, each party were to alledge their exceptions, and the king to determine. The chief debates were on the high power of the bishops, and the necessity of re-ordination. Bishop *Morley* and Dr. *Gunning* spoke most on one side; and Mr. *Calamy* and *Baxter* on the other.* Upon hearing the whole, his majesty delivered his judgment as to what he thought proper should stand in the *declaration*; and appointed bishop *Morley* and *Henchman*, Dr. *Reynolds* and Mr. *Calamy* to express it in proper words; and if they disagreed, the earl of *Anglesea* and lord *Hollis* to decide.

At length the declaration, with such amendments as the king would admit, was published under the following title:

His majesty's declaration to all his loving subjects of his kingdom of England and dominion of Wales, concerning ecclesiastical affairs. Given at our court at Whitehall, Oct. 25, 1660, in the twelfth year of our reign.

The declaration being long,† and to be met with in most of our historians, I shall give the reader only an abstract of it.

“CHARLES REX.

“IN our letter from Breda we promised in due time to propose something to the world for the propagation of the protestant religion; and we think ourself more competent to propose, and with God's assistance determine many things now in difference, from the experience we

* Baxter's Life, part ii. p. 278.

† This declaration was drawn up by lord chancellor Hyde: but many of the evasive clauses were suggested by some of the king's more secret advisers. Secret History of the Court and Reign of Charles II. vol. i. p. 93. Ed.

have had in most of the reformed churches abroad, where we have had frequent conferences with the most learned men, who have unanimously lamented the distempers, and too notorious schisms in matters of religion in England.

“When we were in Holland we were attended by many grave and learned ministers from hence of the presbyterian opinion, and to our great satisfaction we found them full of affection to us, no enemies to episcopacy or liturgy (as they have been reported to be) but modestly desiring such alterations as, without shattering foundations, might give ease to the tenderness of some men’s consciences. For the doing of this we intended to have called a synod of divines, but observing the over-passionate and turbulent way of proceeding of some persons, and the impatience of others for a speedy determination of these matters, we have been prevailed with to invert the method we proposed, and to give some determination ourself to the matters in difference, till such a synod may be called as may, without passion or prejudice, give us such further assistance towards a perfect union of affections, as well as submission to authority, as is necessary.

“We must, for the honor of all with whom we have conferred, declare, that the professions and desires of all for the advancement of piety and true godliness are the same; their professions of zeal for the peace of the church, and of affection and duty to us, the same; they all approve episcopacy and a liturgy, and disapprove of sacrilege, and the alienation of the revenues of the church.”*

His majesty then declares his esteem and affection for the church of England, and that his esteem of it is not lessened by his condescending to dispense with some particular ceremonies, and then proceeds to his concessions.

1. “We declare our purpose and resolution is, and shall be, to promote the power of godliness, to encourage the public and private exercises of religion, to take care of the due observation of the Lord’s day; and that insufficient, negligent, and scandalous ministers be not permitted in the church. We shall take care to prefer none to the episcopal office and charge but men of learning, virtue,

* Comp. Hist. vol. iii. p. 246. Baxter’s Life, part ii. p. 259.

|| Kennet’s Chron. p. 289.

and piety; and we shall provide the best we can, that the bishops be frequent preachers, and that they do often preach in some church or other of their diocese.

2. "Because some dioceses may be of too large extent, we will appoint such a number of suffragans as shall be sufficient for the due performance of their work.

3. "No bishops shall ordain or exercise any part of jurisdiction which appertains to the censures of the church, without advice and assistance of the presbyters. No chancellors, commissaries, or officials, shall excommunicate, absolve, or exercise any act of spiritual jurisdiction, wherein any of the ministry are concerned with reference to their pastoral charge. Nor shall the archdeacon exercise any jurisdiction without the advice and assistance of six ministers of his archdeaconry; three to be nominated by the bishop, and three by the suffrage of the presbyters within the archdeaconry.

4. "We will take care, that the preferment of *deans* and *chapters* shall be given to the most learned and pious presbyters of the diocese, and that an equal number (to those of the chapter) of the most learned and pious presbyters of the same diocese, annually chosen by the major vote of all the presbyters of that diocese present at such elections, shall be always advising and assisting, together with those of the chapter, in all ordinations, at all church-censures, and other important acts of ecclesiastical jurisdiction wherein any of the ministry are concerned. Provided that at all such meetings, the number of ministers so elected, and those of the *chapter* present, be equal; and to make the numbers equal, the juniors of the exceeding number shall withdraw to make way for the more ancient. Nor shall any suffragan bishop ordain, or exercise any jurisdiction, without the advice and assistance of a sufficient number of presbyters annually chosen as before. And our will is, that ordination be constantly and solemnly performed by the bishop and his aforesaid presbytery at the four set times appointed by the church for that purpose.

5. "*Confirmation* shall be rightly and solemnly performed, by the information and with the consent of the minister of the place, who shall admit none to the Lord's supper, till they have made a credible profession of

their faith, and promised obedience to the will of God, according to the rubric before the catechism; and all diligence shall be used for the instruction and reformation of scandalous offenders, whom the minister shall not suffer to partake of the Lord's supper till they have openly declared their repentance, and resolutions of amendment; provided there be place for appeals to superior powers. Every *rural dean* (to be nominated by the bishop as heretofore) with three or four ministers of that deanery chosen by the major part of all the ministers within the same, shall meet once a month to receive complaints from the ministers or churchwardens of parishes, and to compose such differences as shall be referred to them for arbitration, and to reform such things as are amiss, by their pastoral reproofs and admonitions, and what they cannot reform are to be presented to the bishop. Moreover, the *rural dean* and his assistants are to take care of the catechising children and youth, and that they can give a good account of their faith before they are brought to the bishop to be confirmed.

6. "No bishop shall exercise any arbitrary power, or impose any thing upon his clergy or people, but according to the law of the land.

7. "We will appoint an equal number of divines of both persuasions to review the liturgy of the church of England, and to make such alterations as shall be thought necessary; and some additional forms in the scripture phrase, as near as may be, suited to the nature of the several parts of worship, and that it be left to the minister's choice to use one or the other at his discretion. In the mean time, we desire that the ministers in their several churches will not wholly lay aside the use of the common-prayer, but will read those parts of it against which they have no exception: yet our will and pleasure is, that none be punished or troubled for not using it till it be reviewed and effectually reformed.

8. *Lastly*, "Concerning *ceremonies*, if any are practised contrary to law, the same shall cease. Every national church has a power to appoint ceremonies for its members, which, though before they were indifferent, yet cease to be so when established by law. We are therefore content to indulge tender consciences, so far as to dispense with

their using such ceremonies as are an offence to them, but not to abolish them. We declare therefore, that none shall be compelled to receive the sacrament *kneeling*, nor to use the *cross in baptism*, nor to *bow* at the name of *Jesus*, nor to use the *surplice*, except in the royal chapel, and in cathedral and collegiate churches. Nor shall subscription, nor the oath of canonical obedience, be required at *present*, in order to ordination, institution, or induction, but only the taking the oaths of allegiance and supremacy; nor shall any lose their academical degrees, or forfeit a presentation, or be deprived of a benefice, for not declaring his assent to all the the thirty-nine articles, provided he read and declare his assent to all the doctrinal articles, and to the sacraments. And we do again renew our declaration from *Breda*, that no man shall be disquieted or called in question for differences of opinion in matters of religion which do not disturb the peace of the kingdom.

His majesty concludes, “with conjuring all his loving subjects, to acquiesce and submit to this declaration, concerning the differences that have so much disquieted the nation at home, and given offence to the protestant churches abroad.”

Though this declaration did not satisfy all the *ministers*, yet the greatest numbers were content; but because it proceeded upon the plan of *diocesan episcopacy*, which they had covenanted against, others were extremely uneasy; some ventured upon a second address to the king, in which they renew their requests for archbishop *Usher's* scheme of primitive episcopacy, as most agreeable to scripture; most conducive to good discipline, and as that which would save the nation from the violation of the *solemn league and covenant*, which, whether it were lawfully imposed or no, they conceive now to be binding.

Concerning the preamble of his majesty's declaration they tender these requests:

1. “That as they are persuaded it is not in his majesty's thoughts to intimate that they are guilty of the offences therein mentioned, they hope it will be a motive to hasten the union.

2. "Though they detest sacrilege, yet they will not determine, whether in some cases of superfluities of revenues, and the necessity of the church, there may not be an alienation, which is no sacrilege.

3. "His majesty having acknowledged their moderation, they still hope they may be received into the settlement, and continue their stations in the church.

4. "Since his majesty has declared, that the essence of episcopacy may be preserved, though the extent of the jurisdiction be altered, they hope his majesty will consent to such an alteration as may satisfy their consciences."

They then renew their requests for promoting of piety ; of a religious and diligent ministry ; of the requisites of church communion ; and for the observation of the sabbath. They complain that parish discipline is not sufficiently granted in his majesty's declaration, that inferior synods are passed by, and that the bishop is not *episcopus præses*, but *episcopus princeps*, endued with sole power of ordination and jurisdiction. They therefore pray again, that archbishop *Usher's* form of church-government may be established, at least in these three points :*

1. "That the pastors of parishes may be allowed to preach, catechise, and deny the communion of the church to the impenitent, scandalous, or such as do not make a credible profession of faith and obedience to the commands of Christ.

2. "That the pastors of each rural deanery may meet once a month, to receive presentments and appeals, to admonish offenders, and after due patience to proceed to excommunication.

3. "That a diocesan synod of the delegates of rural synods may be called as often as need requires ; that the bishop may not ordain or exercise spiritual censures without the consent of the majority ; and that neither *chancellors*, *archdeacons*, *commissaries*, nor *officials*, may pass censures purely spiritual ; but for the exercise of civil government, coercively by mulets, or corporal penalties, by

* Hist. of the Nonconf. p. 14. Baxter, part ii. p. 268.

power derived from your majesty, as supreme over all persons and things ecclesiastical, we presume not at all to interpose.”

“As to the Liturgy.

“They rejoice that his majesty has declared, that none should suffer for not using the common-prayer and ceremonies ; but then it grieves us (say they) to hear that it is given in charge to the judges at the assizes, to indict men upon the act of uniformity for not using the common-prayer. That it is not only some obsolete words and phrases that are offensive, but that other things need amendment ; therefore we pray, that none may be punished for not using the book, till it be reformed by the consent of divines of both parties.”

“Concerning Ceremonies.

“They thank his majesty for his gracious concessions, but pray him to leave out of his declaration these words, *That we do not believe the practice of the particular ceremonies excepted against unlawful*, because we are not all of that opinion ; but we desire, that there may be no law nor canon for, or against them, (being allowed by our opponents as indifferent) as there is no canon against any particular gesture in singing psalms, and yet there is an uninterrupted unity.”

“For particular Ceremonies.

1. “We humbly crave, that there may be liberty to receive the Lord’s supper either *kneeling, standing, or sitting*.
 2. That the observation of holy days of human institution may be left indifferent. 3. We thank your majesty for liberty as to the *cross in baptism, the surplice, and bowing at the name of Jesus* ; but we pray, that this liberty may extend to colleges and cathedrals for the benefit of youth as well as elder persons, and that the canons which impose these ceremonies may be repealed.

“We thank your majesty for your gracious concession of the forbearance of subscription ; though we do not dissent from the doctrinal articles of the church of Eng-

land; nor do we scruple the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, nor would we have the door left open for papists and heretics to come in.

“But we take the liberty to represent to your majesty, that, notwithstanding your gracious concessions, our ministers cannot procure *institution* without renouncing their *ordination by presbyters*, or being *re-ordained*, nor without subscription and the oaths of canonical obedience. And we are apprehensive that your majesty’s indulgence does not extend to the abatement of re-ordination, or subscription, or the oath of canonical obedience. We therefore earnestly crave, that your majesty will declare your pleasure, 1. That ordination, and institution, and induction may be conferred without the said subscription and oath. 2. That none may be urged to be re-ordained, or denied institution for want of ordination by prelates, that have been ordained by presbyters. 3. That none may forfeit their presentation or benefice for not reading those articles of the thirty-nine that relate to government and ceremonies.”

However, if the king’s declaration, without any amendments, had passed into a law, it would have prevented in a great measure the separation that followed; but neither the court nor ministry intended it, if they could stand their ground upon the foot of the old establishment. A reverend prelate of the church of England confesses, “that this declaration has in it a spirit of true wisdom and charity above any one public confession that was ever made in matters of religion. It shews the admirable temper and prudence of the king and his council in that tender juncture of affairs; it proves the charity and moderation of the suffering bishops, in thinking such concessions just and reasonable for peace and unity; and it shews a disposition in the other party to have accepted the terms of union consistent with our episcopacy and liturgy. It condemns the unhappy ferment that soon after followed for want of this temper; and it may stand for a pattern to posterity, whenever they are disposed, to restore the discipline, and heal the breaches of the church.” Another conformist writer adds, “If ev-

er a divine sentence was in the mouth of any king, and his mouth erred not in judgment ; I verily believe it was thus with our present majesty when he composed that admirable declaration, which next to holy scripture I adore, and think that the united judgment of the whole nation cannot frame a better or a more unexceptionable expedient, for a firm and lasting concord of these distracted churches."

The presbyterians about London were so far pleased, that they drew up the following address of thanks, in the name of the city ministers, and presented it to the king Nov. 16, by the hands of the reverend Mr. *Samuel Clarke*.

"Most dread sovereign !

*"WE your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, ministers of the gospel in your city of London, having perused your majesty's late declaration, and finding it so full of indulgence and gracious condescension, we cannot but judge ourselves highly obliged first to render our unfeigned thanks to God, and next our most humble and hearty acknowledgments to your majesty, that we may testify to your royal self, and all the world, our just resentments of your majesty's great goodness and clemency therein expressed."**

The address then recites the several condescensions of his majesty in the declaration, and concludes thus, "We crave leave to profess, that though all things in this frame of government be not exactly suited to our judgments, yet your majesty's moderation has so great an influence on us, that we shall to our utmost endeavor the healing of the breaches, and promoting the peace and union of the church. — We would beg of your majesty, with all humility upon our knees, that *re-ordination*, and the *surplice* in colleges, might not be imposed ; and we hope God will incline your majesty's heart to gratify us in these our desires also."

Signed by,

Samuel Clark
William Cooper
Thomas Case

Jo. Gibbon
William Whitaker
Thomas Jacomb

* Baxter's Life, part ii. p. 279, 284. Kennet's Chron. p. 344.

<i>Jo. Rawlinson</i>	<i>Thomas Lye</i>
<i>Jo. Sheffield</i>	<i>John Jackson</i>
<i>Thomas Gouge</i>	<i>John Meriton</i>
<i>Gab. Sanger</i>	<i>William Bates</i>
<i>El. Pledger</i>	With many others.
<i>Matth. Pool</i>	

The king having received the address, returned this answer, *Gentlemen, I will endeavor to give you all satisfaction, and to make you as happy as myself.**

Upon the terms of this declaration Dr. *Reynolds* accepted of the bishopric of Norwich; Mr. *Baxter* was offered the bishopric of Hereford, but refused upon other reasons; and Mr. *Calamy* declined the bishopric of Litchfield and Coventry, till the king's declaration should be passed into a law. Dr. *Manton*, having been presented to the living of Covent-Garden, by the earl of *Bedford*, accepted it upon the terms of the declaration, and received episcopal institution from Dr. *Shelden* bishop of London, January 10, 1660-61. *Having first subscribed the doctrinal articles of the church of England only, and taken the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and of canonical obedience in all things lawful and honest.*§ The doctor was also content that the common-prayer should be read in his church. Dr. *Bates* was offered the deanery of Litchfield: Dr. *Manton* the deanery of Rochester; and Mr. *Bowles* that of York; but finding how things were going at court, after some time, they refused.

The lords and commons, upon reading the *king's declaration*, agreed to wait upon his majesty in a body, and return him thanks: and the commons ordered a bill into their house to pass it into a law; but when the bill had been read the first time, the question being put for a second reading, it passed in the negative; one of the secretaries of state opposing it, which was a sufficient indication (says Dr. *Bates*) of the king and court's aversion to it. Sir *Matthew Hale*, who was zealous for the declaration, at that very juncture was taken out of the house of commons, and made lord chief baron of the Exchequer, that he might not oppose the resolutions of the ministry. Strange! that an

* Kennet's Chron. p. 315.

§ Ibid. 358.

house of commons, which on the 9th of Nov. had given the king thanks for his declaration by their speaker *nem. contradicente*, should on the 28th of the same month reject it before a second reading. This blasted all the expectations of the presbyterian clergy at once. It was now apparent that the court did not design the declaration should be carried into execution, but only serve as a temporary expedient to keep them quiet, till the church should be in circumstances to bid them defiance. While the *diocesan doctors* were at Breda (says Mr. *Baxter*||) they did not dream that their way to the highest grandeur was so fair; then they would have been glad of the terms of the declaration of Breda; when they came in they proceeded by slow degrees, that they might feel the ground under them; for this purpose they proposed the declaration, which being but a temporary provision must give place to laws, but when they found the parliament and populace ripe for any thing they should propose, they dropt the declaration, and all further thoughts of accomodation.

The court and bishops were now at ease, and went on briskly with restoring all things to the old standard; the doctrines of *passive obedience* and *non-resistance* were revived; men of the highest principles, and most inveterate resentments, were preferred to bishoprics, by which they were more than compensated for their sufferings, by the large sums of money they raised on the renewal of leases,* which after so long an interval were almost all expired; but what a sad use they made of their riches, I choose rather to relate in the words of bishop *Burnet* than my own. "What the bishops did with their great fines was a pattern to all their lower dignitaries, who generally took more care of themselves than of the church; the men of service were loaded with many livings, and many dignities. With

|| Life, p. 287.

* The terms on which these leases were renewed, were high and oppressive; and the bishops incurred the severe censure of the presbyterian ministers, and raised against themselves the clamor of the subordinate and dependent clergy. The fines raised by renewing the leases amounted to a million and half. In some sees they produced forty or fifty thousand pounds, which were applied to the enriching the bishops' families. Secret History of the Court and Reign of King Charles II. vol. i. p. 350-54, and Burnet's History of his own Times, vol. i. p. 271, 12mo. Ed.

this accession of wealth, there broke in upon the church a great deal of luxury and high living, on pretence of hospitality ; and with this overset of wealth, and pomp that came upon men in the decline of their age, they who were now growing into old age, became lazy and negligent in all the true concerns of the church.”*

From this time, says bishop *Kennet*, the presbyterians began to prepare for the cry of persecution, and not without reason, for March 23, Mr. *Zach. Crofton*, minister of Aldgate, was sent to the Tower for writing in favor of the covenant ; where he lay a considerable time at great expence, and was at last turned out of his parish without any consideration, though he had a wife and seven children, and had been very zealous for the king’s restoration.† Mr. *Andrew Parsons*, rector of Wem in Shropshire, a noted loyalist, was fetched from his house in the month of December by six soldiers, for seditious preaching, and non-conformity to the ceremonies ; for which he was fined two hundred pounds, and to continue in prison till it was paid.

* Dr. Grey endeavors to shew, that bishop Burnet’s representation, quoted above, was founded in a mistake : and, with this view, he states the benefactions and charities of some of the bishops, deans and chapters. According to his authorities, besides the expenditures of bishop Duppa, which we have mentioned before, Dr. Juxon, archbishop of Canterbury, gave to various purposes and public works 48,000*l.* and abated in fines 16,000*l.* Dr. Sheldon, while bishop of London, expended 40,000*l.* and abated to his tenants 17,000*l.* Dr. Frewen, archbishop of York, disbursed in public payments, besides abatements to tenants, 15,000*l.* Dr. Cosins, bishop of Durham’s, expenditures in building and repairing public edifices and in charities amounted to 44,000*l.* Dr. Warner, bishop of Rochester, though his fines were small, gave in royal presents, benevolences and subsidies and redeeming captives 25,000*l.* The liberalities of various deans and chapters made the sum of 191,300*l.* These expenditures bespeak munificence and generosity ; and they appear to take off much of the edge of bishop Burnet’s censure. He allows, that “ some few exceptions are to be made : but so few,” he adds, “ that if a new set of men had not appeared of another stamp, the church had quite lost her esteem over the nation.” The reader will also reflect, that the proportion not of the number of dignitaries only, who made a display of charity, or liberality, but of the sums they expended to the accession of wealth, is to be taken into the account. The above sums fall more than a million short of the amount of the fines that were raised : to these must be added the annual incomes of the ecclesiastical estates to which they were preferred. Grey’s Examination, vol. iii. p. 269-274. Burnet’s History, vol. i. p. 274. *Ed.*

† Kennet’s Chron. p. 397. Conf. Plea. p. 34.

Spies were sent into all the congregations of presbyterians throughout England, to observe and report their behaviour to the bishops ; and if a minister lamented the degeneracy of the times, or expressed his concern for the *ark of God*, if he preached against perfidiousness, or glanced at the vices of the court, he was marked for an enemy to the king and government. Many eminent and loyal presbyterians were sent to prison upon such informations, among whom was the learned and prudent Mr. *John Howe*, and when they came to their trials, the court was guarded with soldiers, and their friends not suffered to attend them. Many were sequestered from their livings, and cited into the ecclesiastical courts, *for not using the surplice and other ceremonies*, while the discipline of the church was under a kind of suspension. So eager were the spiritual courts to renew the exercise of the sword ; and so fiercely was it brandished against the falling presbyterians !

The convention parliament passed sundry acts with relation to the late times, of which these following deserve to be remembered : An act for *the confirming and restoring of ministers*, which enacts, among other things, “ that every sequestered minister, who has not justified the late king’s murder, or declared against infant baptism, shall be restored to his living before the 25th of December next ensuing, and the present incumbent shall peaceably quit it, and be accountable for dilapidations, and all arrears of fifths not paid.” By this act some hundred of nonconformist ministers were dispossessed of their livings, before the act of uniformity was penned. Here was no distinction between good or bad ; but if the *parson* had been episcopally ordained, and in possession, he must be restored, though he had been ejected upon the strongest evidence of immorality or scandal.

The act for *confirmation of marriages* was very expedient for the peace of the kingdom, and the order and harmony of families. It enacts, “ that all marriages since May 1, 1642, solemnized before a justice of peace, or reputed justice ; and all marriages since the said time, had or solemnized according to the direction of any ordinance, or reputed act or ordinance of one or both houses of parliament, shall be adjudged and esteemed to be of the same

force and effect, as if they had been solemnized according to the rites and ceremonies of the church of England."

An act for the *attainder of several persons guilty of the horrid murder of his late sacred majesty King Charles I. and for the perpetual observation of the 30th of January.** This was the subject of many conferences between the two houses, in one of which chancellor *Hyde* declared, that the king having sent him in embassy to the king of Spain, charged him to tell that monarch expressly, "that the horrible murder of his father ought not to be deemed as the act of the parliament, or people of England, but of a small crew of wretches and miscreants who had usurped the sovereign power, and rendered themselves masters of the kingdom;"|| for which the commons sent a deputation with thanks to the king. After the preamble, the act goes on to attain the king's judges, dead or alive, except colonel *Ingoldsby*† and *Thomson*, who for their late good services were pardoned, but in their room were included colonel *Lambert*, Sir *Harry Vane*, and *Hugh Peters*, who were not of the judges. On the 30th of Jan. this year, the bod-

* The service for this day, it has been remarked, was framed on the *jure divino* plan; consequently on principles inconsistent with those of the revolution. It was drawn up by archbishop Saneroft, whose influence procured it to be adopted and published by the king's authority, though another of a more moderate strain was at first preferred to it. When Saneroft himself was laid aside for adopting or adhering to principles suitable to his style, what had we to do any longer with Saneroft's office? Letters and Essays in Favor of Public Liberty, vol. i. p. 32. *Ed.*

|| This plea, it has been observed by a late writer, would have been precluded, had the parliament of 1641 proceeded against the king by way of attainder, about the time that *Strafford* and *Laurel* were impeached. For then they were constitutionally invested with the legislative and judicial powers of a national representative: and they had *sufficient overt acts before them to convict him of the blackest treason against the majesty of the people of England.* Memoirs of *Hollis*, vol. ii. p. 591. *Ed.*

† Dr. Grey observes, on the authority of lord Clarendon, that the case of colonel *Ingoldsby* was singular. He was drawn into the army about the time when he came first of age by *Cromwell*, to whom he was nearly allied. Though appointed to it, he never sat with the judges of the king: and his signature to the warrant for the king's death was obtained by violence; *Cromwell* seized his hand, put the pen between his fingers, and with his own hand wrote *Richard Ingoldsby*, he making all the resistance he could. Clarendon's History, vol. iii. p. 763. *Ed.*

ies of *Oliver Cromwell*, *Bradshaw*, and *Ireton*, were taken out of their graves, and drawn upon hurdles to Tyburn, where they were hung up from ten in the morning till sunset of the next day, after which their heads were cut off, and their trunks buried all together in one hole under the gallows.* Colonel *Lambert* was sent to the isle of Jersey, where he continued shut up a patient prisoner almost thirty years; nineteen made their escape beyond sea; seven were made objects of the king's clemency; nineteen others, who surrendered on the king's proclamation of June 6, had their lives saved after trial; but underwent other penalties, as imprisonment, banishment, and forfeiture of estates; so that ten only were executed in the month of October, after the new sheriffs were entered upon their office, viz. Col. *Harrison*, Mr. *Carew*, *Cook*, *Hugh Peters*, Mr. *Scot*, *Clement*, *Scroop*, *Jones*, *Hacker*, and *Axtel*.

Bishop *Burnet* says,§ “the trials and executions of the first that suffered, were attended by vast crouds of people. All men seemed pleased with the sight; but the firmness and shew of piety of the sufferers, who went out of the world with a sort of triumph in the cause for which they suffered, turned the minds of the populace, insomuch that the king was advised to proceed no further.” The prisoners were rudely treated in court; the spectators with their noise and clamor endeavoring to put them out of countenance. None of them denied the fact, but all pleaded *not guilty to the treason*, because, as they said, they acted by authority of parliament; not considering, that the house of commons is no court of judicature: or if it was, that it was packed and purged before the king was brought to his trial. Those who guarded the scaffold, pleaded that they acted by command of their superior officers, who would have cashiered or put them to death, if they had not obeyed. They were not permitted to enter into the merits of the cause between the king and parliament, but were condemned upon the statute of the 25th *Edward III.* for compassing and imagining the king's death.

* This was done, says Dr. Grey, upon a 30th of January; a circumstance which Mr. Neal might probably think below his notice. *Ed.*

* Kennet's Chron. p. 367.

§ Vol. i. p. 231.

The behavior of the regicides at their execution was bold and resolute: Colonel *Harrison* declared at the gibbet, that he was fully persuaded that *what he had done was the cause and work of God, which he was confident God would own and raise up again, how much soever it suffered at that time.* He went through all the indignities and severities of his sufferings, with a calmness or rather cheerfulness, that astonished the spectators; he was turned off, and cut down alive; for after his body was opened, he raised himself up, and gave the executioner a box on the ear.* When Mr. solicitor *Cook* and *Hugh Peters* went into the sledge, the head of major-general *Harrison* was put upon it, with the face bare towards them; but notwithstanding this, Mr. *Cooke* went out of the world with surprising resolution, *blessing God that he had a clear conscience.* *Hugh Peters* was more timid; but after he had seen the execution and quartering of Mr. *Cooke*, he resumed his courage at length (which some said was artificial) and said to the sheriff, *Sir, you have here slain one of the servants of the Lord, and made me behold it, on purpose to terrify and discourage me; but God has made it an ordinance for my strengthening and encouragement.*|| Mr. *Scot* was not allowed to speak to the people, but said in his prayer, *that he had been engaged in a cause not to be repented of; I say in a cause not to be repented of.*—*Carew* appeared very cheerful as he went to the gibbet, but said little of the cause for which he suffered. *Clements* also said nothing. Colonel *Jones* justified the king and court in their proceedings; but added, that *they did not satisfy him in so great and deep a point.* Colonel *Scroop* was drawn in the same sledge, whose grave and venerable countenance, accompanied with courage and cheerfulness, raised great compassion in some of the spectators, though the insults and rudeness of others, was cruel and barbarous: He said *he was born and bred a gen-*

* State Trials, p. 404.

|| “It appears from this instance, and many others,” observes Mr. Granger, “that the presumption of an enthusiast is much greater than that of a saint. The one is always humble, and *works out his own salvation with fear and trembling*; the other is arrogant and assuming, and seems to demand it as his right.” History of England, vol. iii. p. 339. Ed.

tleman ; and appealed to those who had known him for his behavior ; he forgave the instruments of his sufferings, and died for that which he judged to be the cause of Christ. — Colonel *Axtel* and *Hacker* suffered last ; the former behaved with great resolution, and holding the bible in his hand said, “ *The very cause in which I was engaged is contained in this book of God ; and having been fully convinced in my conscience of the justness of the war, I freely engaged in the parliament’s service, which as I do believe was the cause of the Lord. I ventured my life freely for it, and now die for it.*” *Hacker* read a paper to the same purpose ; and after having expressed his charity towards his judges, jury, and witnesses, he said, *I have nothing lies upon my conscience as guilt whereof I am now condemned, and do not doubt but to have the sentence reversed.*

Few, if any of these criminals, were friends of the protector CROMWELL, but gave him all possible disturbance in favor of a *commonwealth*. Mr. *H. Cromwell*, in one of his letters from Ireland, 1657-8, says, “ It is a sad case, when men, knowing the difficulties we labor under, seek occasions to quarrel and unsettle every thing again ; I hear *Harrison*, *Carew*, and *Okey*, have done new feats. I hope God will infatuate them in their endeavors to disturb the peace of the nation ; their folly shews them to be no better than abusers of religion, and such whose hypocrisy the Lord will avenge in due time.”

The *regicides* certainly confounded the cause of the parliament, or the necessity of entering into a war to bring delinquents to justice, with the king’s execution ; whereas they fall under a very distinct consideration ; the former might be necessary, when the latter had neither law nor equity to support it ;|| for admitting (with them) that the

|| A distinguished writer, who now ranks a peer, delivers a different opinion from our author. “ If a king deserves” says he, “ to be opposed by force of arms, he deserves death : if he reduces his subjects to that extremity, the blood spilt in the quarrel lies on him :—the executing him afterwards is a mere formality.” Walpole’s *Royal and Noble Authors*, vol. ii. p. 69, as quoted by Dr. Harris. *Life of Charles II.* vol. i. p. 362. A sentiment of this last writer, which carries truth and force in it, may be properly brought forward in this connection. “ The depriving of the people of their rights and liberties, or the arguing for the expediency and justice of so doing, is a crime of a higher

king is accountable to his parliament; the house of commons alone is not the parliament; and if it was, it could not be so, after it was under restraint, and one half of the members forcibly kept from their places by the military power. They had no precedent for their conduct, nor any measure of law to try and condemn their sovereign: Though the scripture says, *He that sheds man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed*; yet this is not a rule of duty for private persons, when there is a government subsisting. If the king had fallen in battle it had been a different case; but how criminal soever his majesty might be in their apprehensions, they had no warrant to sit as his judges, and therefore could have no right by their verdict or sentence to put him to death.

There was another act passed this sessions, for a perpetual anniversary thanksgiving on the 29th of May, for his majesty's happy restoration; upon which occasion the bishops were commanded to draw up a suitable form of prayer; and Mr. *Robinson*, in the preface to his *Review of the Case of Liturgies*, says, that in their first form, which is since altered, there are these unwarrantable expressions, which I mention only to shew the spirit of the times.—“We beseech thee to give us grace, to remember, and provide for our latter end, by a careful and studious imitation of this thy blessed saint and martyr, and all other thy saints and martyrs that have gone before us; that we may be made worthy to receive the benefit by their prayers, which they, in communion with thy church catholic, offer up unto thee for that part of it here militant, and yet in fight with, and danger from the flesh.”†

The books of the great *Milton*, and Mr. *John Goodwin*, published in defence of the sentence of death, passed upon his late majesty, were called in by proclamation. And upon

nature, than the *murthering* or *magnifying* the murder of the wisest and best prince under heaven. The loss of a *good* prince is greatly to be *lamented*; but it is a loss which may be repaired: whereas the loss of a people's liberties is seldom or ever to be recovered: consequently the foe to the *latter* is much more detestable than the foe to the former. Historical and Critical account of Hugh Peters, p. 49, 50. *Ed.*

† Dr. Grey asks, “What is there blameable in all this? Here is no praying to saints; and nothing but what was thought warrantable by the *fathers* long before *popery* had a being?” *Ed.*

the 27th of August, *Milton's Defensio pro Populo Anglicano contra Salamasmus*; and his answer to a book entitled, *The Portraiture of his sacred Majesty in his Solitude and sufferings*, were burnt by the hands of the common hangman; together with Mr. *John Goodwin's* book, entitled, *The Obstructors of Justice*; but the authors absconded till the storm was over. It was a surprize to all, that they escaped persecution. None but *Goodwin* and *Peters* had magnified the king's execution in their sermons; but *Goodwin's* being a strenuous *arminian* procured him friends.† *Milton* had appeared so boldly, though with much wit, and so great purity and elegance of stile, upon the argument of the king's death, that it was thought a strange omission not to except him out of the act of indemnity;* but he lived many years after though blind, to acquire immortal renown by his celebrated poem of *Paradise Lost*.

The tide of joy which overflowed the nation at the king's restoration, brought with it the return of popery, which had been at a very low ebb during the late commotions: Great numbers of that religion came over with his majesty, and crowded about the court, magnifying their sufferings for the late king. A list of the lords, gentlemen, and other officers, who were killed in his service, was printed in red letters, by which it appeared that several noblemen, ten knights and baronets, fourteen colonels, seven lieutenant-colonels, fourteen majors, sixty-six captains, eighteen lieutenants and cornets, and thirty-eight gentlemen, lost their lives in the civil war, besides great numbers who were wounded, and whose estates were sequestered. The queen-mother came from France, and resided at Somerset-House with her catholic attendants both religious and sec-

† Burnet, vol. i. p. 236, 37, 12mo. edi.

* "And so indeed it was," says Dr. Grey, "he being the most pestilent writer, that appeared at that time in defence of the regicides, *Peyton* and *John Goodwin* excepted." *Milton's* safety, it is said, was owing to the powerful intercession and interest of secretary *Morrice*, sir *Thomas Clarges*, and *Andrew Marvel*: but principally to the influence and gratitude of sir *William Davenant*, whose release *Milton* had procured, when he was taken prisoner in 1650. Nor was *Charles II.* says *Toland*, such an enemy to the muses as to require his destruction.—*British Biography*, vol. v. p. 313, 14, and *Dr. Grey's Examination*, vol. iii. p. 298. *Ed.*

ular. Several Romish priests who had been confined in Newgate, Lancaster, and other gaols, were by order of council set at liberty. Many popish priests were sent over from Douay into England, as missionaries for propagating that religion; and their clergy appeared openly in defiance of the laws; they were busy about the court and city in dispersing popish books of devotion; and the king gave open countenance and protection to such as had been serviceable to him abroad, and came over with him, or soon followed him, which (bishop *Kennet* says) his majesty could not avoid. Upon the whole, more Roman catholics appeared openly this year, than in all the twelve years of the interregnum.

In Ireland the papists took possession of their estates, which had been forfeited by the rebellion and massacre, and tarded out the purchasers; which occasioned such commotions in that kingdom, that the king was obliged to issue out a proclamation, commanding them to wait the determinations of the ensuing parliament. The body of their clergy, by an instrument, bearing date Jan. 1, 1660, *O. S.* signed and sealed by the chief prelates and officials of their religion, ventured to depute a person of their own communion, to congratulate his majesty's restoration, and to present their humble supplications for the free exercise of their religion, pursuant to the articles of 1648, whom the king received very favorably, and encouraged to hope for an accomplishment of their requests in due time. Such amazing changes happened within nine months after the king's arrival at Whitehall.

The only persons who, under pretence of religion, attempted any thing against the government, were a small number of enthusiasts, who said they were for *king Jesus*. Their leader was *Thomas Venner*, a wine-cooper, who, in his little conventicle in Coleman-street, warmed his admirers with passionate expectations of a fifth universal monarchy, under the personal reign of *king Jesus* upon earth, and that the saints were to take the kingdom themselves. To introduce this imaginary kingdom, they marched out of their meeting-house towards St. Paul's Church-yard, on Sunday Jan. 6, to the number of about fifty men well armed, and with a resolution to subvert the present govern-

ment, or die in the attempt. They published a declaration of the design of their rising and placed centinels at proper places. The lord-mayor sent the trained bands to disperse them, whom they quickly routed, but in the evening returned to Cane-Wood, between Highgate and Hamstead. On Wednesday morning they returned and dispersed a party of the king's soldiers in Threadneedle-street. In Wood-street they repelled the trained bands, and some of the horse-guards; but *Venner* himself was knocked down, and some of his company slain; from hence the remainder retreated to Cripplegate, and took possession of an house, which they threatened to defend with a desperate resolution, but no-body appearing to countenance their frenzy, they surrendered after they had lost about half their number; *Venner* and one of his officers, were hanged before their meeting-house door in Coleman-street, Jan. 19, and a few days after, nine more were executed in divers parts of the city.*

This mad insurrection gave the court a handle for breaking through the late *declaration of indulgence*, within three

* It plainly appeared, on the examination of these insurgents, that they had entered into no plot with any other conspirators. The whole transaction was the unquestionable effect of the religious frenzy of a few individuals. Yet it was the origin of a national burthen and evil felt to this day. At the council, on the morning after the insurrection was quelled, the duke of *York* availed himself of the opportunity to push his arbitrary measures. On the pretext, that so extravagant an attempt could not have arisen from the rashness of one man, but was the result of a plot formed by all the sectaries and fanatics to overthrow the present government. he moved, "to suspend, at such an alarming crisis, the disbanding of general Monk's regiment of foot;" which had the guard of Whitehall; and was by order of parliament to have been disbanded the next day. Through different causes, the motion was adopted, and a letter was sent to the king to request him to approve and confirm the resolution of the council, and to appoint the continuance of the regiment till further order. To this the king consented; and as the rumors of fresh conspiracies were industriously kept up, those troops were continued and augmented, and a way was prepared for the gradual establishment of a *standing army*, under the name of *guards*. This should be a memento to future ages, how they credit reports of plots and conspiracies thrown out by a minister, unless the evidence of their existence be brought forward. The cry of conspiracies has been frequently nothing more than the chimæra of fear, or the invention of a wicked policy to carry the schemes of ambition and despotism. Secret History of the Court and Reign of Charles II. vol. i. p. 346, 7. *Ed.*

months after it was published ; for Jan. 2, there was an order of council against the meetings of sectaries in great numbers, and at unusual times ; and on the 10th of January a proclamation was published, whereby his majesty forbids the *anabaptists, quakers, and fifth monarchy men*, to assemble or meet together under pretence of worshipping God, except it be in some parochial church, or chapel, or in private houses by the persons there inhabiting. || All meetings in other places are declared to be unlawful and riotous. And his majesty commands all mayors, and other peace-officers, to search for such conventicles, and cause the persons therein to be bound over to the next sessions. Upon this the *independents, baptists, and quakers*, who dissented from the establishment, thought fit publicly to disown and renounce the late insurrection.

The *independents*, though not named in the proclamation, were obnoxious to the government, and suspected to concur in all designs that might change the constitution into a commonwealth : To wipe off this odium, there was published, *A renunciation and declaration of the congregational churches, and public preachers of the said judgment, living in and about the city of London, against the late horrid insurrection and rebellion acted in the said city.* Dated Jan. 1660. In this declaration they disown the principles of a *fifth monarchy, or the personal reign of*

|| Kennet's Chron. p. 357.

|| "This proclamation," Mr. Gough well observes, "appears to be drawn up with more art and fallacy, than sound judgment and equity : while it reaches all the different sects of dissenters. all who do not assemble for worship in some parochial church or chapel, as rioters, it distinguishes only those looked upon as the most insignificant, and least formidable for their numbers or abilities. The presbyterians are passed over in silence, for they could not with any color of decency be pointed as foes to the government they had just before been conducive to establishing. The independents are also unnoticed. probably, for fear of awakening the exertion of that rigor and of those abilities, the effects whereof were yet recent in the memory of the present administration. The anabaptists and quakers, as new or weaker sects, are treated with less ceremony : and are ranked with the wild disturbers of the public peace : wherein justice, the characteristic virtue of good government, was designedly violated by involving the innocent with the guilty in one confused mass." History of the Quakers, vol. i. p. 443, 4. Ed.

king Jesus on earth, as dishonorable to him, and prejudicial to his church; and abhor the propagating this or any other opinion by force or blood. They refer to their late meeting of messengers from one hundred and twenty churches of their way at the Savoy, in which they declare, (*Chap. XXIV. Of their confession*) 'That civil magistrates are of divine appointment, and that it is the duty of all subjects to pray for them, to honor their persons, to pay them tribute, to obey their lawful commands, and to be subject to their authority; and that infidelity, or difference in religion, does not make void the magistrates' just and legal authority, nor free the people from their obedience. Accordingly they cease not to pray for all sorts of blessings, spiritual and temporal, upon the person and government of his majesty, and by the grace of God will continue to do so themselves, and persuade others thereunto. And with regard to the late impious and prodigiously daring rebellion; they add, *Cursed be their anger, for it was fierce; and their wrath, for it was cruel: O my soul! come not thou into their secret, but let God divide them in Jacob, and scatter them in Israel.* Signed by

<i>Jos. Caryl</i>	<i>Samuel Slater</i>	<i>William Greenhill</i>
<i>George Griffiths</i>	<i>George Cockayn</i>	<i>Matth. Barker</i>
<i>Richard Kenrick,</i>	<i>Thomas Goodwin</i>	<i>Tho. Malory</i>
<i>Robert Bragge</i>	<i>Thomas Brooks</i>	<i>John Loder</i>
<i>Ralph Venning</i>	<i>Corn. Helme</i>	<i>John Yates</i>
<i>John Oxenbridge</i>	<i>John Hodges</i>	<i>Thomas Owen</i>
<i>Philip Nye</i>	<i>John Bachiler</i>	<i>Nath. Mather</i>
<i>John Rowe</i>	<i>Seth Wood</i>	<i>Will. Stoughton.</i>
<i>Thomas Weld.</i>		

The *baptists* published an apology* in behalf of themselves, and their brethren of the same judgment, with a pro-

* This was subscribed by thirty ministers and principal members of the *baptist* congregations. It was accompanied by another paper, called also an "Apology," which had been presented to the king some months before Venner's insurrection; declaratory of their sentiments concerning magistracy, and of their readiness to obey the king and all in authority in all things lawful. Mr. Jessey, preaching soon after declared to his congregation, that Venner should say, 'that he believed there was not one *baptist* among his adherents; and that if they succeeded, the *baptists* should know, that infant-baptism was an ordinance

testation against the late wicked and most horrid treason and rebellion in this city of London ; in which they avow their loyalty to the king, and promise that their practice shall be conformable ; subscribed by *William Kiffin, Henry Den, John Batty, Thomas Lamb, Thomas Cowper*, and about twenty-nine or thirty other names. They also addressed the king, that the innocent might not suffer with the guilty ; protesting in the most solemn manner, that they had not the least knowledge of the late insurrection, nor did, directly or indirectly, contrive, promote, assist, or approve of it. They offered to give security for their peaceable behavior, and for their supporting his majesty's person and government. But notwithstanding this, their religious assemblies were disturbed in all places, and their ministers imprisoned ; † great numbers were crowded into of Jesus Christ." In further vindication of this people, and to shew that they were unjustly charged with opposing magistracy and government, there was published, about this time a small treatise entitled, "Moderation : or arguments and motives tending thereto : humbly tendered to the honorable members of parliament." Copious extracts from this piece may be seen in Crosby's History of the English Baptists, vol. ii. p. 42—83. *Ed.*

† Divers pious persons were haled out of their houses : four hundred were committed to Newgate : others to Wood-street compter : and many to other prisons. The first and most violent persecution was chiefly levelled against them. Amongst others, who suffered on this occasion, was Mr. Hanserd Knollys. Mr. Vavasor Powel was, early in the morning, taken from his house by a company of soldiers, and carried to prison : from whence he was conducted to Salop, and committed with several others to the custody of a marshall : where they were detained nine weeks, till they were released by an order of the king and council. Mr. John Bunyan was apprehended at a meeting and committed to prison, though he offered bail, till the next sessions. He was then indicted for "*devilishly and perniciously abstaining from coming to church to hear divine service ; and as a common upholder of several unlawful meetings and conventicles, to the distraction of the good subjects of this kingdom, contrary to the laws of our sovereign lord the king.*" He frankly owned being at the meeting. The justices took this for a confession of the indictment ; and, because he refused to conform, sentenced him to perpetual banishment, on an act made by the then parliament. Though the sentence of banishment was never executed upon him, he was kept in prison twelve years and a half, and suffered much under cruel and oppressive jailors. Above sixty dissenters were imprisoned with him ; among whom were Mr. Wheeler and Mr. Dun, two eminent ministers well known in Bedfordshire. Mr. Bunyan was, at last, liberated on the importunity of Dr. Barlow, bishop of Lincoln. Crosby's History of the Baptists, vol. ii. p. 91-2-3. Vavasor Powel's Life, p. 129 ; and Robinson's Translation of Claude, vol. ii. p. 228. *Ed.*

Newgate, and other prisons, where they remained under close confinement till the king's coronation, when the general pardon published on that occasion set them at liberty.

The *quakers* also addressed the king upon this occasion in the following words :§

“ *Oh king Charles !*

“ OUR desire is, that thou mayest live for ever in the fear of God, and thy council. We beseech thee, and thy council, to read these following lines, in tender bowels, and compassion for our souls, and for your good.

“ And this consider ; we are about four hundred imprisoned in and about this city, of men and women from their families ; besides, in the country gaols, above ten hundred. We desire, that our meetings may not be broken up, but that all may come to a fair trial, that our innocency may be cleared up.—”

“ London, 16th day eleventh month, 1660.”†

On the 28th of the same month, they published the declaration referred to in their address, entitled, *A Declaration from the harmless and innocent people of God, called QUAKERS, against all sedition, plotters and fighters in the world, for removing the ground of jealousy and suspicion from both magistrates and people in the kingdom, concerning wars and fightings*. Presented to the king the 21st day of the eleventh month, 1660.‡ Upon which his majesty promised them, on the word of a king, that they should not suffer for their opinions as long as they lived peaceably ; but his promises were little regarded.*

§ Mr. Neal, a respectable person of the society informs me, has given two short paragraphs only of an address containing seven quarto pages of close letter-press. It underwent, it seems, several editions, not fewer than eight or ten ; for being fraught with much pertinent, solid matter, as persecution continued, it was made very public. Mr. Neal, or his author Kennet, is charged with having mutilated the paragraphs which he quotes. For the second sentence stands in the original thus: “ We beseech thee and thy council to read these following lines ; and in tender bowels and compassion to *read them over*, for we write in love and compassion to *your souls*, and for your good.” And after families should be added, *in close holes and prisons*. Ed.

† Kennet's Chron. p. 361.

‡ Ibid. p. 366.

* Dr. Grey impeaches here the candor and fidelity of Mr. Neal, as

The presbyterian clergy were in some degree affected with the commotions, though envy itself could not charge them with guilt; but it was the wish and desire of the prelatical party, that they might discover their uneasinesses in such a manner as might expose them to trouble; for their ruin was already determined, only some pretexts were wanting to cover the design, particularly such as affected the peace of the kingdom, and might not reflect on his majesty's declaration from Breda, which promised, *that no person should be molested purely for religion.*† But they were insulted by the mob in the streets; when their families were singing psalms in their houses, they were frequently interrupted by blowing of horns, or throwing stones at the windows. The presbyterian ministers made the best retreat they could, after they had unadvisedly delivered themselves up into the hands of their enemies; for while they were careful to maintain an inviolable loyalty to his majesty's person and government, they contended for their religious principles in the press; several new pamphlets were published, and a great many old ones reprinted, about *the magistrates' right of imposing things indifferent in the worship of God.—Against bowing at the name of Jesus.—The unlawfulness of the ceremonies of the church of England.—The common-prayer book unmasked.—Grievances and corruptions in church-government, &c.* most of which were answered by divines of the episcopal party.

But the most remarkable treatise that appeared about this time, and which, if it had taken place, must have pre-

an historian: and adds, "Sewel, a quaker, speaks more favorably. This writer, as Dr. Grey quotes him, does say, that at this time the king shewed himself *moderate*, for at the solicitation of some he set at liberty about seven hundred of the people called *quakers*: and that they were acquitted from any hand in Venner's plot, and that, being continually importuned, the king issued forth a declaration, that the *quakers should be set at liberty without paying fees.*" But though Sewel states these facts, Dr. Grey either overlooked, or forgot to inform his reader, that Mr. Neal, in charging the king with the breach of his promise, speaks on the authority of Sewel; who says, "the king seemed a good-natured prince, yet he was so misled that in process of time he seemed to have forgot what he so solemnly promised on *the word of a king.*" History of the Quakers, p. 257. Ed.

† Rapin, vol. ii. p. 624, folio.

vented the mischiefs that followed,† was that of the reverend Dr. *Edward Stillingfleet*, rector of Sutton in Bedfordshire, and afterwards the learned and worthy bishop of Worcester, who first made himself known to the world at this time by his *Irenicum*, or, *A Weapon Salve for the Church's Wounds*; printed 1661, in which he attempts to prove, that no form of church-government is of *divine right*, and that the church had no power to impose *things indifferent*. I shall beg the reader's attention to a few passages out of his preface. "The design of our Savior (says he) was to ease men of their former burthens, and not to lay on more; the duties he required were no other but such as were necessary; and withal very just and reasonable; he that came to take away the insupportable yoke of Jewish ceremonies, certainly did never intend to gall the necks of his disciples with another instead of it; and it would be strange the church should require more than Christ himself did, and make other conditions of her communion than our Savior did of discipleship. What possible reason can be assigned or given why such

† A conciliating and liberal design formed by two respectable men deserves to be mentioned here. "Soon after the restoration, the honorable Mr. Boyle and sir Peter Pett, were discoursing of the severities practised by the bishops towards the *puritans* in the reign of Charles I. and of those which were returned on the episcopal divines during the following usurpations; and being apprehensive that the restored clergy might be tempted by their late sufferings to such a vindictive retaliation as would be contrary to the true measures of christianity and politics, they came at last to an agreement, that it would tend to the public good, to have something written and published in defence of liberty of conscience. Sir Peter Pett engaged to write on the political part of the question. Mr. Boyle undertook to engage Dr. Thomas Barlow to treat of the theological part: and he also prevailed on Mr. John Dury, who had spent many years in his travels, and had taken an active part in a scheme for reconciling the *lutherans* and *calvinists*, to state the fact of the allowance of liberty of conscience in foreign parts. Sir Peter Pett's and Mr. Dury's tracts were printed in 1660. But, for particular reasons, the publication of Dr. Barlow's piece did not take place: but it was published after his death.

"Dr. Barlow had given offence by writing, just before the restoration, a letter to Mr. Tombs, and expressing in it some prejudice against the practice of *infant baptism*, and by refusing, even after the restoration, to retract that letter. This refusal was a noble conduct; for the doctor was in danger by it of losing his station in the university of Oxford and all his hopes of future preferment." This shews how obnoxious was the sect of the baptists. *Birch's Life of Boyle*, p. 299, 300. *Ed.*

things should not be sufficient for communion with the church, which are sufficient for eternal salvation? And certainly those things are sufficient for that, which are laid down as the necessary duties of christianity by our Lord and Savior in his word.

“What ground can there be why christians should not stand upon the same terms now, which they did in the time of Christ and his apostles? Was not religion sufficiently guarded and fenced in then? Was there ever more true and cordial reverence in the worship of God? What charter hath Christ given the church to bind men up to more than himself hath done? Or to exclude those from her society who may be admitted into heaven? Will Christ ever thank men at the great day, for keeping such out from communion with his church, who he will vouchsafe not only crowns of glory to, but it may be *aureolæ* too, if there be any such things there? The grand commission the apostles were sent out with, was only to teach what Christ had commanded them; not the least intimation of any power given them to impose or require any thing beyond what himself had spoken to them, or they were directed to by the immediate guidance of the spirit of God. It is not, whether the things commanded and required be lawful or not? It is not whether *indifferences* may be determined or no? It is not how far christians are bound to submit to a restraint of their christian liberty, which I now enquire after, but whether they consult the church’s peace and unity who suspend it upon such things. We never read of the apostles making laws but of things necessary, as *Acts* xv. 19. It was not enough with them that the things would be necessary when they had required them; but they looked upon an antecedent necessity either absolute or for the present state, which was the only ground of their imposing these commands upon the *Gentile* christians. But the Holy Ghost never thought those things fit to be made matters of law to which all parties should conform. All that the apostles required as to this was mutual forbearance and condescension towards each other in them. The apostles valued not *indifferences* at all; and those things they accounted as *such* which were of no concernment to their salvation. And what reason is there why men should be tied

up so strictly to such things which may do or let alone, and yet be very good christians? Without all controversy, the main inlet of all the distractions, confusions and divisions, of the christian world, has been by adding other conditions of church communion than Christ has done.—Would there ever be the less peace and unity in a church, if the diversity were allowed as to practices supposed indifferent? Yea, there would be so much more, as there was a mutual forbearance and condescension as to such things. The unity of the church is an unity of love and affection, and not a bare uniformity of practice and opinion.—There is nothing in the primitive church more deserving our imitation than that admirable temper, moderation, and condescension which was used in it towards its members. It was never thought worth the while to make any standing laws for rites and customs that had no other original but tradition, much less to suspend men her communion for not observing them.†—”

The doctor's proposals for an accommodation were, “1. That nothing be imposed as necessary but what is clearly revealed in the word of God. 2. That nothing be required or determined but what is sufficiently known to be indifferent in its own nature. 3. That whatever is thus determined be in order only to a due performance of what is in general required in the word of God, and not to be looked upon as any part of divine worship or service. 4. That no sanctions be made, or mulcts or penalties be inflicted, on such who only dissent from the use of some things whose lawfulness they at present scruple, till sufficient time and means be used for their information of the nature and indifferency of these things. I am sure (says the doctor) it is contrary to the primitive practice, and the moderation then used, to suspend or deprive men of their ministerial function for not conforming in habits and gestures, or the like. *Lastly*, that religion be not clogged with ceremonies; for when they are multiplied too much, though lawful, they eat out the heart, heat, life, and vigor of christianity.—”§ If the doctor had steadily adhered to these principles, he could hardly have subscribed the act of uni-

† Irenicum, p. 8, 9, 10.

§ Ibid. p. 66, 67.

formity next year, much less have written so warmly against the dissenters, as he did twenty years afterwards.* But all he could say or do at present availed nothing, the presbyterians were in disgrace, and nothing could stem the torrent of popular fury that was now coming upon them.

[In the year 1660, April 25th died, when the king designed to advance him to the see of Worcester, the learned Dr. *Henry Hammond*. In addition to the short account given of him by Mr. *Neal*, vol. iii. p. 454, some other particulars may be subjoined here. He was born 18th August, 1605, at Chertsey in Surry; and was the youngest son of Dr. *John Hammond*, a physician. He received his grammar learning at Eaton-school, and in 1618 was sent to Magdalen college in Oxford, of which he was elected fellow in July 1625: and entered into holy orders in 1629. The rectory of Penshurst was bestowed upon him by the earl of *Leicester* in 1633. In 1640, he was chosen one of the members of the convocation; in 1643 made archdeacon of Chichester, and the same year was named one of the assembly of divines, but never sat amongst them. He was distinguished in his youth for the sweetness of his carriage, and at the times allowed for play, would steal, from his fellows, into places of privacy to pray:—omens of his future pacific temper and eminent devotion. When he was at the university he generally spent thirteen hours of the day in study. *Charles I.* said, “he was the most natural orator he had ever heard.” He was extremely liberal to the poor; and was used to say, that, “it was a most

* “If Mr. *Neal*,” says Dr. *Grey*, “would allow a man to retract his mistakes upon discovering them, he would not find fault with bishop *Stillington*.” He then quotes the bishop’s apology for his conduct, from the Preface to “*The Unreasonableness of Separation*.” “If any thing in the following treatise be found different from the sense of that book, I intreat them to allow me that, which I heartily wish to them, that in *twenty years time*, we may arrive to such maturity of thoughts, as to see reason to change our opinion of some things, and I wish I had not cause to add, of some persons.” But notwithstanding the force of the bishop’s plea, it will not, I conceive, be deemed a fortunate or honorable change, if a man’s views and spirit, instead of enlarging and becoming more liberal, are contracted and grow narrow and partial: if, instead of being the advocate for generous and conciliating measures, he should argue for oppression and intolerance. *Ed.*

unreasonable and unchristian thing to despise any one for his poverty, and it was one of the greatest sensualities in the world to give." He gave it as a rule to his friends of estate and quality, "to treat their poor neighbors with such a cheerfulness, that they might be glad to have met with them." The alms of *lending* had an eminent place in his practice. He was accustomed strongly to recommend to others, "to be always furnished with something to do," as the best expedient both for innocence and pleasure.—Devoted as he was to his studies, he would never suffer any body to wait, that came to speak to him: and to the poor he came with peculiar alacrity. *British Biography*, vol. v. p. 219—225. *Ed.*]

The earl of *Clarendon*, lord chancellor, was prime minister and at the head of the king's councils. The year [1661] began with new scenes of pleasure and diversion, occasioned by the king's marriage with the infanta of Portugal, which was consummated April 30. The match was promoted by general *Monk* and lord *Clarendon*, if, according to the Oxford historian, the latter was not the first mover of it.† And it was reckoned very strange, that a protestant chancellor should advise the king to a popish princess, when a catholic king proposed at the same time a protestant consort. But his lordship had further views, for it was generally talked among the merchants, that the *infanta* could have no children, in which case the chancellor's daughter, who had been privately married to the

† Dr. Grey observes, that Mr. Neal antedates this marriage somewhat above a year; the king met the infanta at Portsmouth the 21st of May, 1662, and was then privately married to her by Dr. Sheldon, bishop of London. The doctor, on the authority of Eachard, endeavors to invalidate the imputation which lies on lord Clarendon of being the promoter, if not the first mover of this marriage. Mr. Neal is supported in his representation of the affair by the testimony of sir John Reresby, who says, "it is well known, that the lord chancellor had the blame of this unfruitful match." He adds, "that the queen was said to have had a constant fluor upon her, which rendered her incapable of conception. Though, on this occasion," says sir John, "every thing was gay, and splendid, and profusely joyful, it was easy to discern that the king was not excessively charmed with his new bride, who was a very little woman, with a pretty tolerable face. She neither in person or manners had any one article to stand in competition with the charms of the countess of Castlemain, afterwards duchess of Cleveland, the finest woman of her age." *Memoirs*, p. 9. 10. *Ed.*

king's brother, must succeed, and her issue by the duke of *York* become heirs to the throne ; which happened accordingly in the persons of Queen *Mary II.* and Queen *Anne*. Such were the aspiring views of this great man, which together with his haughty behavior, in the end proved his ruin.

The convention parliament being dissolved, a new one was elected, and summoned to meet May 8. The house of commons, by the interest of the *court party*,† had a considerable majority of such as were zealous enemies of the presbyterians, and abettors of the principles of archbishop *Laud* ; many of whom, having impaired their fortunes in the late wars, became tools of the ministry in all their arbitrary and violent measures. The court kept above one hundred of them in constant pay, who went by the name of the *club of voters*, and received large sums of money out of the Exchequer, till they had almost subverted the constitution ; and then, because they would not put the finishing hand to what they had unadvisedly begun, they were disbanded.

The king acquainted the houses at the opening of the sessions,§ that “ *He valued himself much upon keeping his word, and upon making good whatsoever he had promised to his subjects.*”† But the chancellor, who commented upon the king's speech, spoke a different language, and told the house, “ That there were a sort of patients in the king-

† There were only fifty-six members of the *presbyterian* party returned, notwithstanding their great interest in almost all the corporations. But in the interval, between the two parliaments, the court party had been active ; and the hints given at the dissolution of the late parliament by the chancellor, had great weight. He recommended that “ such persons should be returned as were not likely to oppose the king, but had already served him, and were likely to serve him with their whole heart, and to gratify him in all his desires.”* Had the people been alive to a just sense of the design of representation and the nature of the constitution, they would have received these hints with indignant contempt. *Ed.*

§ The king went to the house of lords, to open the sessions, with almost as much pomp and splendor as had been displayed on the coronation-day ; and, says my author, for the same reasons, to dazzle the mob and to impress on the minds of the people very exalted notions of the dignity of regal government. Secret History of the Court and Reign of Charles II. vol. i. p. 407, note. *Ed.*

† Kennet's Chron. p. 434.

*Secret Hist. of the Court and Reign of Charles II. vol. i. p. 471, and 406.

dom that deserved their utmost severity, and none of their lenity ; these were the *seditionous preachers*, who could not be contented to be dispensed with for their full obedience to some laws established, without reproaching and inveighing against those laws how established soever, who tell their auditories that when the apostle bid them stand to their liberties he bid them stand to their arms, and who, by repeating the very expressions, and teaching the very doctrines they set on foot in the year 1640, sufficiently declare that they have no mind that twenty years should put an end to the miseries we have undergone. What good christians can think, without horror, of these ministers of the gospel, who by their function should be messengers of peace, but are in their practice only the trumpets of war, and incendiaries towards rebellion?—And if the persons and place can aggravate their offence, so no doubt it does before God and man. Methinks the preaching rebellion and treason out of the pulpit, should be as much worse than advancing it in the market, as poisoning a man at a communion would be worse than killing him at a tavern—” His lordship concludes thus : “ If you do not provide for the thorough quenching these firebrands ; king, lords, and commons, shall be the meaner subjects, and the whole kingdom will be kindled into a general flame.” This was a home-thrust at the presbyterians ; the chancellor did not explain himself upon the authors of these seditious sermons, his design being not to accuse partiular persons, but to obtain a general order which might suppress all preachers who were not of the church of England ; and the parliament was prepared to run blindfold into all the court measures ; for in this sessions the *militia* was given absolutely to the king—the *solemn league and covenant* was declared void and illegal—the act for disabling persons in holy orders to exercise temporal jurisdiction was repealed—the bishops were restored to their seats in parliament—the old ecclesiastical jurisdiction was revived by the repeal of the 17th of *Charles I.* except the *oath ex officio*—and it was made a præmunire to call the king a papist.||

|| Kennet's Chron. p. 510-11.

|| To Mr. Neal's detail of the acts of this sessions, it should be added, That the commons voted, that all their members should receive

The storm was all this while gathering very black over the presbyterians; for when the parliament met a second time, Nov. 20, the king complimented the bishops, who appeared now again in their places among the peers, and observed in his speech, that it was a felicity he had much desired to see, as the only thing wanting to restore the old constitution. He then spoke the language of the chancellor, and told the commons, "that there were many wicked instruments who labored night and day to disturb the public peace. That it was worthy of their care to provide proper remedies for the diseases of that kind; that if they found new diseases they must find new remedies. That the difficulties which concerned religion were too hard for him, and therefore he recommended them to their care and deliberation who could best provide for them." The tendency of this speech was to make way for breaking through the *Breda declaration*, and to furnish the parliament with a pretence for treating the non-conformists with rigor, to which they were themselves too well inclined.

Lord *Clarendon*, in a conference between the two houses, affirmed positively, that there was a real conspiracy against the peace of the kingdom; and though it was disconcerted in the city, it was carried on in divers counties; a committee was therefore appointed to enquire into the truth of the report; but after all their examinations not one single person was convicted, or so much as prosecuted for it.† Great pains were taken to fasten some treasonable designs on the presbyterians; letters were sent from

the sacrament according to the prescribed liturgy, before a certain day, under penalty of expulsion. This was intended as a test of their religious sincerity. Besides repealing the solemn league and covenant, they ordered it to be taken out of all the courts and places where it was recorded, and to be burnt by the common hangman. To the same sentence were doomed all acts, ordinances, or engagements, which had been dictated by a republican spirit during the late times. And they enervated the right of petitioning by various restrictions; limiting the number of signatures to twenty, unless with the sanction of three justices, or the major part of the grand jury; and of those who should present a petition to the king or either house of parliament to ten persons, under the penalty of a fine of one hundred pounds and three months imprisonment. *Secret History of the Court and Reign of Charles II.* vol. i. p. 412, 13, 14. *Ed.*

† Kennet's Chron. p. 602.

unknown hands to the chiefs of the party in several parts of the kingdom, intimating the project of a general insurrection, in which *their friends* were concerned, and desiring them to communicate it to certain persons in their neighborhood, whom they name in their letters, that they may be ready at time and place. A letter of this kind was directed to the reverend Mr. *Sparry*, in Worcestershire, desiring him and captain *Yarrington* to be ready with money; and to acquaint Mr. *Oatland* and Mr. *Baxter* with the design. This, with a packet of the same kind, was said to be left under a hedge by a Scots pedlar; and as soon as they were found, they were carried to sir *J. Packington*, who immediately committed *Sparry*, *Oatland*, and *Yarrington*, to prison. The militia of the county was raised, and the city of Worcester put into a posture of defence; but the sham was so notorious, that the earl of *Bristol*, though a papist, was ashamed of it; and after some time the prisoners, for want of evidence, were released. The members for Oxfordshire, Herefordshire, and Staffordshire, informed the commons, that they had rumors of the like conspiracies in their counties. Bishop *Burnet* says, "That many were taken up, but none tried; that this was done to fasten an odium on the presbyterians, and to help carry the penal laws through the house; and there were appearances of foul dealing (says he) among the fiercer sort." Mr. *Locke* adds, that the reports of a general insurrection were spread over the whole nation, by the very persons who invented them; and though lord *Clarendon* could not but be acquainted with the farce, he kept it on foot to facilitate passing the severe laws that were now coming upon the carpet.* The government could not with decency attack the *non-conformists* purely on account of their religion; the declaration from Breda was too express on that article; they were therefore to be charged with raising disturbances in the state. But supposing the fact to be true, that some few malecontents had been seditiously disposed, which yet was never made out, what reason can be assigned why it should be charged upon the principles of a whole body of men, who were unquestionably willing to be quiet?

* Rapin, vol. ii. p. 627.

It was nevertheless on this base and dishonorable suggestion, that the first penal law which passed against the non-conformists this session was founded,† entitled,

An act for the well-governing and regulating corporations ; which enacts, "That within the several cities, corporations, boroughs, cinque ports, and other port towns within the kingdom of England, dominion of Wales, and town of Berwick-on-Tweed, all mayors, aldermen, recorders, bailiffs, town-clerks, common-council-men, and other persons, bearing any office or offices of magistracy, or places, or trusts, or other employment relating to, or concerning the government of the said respective cities, corporations, and boroughs, and cinque ports, and their members, and other port towns, shall take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and this oath following :

*"I A. B. do declare and believe, that it is not lawful upon any pretence whatsoever to take arms against the king ; and that I do abhor that traiterous position of taking arms by his authority against his person, or against those that are commissioned by him."**

They shall also subscribe the following declaration :

"I A. B. do declare, that there lies no obligation upon me from the solemn league and covenant, and that the same was an unlawful oath imposed on the subject against the laws and liberties of the kingdom."

"Provided also, and be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that no person shall hereafter be elected, or chosen into any of the offices or places aforesaid, that shall not have within one year next before such election or choice

† Kennet's Chron. p. 602.

* "One would suppose," it has been well remarked, "that the parliament, who prescribed such an oath, must have been as near-sighted and as stupid as they were servile and corrupt. Such a maxim of non-resistance to the king, on *any pretence*, was directly subversive of their own consequence as well as of civil and religious liberty. The extent, to which this principle might be carried, was put to the proof by James II. but the people of England rent asunder the chains which had been forged for them by their perfidious representatives." Secret Hist. of the Court and reign of Charles II. vol. i. p. 428, note. *Ed.*

taken the sacrament of the Lord's supper, according to the rites of the church of England ; and that every person so elected shall take the aforesaid oaths, and subscribe the said declaration at the same time when the oath for the due execution of the said places and offices shall be respectively administered."

Thus all non-conformists were turned out of all the branches of magistracy at once, and rendered incapable of serving their country in the offices of a common-councilman, or a burgess or bailiff of the smallest corporation.—The oath imposed in this act robbed them of their right as subjects. Mr. *Eachard* confesses that it seems at once to give up the whole constitution ; and no wonder (says he) if many of the clergy as well as laity, on the account of this act, espoused a doctrine which, if rigidly taken, was hard to be reconciled to the *great deliverance* afterwards. Mr. *Rapin* adds,† that to say that it is not lawful on any pretence whatever to resist the king, is properly speaking to deliver up the liberties of the nation into his hands.—The high churchmen had then elevated ideas of the royal authority. But even this parliament did not think fit afterwards to admit the dangerous consequences of their own maxims.

Commissioners were appointed, and employed during this and the following year, to visit the several corporations in England, and to turn out of office such as were in the least suspected ; who executed their commissions with so much rigor, that the corporations had not one member left, who was not entirely devoted to the king and the church.

† Vol. ii. p. 628.

CHAP. VI.

From the Conference at the Savoy, to the Act of Uniformity.

1661.

ACCORDING to his majesty's declaration of October 25, 1660, concerning ecclesiastical affairs, twelve bishops* and nine assistants were appointed on the part of the episcopal church of England, and as many ministers on the side of the presbyterians, to assemble at the bishop of London's lodgings at the *Savoy*, "to review the book of common-prayer, comparing it with the most ancient and purest liturgies; and to take into their serious and grave considerations the several directions and rules, forms of prayer, and things in the said book of common-prayer contained, and to advise and consult upon the same, and the several objections and exceptions which shall now be raised against the same; and if occasion be, to make such reasonable and necessary alterations, corrections and amendments, as shall be agreed upon to be needful and expedient for giving satisfaction to tender consciences, and the restoring and continuance of peace and unity in the churches under his majesty's government and direction." They were to continue four months from the 25th of March 1661, and then present the result of their conferences to his majesty under their several hands.

The names of the episcopal divines on the side of the establishment at the Savoy conference were,

The Most Rev. Dr. *Accepted Frewen*, archbishop of York

The Right Rev. Dr. *Gilbert Sheldon*, bishop of London

Dr. *John Cosins*, bishop of Durham

Dr. *John Warner*, bishop of Rochester

Dr. *Henry King*, bishop of Chichester

* Dr. Nichols reckons twelve bishops, but has left out the bishop of Chichester, and named Edward bishop of Norwich. Dr. Kennet names thirteen bishops, amongst whom are the bishops of Chichester and Norwich. Dr. Grey's Examination, vol. iii. p. 308. *Ed.*

The Right Rev. Dr. *Humphrey Henchman*, bish. of Sarum
 Dr. *George Morley*, bishop of Worcester
 Dr. *Robert Saunderson*, bishop of Lincoln
 Dr. *Benjamin Laney*, bishop of Peterboro'
 Dr. *Bryan Walton*, bishop of Chester
 Dr. *Richard Sterne*, bishop of Carlisle
 Dr. *John Gauden*, bishop of Exeter.

Their assistants,

<i>John Earle</i> , D. D. dean of West-	<i>Peter Gunning</i> , D. D.
minster	<i>John Pearson</i> , D. D.
<i>Peter Heylin</i> , D. D.	<i>Thomas Pierce</i> , D. D.
<i>John Hacket</i> , D. D.	<i>Antony Sparrow</i> , D. D.
<i>John Barwick</i> , D. D.	<i>Herbert Thorndike</i> , B.D.

The names of the presbyterian divines, or those who were for alterations in the hierarchy of the church at the *Savoy conference* were,

The Right Rev. *Edward Reynolds*, bishop of Norwich
 The Rev. *Antony Tuckney*, D. D. M. St. John's college, Cambridge

John Conant, D. D. Reg. Prof. Oxon
William Spurstow, D. D. vicar, Hackney
John Wallis, D. D. Sav. Prof. Geom.
Thomas Manton, D. D. master of Covent-garden
Edmund Calamy, B. D. of Aldermanbury
 Mr. *Rich. Baxter*, clerk, late of Kidderminster
 Mr. *Arthur Jackson*, clerk, of St. Faith's
 Mr. *Thomas Case*, clerk, rector of St. Giles
 Mr. *Samuel Clarke*, clerk, of St. Bene't Fink
 Mr. *Matth. Newcomen*, clerk, of Dedham.

Their Assistants,

The Rev. <i>Thos. Horton</i> , D. D.	The Rev. <i>J. Collins</i> , D. D.
<i>Thomas Jacomb</i> , D. D.	<i>Benj. Wood-</i>
<i>William Bates</i> , D. D.	<i>bridge</i> , B.D.
<i>William Cooper</i> , D. D.	<i>Mr. J. Rawlin-</i>
<i>John Lightfoot</i> , D. D.	<i>son</i> , clerk
<i>Mr. Wm. Drake</i> , clerk.	

When the commissioners* were assembled the first time,

* " Though the *baptists* in England were at this time very numerous, and as famous men amongst them for learning and piety as most in

April 15, the archbishop of *York* stood up and said, he knew little of the business they were met about, and therefore referred it to Dr. *Sheldon* bishop of *London*, who gave it as his opinion, that the *presbyterians* having desired this conference, they [the bishops] should neither say nor do any thing till the others had brought in all their exceptions and complaints against the liturgy in writing, with their additional forms and amendments.* The *presbyterians* humbly moved for a conference according to the words of the commission, but the bishop of *London* insisting peremptorily upon his own method, the others consented to bring in their *exceptions* at one time, and their *additions* at another. For this purpose bishop *Reynolds*, Dr. *Wallis*, and the rest of the *presbyterian* party, met from day to day to collect their exceptions;† but the additions, or drawing up a new form, was intrusted with Mr. *Baxter* alone.—

“Bishop *Sheldon* saw well enough (says *Burnet*||) what the effect would be of obliging them to make all their demands at once, that the number would raise a mighty outcry against them as a people that could never be satisfied.” On the other hand, the *presbyterians* were divided in their sentiments; some were for insisting only on a few important things, reckoning that if they were gained, and an union followed, it might be easier to obtain others afterwards. But the majority, by the influence of Mr. *Baxter*, were for extending their desires to the utmost, and thought themselves bound by the words of the commission to offer every thing they thought might conduce to the peace of the church, without considering what an aspect this would have with the world, or what influence their numerous demands might have upon the minds of those who were now their superiors in numbers and strenght,§ but when they

the commission; yet no regard was had to their ease, nor any one of that persuasion appointed to have any share in it. They did not design to reform so far; for if they could but bring the *presbyterian* party in, which was the most numerous of the dissenters, that might be sufficient to secure their power; though, by the consequence of this proceeding, it seems probable, there was no design of reformation; but only to quiet the minds of the people, till they could gain time.” *Crosby*, v. ii. p. 84-5. *Ed.*

* *Baxter's Life*, part ii. p. 305. † *Ibid.* p. 306. || *P.* 262.

§ “This,” observes a late writer, “was precisely what the advocates

were put in mind that the *king's commission* gave them no power to alter the government of the church, nor to insist upon archbishop *Usher's* model, nor so much as to claim the concessions of his majesty's late declaration, they were quite heartless; for they were now convinced that all they were to expect was a few amendments in the liturgy and common-prayer book. This was concluded beforehand at court, and nothing more intended than to drop the presbyterians with a show of decency.

The ministers were under this further hardship, that they were to transact for a body of men from whom they had no power, and therefore could not be obliged to abide by their decisions; they told the king and the *prime minister*, that they should be glad to consult their absent brethren, and receive from them a commission in form, but this was denied, and they were required to give in their own sense of things, to which they consented, provided the bishops at the same time would bring in their concessions; but these being content to abide by the liturgy as it then stood, had nothing to offer, nor would they admit of any alterations but what the presbyterians should make appear to be necessary. With this dark and melancholy prospect the conference was opened.† It would interrupt the course of this history too much, to insert all the exceptions of the presbyterians to the present liturgy, and the papers which passed between the commissioners, with the letter of the presbyterian ministers to the archbishop and bishops, and the report they made of the whole to the king. I shall only take notice in this place, that, instead of drawing up a few supplemental forms, and making some amendments to the

for persecution desired: they could say, that the king had taken every step, which the best policy and the tenderest concern for the happiness of all his subjects could suggest, to gain over and compose the jarring sects into a system of perfect harmony, but that all his wise and benevolent endeavors were defeated by the wilful obstinacy and perverseness of the non-conformists; and that he must therefore now pursue such measures as the safety both of the church and state required." Secret History of the Court and Reign of Charles II. vol. i. p. 349, 50. *Ed.*

† N. B. *All the papers relating to the conference at the Savoy are collected in a book, entitled, 'THE HISTORY OF NON-CONFORMITY, as it was argued and stated by commissioners on both sides appointed by his majesty King Charles II. in the year 1661. Octavo, 2d edit. 1708.*

old liturgy, Mr. *Baxter* composed an entire new one in the language of scripture, which he called the *reformed liturgy*; not with a design entirely to set aside the old one, but to give men liberty to use either as they approved. It was drawn up in a short compass of time, and after it had been examined, and approved by his brethren, was presented to the bishops in the conference, together with their exceptions to the *old liturgy*. This gave great offence, as presuming that a liturgy drawn up by a single hand in fourteen days, was to be preferred, or stand in competition with *one* which had been received in the church for a whole century. Besides, it was inconsistent with the commission and the bishops' declaration of varying no further from the *old standard* than should appear to be necessary; and therefore the *reformed liturgy*, as it was called, was rejected at once without being examined.

When the presbyterians brought in their exceptions to the liturgy, they presented at the same time a PETITION FOR PEACE, beseeching the bishops to yield to their amendments; to free them from the subscriptions and oaths in his majesty's late declaration, and not to insist upon the *re-ordination* of those who had been ordained without a diocesan bishop, nor upon the *surplice*, the *cross in baptism*, and other *indifferent ceremonies*; for this purpose they make use of various motives and arguments, sufficient, in my judgment, to influence all who had any concern for the honor of God, and the salvation of souls. The bishops gave a particular answer to these exceptions; to which the presbyterians made such a reply as, in the opinion of their adversaries, shewed them to be men of learning, and well versed in the practice of the ancient church; however, the bishops would indulge nothing to their prejudices; upon which they sent them a large expostulatory letter, wherein, after having repeated their objections, they lay the wounds of the church at their door.

The term for the treaty being almost spun out in a paper controversy, § about ten days before the commission expir-

§ In the course of this controversy many points, connected with the doctrine and manner of *baptism*, came into discussion: such as, the right of the children of *heathens*, or of the excommunicated, to baptism; the efficacy of children's baptism; the qualifications for this or-

ed, a disputation was agreed on, to argue the *necessity* of alterations in the present liturgy.* Three of each party were chosen to manage the argument; Dr. *Pearson*, *Gunning*, and *Sparrow*, on one side; and Dr. *Bates*, *Jacomb*, and Mr. *Baxter* on the other. The rest were at liberty to withdraw if they pleased. Mr. *Baxter* was opponent, and began to prove the sinfulness of impositions; but through want of order, frequent interruptions, and personal reflections, the dispute issued in nothing; a number of young divines interrupting the presbyterian ministers and laughing them to scorn. At length bishop *Cosins* produced a paper,† containing an expedient to shorten the debate, which was, to put the ministers on distinguishing between *those things which they charged as SINFUL, and those which were only INEXPEDIENT*. The three disputants on the ministers' side were desired to draw up an answer to this paper, which they did, and charged the rubrick and injunctions of the church with eight things flatly *sinful*, and contrary to the word of God."‡

1. That no minister be admitted to baptize without using the *sign of the cross*.

2. That no minister be admitted to officiate without wearing a *surplice*.

3. That none be admitted to the Lord's supper without he receive it *kneeling*.

4. That ministers be obliged to pronounce all baptized persons *regenerated by the Holy Ghost*, whether they be the children of Christians or not.

5. That ministers be obliged to deliver the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ to the *unfit both in health and sickness*, and that, by personal application, putting it into their hands, even those who are forced to receive it against their wills, through consciousness of their impenitency.

6. That ministers are obliged to absolve the *unfit*, and that in absolute expressions.

dinance; the use of god-fathers and god-mothers, and of the sign of the cross, and other questions. The debate on which, it is said, contributed much to encourage and promote what was called *anabaptism*.

Crosby's History of the Baptists, v. ii. p. 85, 86. *Ed.*

* Baxter's Life, part ii. p. 337.

† Kennet's Chronicle, p. 504. ‡ Baxter's Life, part ii. p. 341.

7. That ministers are forced to give thanks for all whom they bury, as *brethren whom God has taken to himself*.

8. That none may be preachers who do not subscribe, that *there is nothing in the common-prayer book, book of ordination, and the thirty-nine articles, contrary to the word of God*.

After a great deal of loose discourse it was agreed to debate the third article, of *denying the communion to such as could not kneel*. The ministers proved their assertion thus, that it was denying the sacrament to such whom the Holy Ghost commanded us to receive; Rom. xiv. 1. 2, 3. "Him that is weak in the faith receive ye, but not to doubtful disputations: one believes he may eat all things; another, that is weak, eateth herbs: let not him that eateth, despise him that eateth not; and let not him that eateth not, judge him that eateth, for God has received him." The episcopal divines would not understand this of the *communion*. They also distinguished between things lawful in themselves, and things both lawful in themselves and *required by lawful authority*. In the former case they admit a liberty, but the latter being enjoined by *authority* become necessary. The ministers replied, that things about which there is to be a forbearance ought not to be enjoined by authority, and made necessary; and for governors to reject men by this rule is to defeat the apostle's reasoning, and so contradict the law of God. But when Dr. Gunning had read certain citations* and authorities for the other side of the question, bishop Cosins the moderator called out to the rest of the bishops and doctors, and put the question, *All you that think Dr. Gunning has proved that Romans, xiv. speaketh not of receiving the sacrament, say aye*. Upon which there was a general cry among the hearers, *aye, aye*, the episcopal divines having great numbers of their party in the hall; whereas the *ministers* had not above two or three gentlemen and scholars who had the courage to appear with them. Nevertheless they maintained their point, and (as bishop Burnet observes) insisted upon it, that a "law which excludes all from the sacrament who dare not kneel, was unlawful, as it was a limitation in point of communion put upon the laws of Christ, which ought to

* Kennet's Chronicle, p. 506

be the only condition of those that have a right to it."

At length the episcopal divines became opponents upon the same question, and argued thus; "That command which enjoins only an act in itself lawful, is not sinful." Which Mr. *Baxter* denied. They then added, "That command which enjoins only an act in itself lawful, and no other act or circumstance unlawful, is not sinful." This also Mr. *Baxter* denied. They then advanced further, "That command which enjoins only an act in itself lawful, and no other act whereby an unjust penalty is enjoined, or any circumstance, whence directly or *per accidens* any sin is consequent which the commander ought to provide against, hath in it all things requisite to the lawfulness of a command, and particularly cannot be charged with enjoining an act *per accidens* unlawful, nor of commanding an act under an unjust penalty." This also was denied, because, though it does not command that which is sinful, it may restrain from that which is lawful, and it may be applied to undue subjects. Other reasons were assigned;* but the dispute broke off with noise and confusion, and high reflections upon Mr. *Baxter's* dark and cloudy imagination, and his perplexed, scholastic, metaphysical manner of distinguishing, which tended rather to confound than to clear up that which was doubtful; and bishop *Saunderson* being then in the chair, pronounced that Dr. *Gunning* had the better of the argument.

Bishop *Morley* said, that Mr. *Baxter's* denying that plain proposition was destructive of all authority human and divine; that it struck the church out of all its claims for making canons, and for settling order and discipline; nay, that it took away all legislative power from the king and parliament, and even from God himself; for no act can be so good in itself, but may lead to a sin *by accident*; and if to command such an act be a sin, then every command must be a sin.

Bishop *Burnet* adds,† "that *Baxter* and *Gunning* spent several days in logical arguing, to the diversion of the town, who looked upon them as a couple of *fencers* engaged in a dispute that could not be brought to any end. The bishops insisted upon the laws being still in force;

* Kennet's Chronicle, p. 505.

† Vol. i. p. 264.

to which they would admit of no exception, unless it was proved that the matter of them was sinful. They charged the presbyterians with making a schism for that which they could not prove to be sinful. They said there was no reason to gratify such men; that one demand granted would draw on many more; that all authority in church and state was struck at by the position they had insisted on, namely, *That it was not lawful to impose things indifferent*, since these seemed to be the only matters in which authority could interfere."—Thus ended the disputation.

From arguments the ministers descended to entreaties, and prayed the bishops to have compassion on scrupulous minds, and not despise their weaker brethren. If the non-conformists should be ejected, they urged, that there would not be clergymen enough to fill the vacant pulpits; they put them in mind of their peaceable behavior in the latter times; what they had suffered for the royal cause, and the great share they had in restoring the king; they pleaded his majesty's late declaration, and the design of the present conference. To all which the bishops replied, that they were only commissioned *to make such alterations in the liturgy as should be necessary, and such as should be agreed upon.* The ministers replied, that the word *necessary* must refer to the satisfying tender consciences; but the bishops insisted, that they saw no alterations *necessary*, and therefore were not obliged to make any till they could prove them so. The ministers prayed them to consider the ill consequence that might follow upon a separation. But all was to no purpose, their lordships were in the saddle, and, if we may believe Mr. *Baxter*, would not abate the smallest ceremony, nor correct the grossest error for the peace of the church. Thus the king's commission expired July 25, and the conferences ended without any prospect of accommodation.

It was agreed at the conclusion, that each party might represent to his majesty, that they were all agreed upon the ends of the conference, which were the *church's welfare, unity and peace*, but still disagreed as to the means of procuring them. The bishops thought they had no occasion to represent their case in writing; but the presbyterian commissioners met by themselves, and drew up an

account of their proceedings, with a petition for that relief which they could not obtain from the bishops.† They presented it to the king by bishop *Reynolds*, Dr. *Bates*, Dr. *Manton*, and Mr. *Baxter*;* but received no answer.

Before we leave this famous conference at the *Savoy*, it will not be amiss to remark the behavior of the commissioners on both sides, some of whom seldom or never appeared, as Dr. *King*, bishop of *Chichester*, Dr. *Heylin*, *Barwick*, and *Earle* ;§ *Sheldon* bishop of *London* came but seldom, though he, with *Henchman* and *Morley*, had the chief management of affairs ;|| others who were present, but did not much concern themselves in the debate, as Dr. *Frewen*, archbishop of *York* ; *Lucy* of *St. David's* ; *Warner* of *Rochester* ; *Saunderson* of *Lincoln* ; *Laney* of *Peterborough* ; *Walton* of *Chester* ; *Sterne* of *Carisle* ; Dr. *Hacket* and Dr. *Sparrow*. On the side of the *presbyterians* Dr. *Horton* never appeared, nor Dr. *Drake*, because of a *misnomer* in the commission ; Dr. *Lightfoot*, *Tuckney*, and Mr. *Woodbridge*, were present only once or twice.

† Mr. *Crosby* says, “ he had been informed, that when the *presbyterians* “ were pleading hard for such concessions from his majesty, as they thought would bring about an union ; the lord chancellor told them, his majesty had received petitions from the *anabaptists*, who desired nothing more than to have liberty to worship God according to their consciences. At which they were all struck dumb, and remained in a long silence.” Mr. *Baxter* places this matter in another light : that petitions having been received from the *independents* and *anabaptists*, the chancellor proposed to add a clause to the king's declaration, permitting others, besides the *presbyterians*, to meet, if they did it peaceably, for religious worship, secure from molestation by any civil officer. On this the bishops and the *presbyterians*, seeing it would operate in favor of the *papists*, were silent : till Mr. *Baxter*, judging that consenting to it would bring on them the charge of speaking for the toleration of *papists* and *sectaries*, and that opposing it would draw on them the resentment of all sects and parties as the causes of their sufferings, said, “ that as they humbly thanked his majesty for his indulgence to themselves, so they must distinguish the *tolerable* parties from the *intolerable* : that for the former they craved favor and lenity ; but that they could not request the toleration of the latter, such as the *papists* and *socinians*, whom Dr. *Gunning*, speaking against the sects, had then named.” To this his majesty said. “ that there were laws enough against the *papists*.” Mr. *Baxter* replied, “ they understood the question to be, whether those laws should be executed on them or not.” And so his majesty broke up the meeting of that day. *Crosby's Hist. of the Baptists*, v. ii. p. 87-89. *Baxter's Life*, part ii. p. 277. *Ed.*

* *Baxter's Life*, part ii. 366. § *Ibid.* p. 307. || *Kennet's Chron.* p. 507.

Among the bishops, Dr. *Morley* was the chief speaker ; his manner was vehement, and he was against all abatements. He frequently interrupted Mr. *Baxter* ;† and when Dr. *Bates* said, *Pray, my Lord, give him leave to speak*, he could not obtain it.

Bishop *Cosins* was there constantly, and though he was inclined to moderate measures, said some very severe things. When the ministers prayed the bishops to have some compassion on their brethren, and not cast such *great numbers unnecessarily* out of the ministry, he replied, *What, do you threaten us with numbers ? For my part, I think the king would do well to make you name them all.* Again, when the ministers complained, that after so many years calamity the bishops would not yield to that which their predecessors offered before the war, bishop *Cosins* replied, *Do you threaten us then with a new war ? It is time for the king to look to you.*

Bishop *Gauden* often took part with the presbyterian divines, and was the only moderator among the bishops, except bishop *Reynolds*, who spoke much the first day for abatements and moderation ; but afterwards, sitting among the bishops he only spoke now and then a qualifying word, though he was heartily grieved for the fruitless issue of the conference.

Of the disputants, it is said, Dr. *Pearson*, afterwards bishop of *Chester*, disputed accurately, soberly, and calmly. The presbyterian ministers had a great regard for him, and believed, that if he had been an umpire in the controversy his concessions would have greatly relieved them.

Dr. *Gunning* was the most forward speaker, and stuck at nothing. Bishop *Burnet* says,* that all the arts of sophistry were used by him in as confident a manner as if they had been sound reasoning ; that he was unweariedly active to very little purpose, and being very fond of the popish rituals and ceremonies, he was much set upon reconciling the church of England to Rome.

On the side of the presbyterians, Dr. *Bates* and *Manton* behaved with great modesty ; the most active disputant was Mr. *Baxter*, who had a very metaphysical head and fertile invention, and was one of the most ready men

† *Baxter's Life*, part ii. p. 363.

* Page 263, 4.

of his time for an argument, but too eager and tenacious of his own opinions. Next to him was Mr. *Calamy*, who had a great interest among the presbyterian ministers in city and country, and for his age and gravity was respected as their father.

Among the auditors Mr. *Baxter* observes* there was with the bishops a croud of young divines who behaved indecently ; but mentions only two or three scholars and laymen, who, as auditors, came in with the presbyterians, as Mr. *Miles*, Mr. *Tillotson*, &c.

This Mr. *Tillotson* was afterwards the most reverend and learned archbishop of *Canterbury*, one of the most celebrated divines and preachers of the age. We shall have frequent occasion to mention him hereafter, and therefore, I shall give a short account of him in this place. He was born in Yorkshire 1630, and received his first education among the *puritans* ; and though he had freer notions, he still stuck to the strictness of life to which he was bred, and retained a just value and a due tenderness for men of that persuasion. He was admitted student of *Clare-hall* in Cambridge, under the tuition of Mr. *David Clarkson*, in the year 1647. He was bachelor of arts 1650, and within the compass of a year was elected fellow. He had then a sweetness of temper which he retained as long as he lived ; and in those early years was respected as a person of very great parts and prudence.† In the year 1661, he continued a non-conformist, and has a sermon in the morning exercises on Matt. vii. 12. He appeared with the presbyterians at the *Savoy* disputation ; and though he conformed upon the act of uniformity in 1662, he was always inclined to the puritans, never fond of the ceremonies of the church, but would dispense sometimes with those who could not conscientiously submit to them. He owned the dissenters had some plausible objections against the common-prayer ; and in the opinion of some persuaded men rather to bear with the church, than be zealous for it. In the year 1663, he was preferred to the rectory of *Kedington* in Suffolk, vacant by the non-subscription of Mr. *Samuel Fairclough*. Next year he was chosen preacher to *Lincoln's Inn*, and lecturer of *St. Lawrence's church* in

* *Baxter's Life*, p. 337.

† *Athen. Oxon.* p. 968.

London, where his excellent sermons, delivered in a most graceful manner, drew the attention of great numbers of the quality, and of most of the divines and gentlemen in the city. In 1669, he was made canon of Christ-church in Canterbury; and in 1672, dean of that church, and residentiary; but rose no higher till the revolution of King *William* and Queen *Mary*, when he was first made clerk of the closet, and then advanced at once to the archbishopric of Canterbury, in the room of *Dr. Sancroft* a non-juror. He was a divine of moderate principles to the last, and always disposed to promote a toleration, and if possible a comprehension of the dissenters within the church. Upon the whole, he was a second *Cranmer*, and one of the most valuable prelates that this, or, it may be, any other church ever produced.

Various censures were passed within doors upon the *Savoy* conference: the *independents* were disgusted, because none of them were consulted, though it does not appear to me what concern they could have in it, their views being only to a toleration, not a comprehension. Some blamed their brethren for yielding too much, and others thought they might have yielded more; but when they saw the fruitless end of the treaty, and the papers that were published, most of them were satisfied.—Bishop *Burnet* says,† the conference did rather hurt than good; it heightened the sharpness which was already on people's minds to such a degree, that it needed no addition to raise it higher.—Mr. *Robinson* says,* “It was notorious that the business of the episcopal party was not to consult the interest of religion, but to cover a political design, which was too bad to appear at first; nor did they mean to heal the church's wounds, so much as to revenge their own. When they knew what the presbyterians scrupled, they said, now they knew their minds they would have matters so fixed that not one of that sort should be able to keep his living. They did not desire, but rather fear their compliance.” Nay, so unacceptable was the publishing the papers relating to the conference, that bishop *Saunderson* and some of his brethren cautioned their clergy against reading them.—From this time the presbyterians were out of the question,

† Page 265.

* Answer to Bennett, of Liturgies, p. 382.

and the settlement of the church referred entirely to the convocation and parliament.

It had been debated in council, whether there should be a convocation while the conference at the *Savoy* was depending; but at the intercession of Dr. *Heylin* and others, the court was prevailed with to consent that there should; and such care was taken in the choice of members (as bishop *Burnet* observes) that every thing went among them as was directed by bishop *Sheldon* and *Morley*. If a convocation had been holden with the convention parliament the majority would have been against the hierarchy; but it is not to be wondered they were otherwise now, when some hundreds of the presbyterian clergy, who were in possession of sequestered livings, had been dispossessed; and the necessity of ordination by a bishop being urged upon those who had been ordained by presbyters only, great numbers were denied their votes in elections, Nevertheless the presbyterian interest carried it in London for Mr. *Baxter* and *Calamy* by three voices; but the bishop of London, having a power of choosing two out of four, or four out of six within a certain circuit, left them both out; by which means the city of London had no clerks in the convocation. The author of the *Conformists Plea** says, "That to frame a convocation to their mind great care and pains were used to keep out, and to get men in, by very undue proceedings; and that protestations were made against all incumbents not ordained by bishops."

The *Savoy* conference having ended without success, the king sent a letter to the convocation, Nov. 20, commanding them to review the book of common-prayer, and make such additions and amendments† as they thought necessary.—Letters to the same purpose were sent to the archbishop of

* Page 35.

† It was required, "that all proposed alterations should be exhibited and presented for his majesty's farther allowance and confirmation:" this was accordingly done, He was finally to pronounce on the propriety and truth of the proposed alterations. All the debates, investigations, and decisions of the clergy and bishops, had no efficacy without the sanction of the king. They might be mistaken: but he could not. There is an absurdity in ascribing infallibility to any human being, necessarily liable to imperfect views, to prejudices and to error. "But, if possible, the absurdity is greater in attributing it to the sceptered, rather than to the mitred sovereign. The former is not educa-

York, to be communicated to the clergy of his province, who for the greater expedition sent proxies with procuratorial letters to those of Canterbury, and obliged themselves to abide by their votes under forfeiture of their goods and chattels.

“It is inconceivable, says Dr. *Nichols*, what difficulties the bishops had to contend with, about making these *alterations*; they were not only to conquer their own former resentments, and the unreasonable demands of presbyterians, but they had the court to deal with, who pushed them on to all acts of severity.”* Whereas on the contrary, the tide was strong on their side, the bishops pushed on the court, who were willing to give them the reins, that when the breach was made as wide as possible a door might be opened for the toleration of papists. The review of the common-prayer book engaged the convocation a whole month; and on the 20th of December it was signed, and approved by all the members of both houses.

The alterations were these,†

1. The rubric of *singing of lessons*,‡ &c. was omitted, the distinct reading of them being thought more proper.

2. Several collects for Sundays and holy days complained of, were omitted, and others substituted in their room.

3. Communicants at the Lord's supper were enjoined to signify their names to the curate some time the day before.

4. The preface to the ten commandments was restored.§

5. The exhortations to the holy communion were amended.

6. The general confession in the communion office was appointed to be read by one of the ministers.

ted to a religious profession; and his time, from the moment he fills the throne, that is, from the moment he becomes infallible, must be constantly employed in civil concerns: but yet, as head of the church, to him all truth is known; to him all appeals from the ecclesiastical courts must be made.” A treatise on Heresy, p. 73, 74. *Ed.*

* Kennet's Chronicle, p. 574.

† Ibid. 585.

‡ The rubric in King James's review directed also the two lessons to be distinctly read, but it added; “To the end the people may better hear, in such places where they do sing, there shall the lessons be sung in a plain tune, after the manner of distinct reading, and likewise the epistle and gospel.” Grey's Examination, p. 308. *Ed.*

§ “So indeed says bishop Kennet,” remarks Dr. Grey; but they are both mistaken. The commandments were not in King Edward's first liturgy, but in King Edward's 1552, and in the reviews of Queen Elizabeth and King James. Grey's Examination, p. 309. *Ed.*

7. In the office for *Christmas day* the words *this day* were changed for *as at this time*.

8. In the prayer of consecration the *priest* is directed to break the bread.

9. The rubric for explaining the reason of kneeling at the sacrament was restored.

10. Private baptism is not to be administered but by a lawful minister.

11. The answer to the question in the catechism, *Why then are children baptised ?* is thus amended, *because they promise them both by their sureties ; which promise, when they come to age, themselves are bound to perform.*

12. In the last rubric before the catechism these words are expunged, *And that no man shall think that any detriment shall come to children by deferring of their confirmation, &c.*

13. It is appointed that the curate of every parish shall either bring or send in writing, with his hand subscribed thereunto, the names of all such persons within his parish, as he shall think fit to be presented to the bishop to be confirmed.

14. The rubric after confirmation was thus softened ; *None shall be admitted to the communion till such time as he be confirmed, or be ready and desirous to be confirmed.*

15. In the form of matrimony, instead of *till death us depart*, it is, *till death us do part.*

16. In the rubrics after the form of matrimony, it is thus altered, *After which, if there be no sermon declaring the duties of man and wife, the minister shall read as followeth :—*And instead of the second rubric, it is advised *to be convenient*, that the new married persons should receive the communion at the time of marriage, or at the first opportunity afterwards.

17. In the order for visitation of the sick it is thus amended : *Here the sick person shall be moved to make special confession of his sins, if he feel his conscience troubled with any weighty matter ; after which the priest shall absolve him, if he humbly and heartily desire it, after this sort.—*

18. In the communion for the sick the minister is not enjoined to administer the sacrament to every sick person

that shall desire it, but only as he shall judge expedient.

19. In the order for the burial of the dead it is thus altered: the priests and clerks meeting the corpse at the entrance of the church-yard, and going before it either into the church, or towards the grave, shall say or sing,—In the office itself, these words, *In sure and certain hope of resurrection to eternal life*, are thus altered, in sure and certain hope of the resurrection to eternal life; and to lessen the objection of *God's taking to himself the soul of this our dear brother departed*, &c. the following rubric is added; *Here is to be noted, that the office ensuing is not to be used for any that die unbaptised or excommunicate, or who have laid violent hands upon themselves.*

20. In the churching of women the new rubric directs, that the woman at the usual time after her delivery, shall come into the church decently appareled, and there shall kneel down in some convenient place, *as has been accustomed, or as the ordinary shall direct*, and the cxvith or cxxviith psalm shall be read.

Dr. *Tenison*, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, says, “They made about six hundred small alterations or additions, but then adds, If there was reason for these changes, there was equal, if not greater reason for some further improvements. If they had foreseen what is since come to pass, I charitably believe they would not have done all they did, and just so much and no more; and yet I also believe, if they had offered to move much further, *A stone would have been laid under their wheel, by a secret but powerful hand*; for the mystery of popery did even then work.”* Bishop *Burnet* confesses, that no alterations were made in favor of the presbyterians, for it was resolved to gratify them in nothing.

But besides the alterations and amendments already mentioned, there were several additional forms of prayer, § as for the 30th of January and the 29th of May, forms of prayer to be used at sea; and a new office for the adminis-

* Compl. Hist. p. 252. in Marg.

§ Besides the new forms specified by Mr. Neal, there were also added, Dr. Grey says, the prayer for the high court of parliament, the prayer for all conditions of men, and the general thanksgiving. Examination, p. 310. Ed.

tration of baptism to grown persons.† Some corrections were made in the calendar. Some new holidays were added, as *the conversion of St. Paul*, and *St. Barnabas*.* More new lessons were taken out of the Apocraphy, as *the story of Bel and the Dragon*, &c. But it was agreed, that no apocryphal lessons should be read on Sundays. These were all the concessions the convocation would admit;§ and this was all the fruit of the conference at the Savoy, by which, according to Mr. *Baxter* and bishop *Burnet*, the common-prayer book was rendered more exceptionable, and the terms of conformity much harder than before the civil war.

The common-prayer book thus altered and amended was sent up to the king and council, and from thence transmitted to the house of peers, Feb. 24, with this message, That his majesty had duly considered of the alterations, and does with the advice of his council fully approve and allow the same; and doth recommend it to the house of peers, that “the said books of common-prayer, and of the forms of ordination, and consecration of bishops, priests and deacons, with those additions and alterations that have been made, and presented to his majesty by the convocation. be the book which in and by the intended act of uniformity shall be appointed to be used by all that officiate in all cathedral and collegiate churches and chapels, &c. and in all parish churches of England and Wales, under such sanctions or penalties as the parliament shall

† This service was added, because on account of the spread of *baptistical* sentiments, there were now many grown up too old to be baptised as infants, whose duty it was to make a profession of their own faith. Wall’s Hist. of Infant baptism. vol. ii. p. 215. *Ed.*

* These two holidays, though then first appointed by act of parliament, were not now added to the calendar; for they stand in the liturgy of Edward VI. by Whitechurch, 1549; in his Review, 1552; in Q. Elizabeth’s review, 4to. 1601; in King James’s review 1609; and in the Scotch liturgy, at Edinburgh, folio, 1637. Grey’s Examination, p. 311. It may be added, they are, with suitable collects, in the liturgy printed by Bonham Norton and John Bill, 1629, *penes me. Ed.*

§ There is one alteration not mentioned by Mr. Neal. In the second collect, in the *visitation of the sick*, these words are omitted; “Visite him, O Lord, as thou didst Peter’s wife’s mother, and the captain’s servant: which were in King Edward’s, Queen Elizabeth’s and King James’s review. *Id.* p. 311. *Ed.*

think fit.”† When the *lords* had gone through the book, the lord chancellor Hyde, by order of the house, gave the bishops thanks, March 15, for their care in this business ;‡ and desired their lordships to give the like thanks to the lower house of convocation, and acquaint them, that their amendments were well received and approved, though some of them met with a considerable opposition. From the lords they were sent down to the commons, and inserted in the act of uniformity, as will be seen under the next year.

But before this famous act had passed either house the presbyterians were reduced to the utmost distress. In the month of March, 1661-62,* the grand jury at Exeter found above forty bills of indictment against some eminent non-conformist ministers for not reading the common prayer according to law. They likewise presented the travelling about of divers itinerant preachers, ejected out of sequestered livings, as dangerous to the peace of the nation. They complained of their teaching sedition and rebellion in private houses, and other congregations, tending to foment a new war. They also presented such as neglected their own parish churches, and run abroad to hear factious ministers ; and such as walked in the church-yards, or other places, while divine service was reading ; all which were the certain forerunners of a general persecution.

In Scotland the court carried their measures with a high hand ; for having got a parliament to their mind,§ the earl of Middleton, a most notorious debauchee, opened it, with presenting a letter of his majesty to the house ; after which they passed an act, declaring all *Leagues not made with the king's authority illegal*. This struck at the root of the *covenant made with England in 1643*.‡ They passed another act rescinding all acts made since the late troubles, and another empowering the king to settle the government of the church *as he should please*. It was a mad, roaring time, (says the bishop) and no wonder it was so, when the men of affairs were almost perpetually drunk. The king hereupon directed that the church should be governed by synods, presbyters, and kirk sessions, till he should appoint another government, which he did by a letter to his

† Kennet's Chron. p. 633. || Id. p. 642, 3. * Kennet's Chron. p. 647.

§ Burnet, vol. i. p. 161, &c.

‡ Burnet, p. 166.

council of Scotland, bearing date Aug. 14, 1661, in which he recites the inconveniencies which had attended the presbyterian government for the last twenty-three years, and its inconsistency with monarchy.—“Therefore (says he) from our respect to the glory of God, the good and interest of the protestant religion, and the better harmony with the government of the church of England, *We declare our firm resolution to interpose our royal authority for restoring the church of Scotland to its right government by bishops, as it was before the late troubles.* And our will and pleasure is, that you take effectual care to restore the rents belonging to the several bishopries; that you prohibit the assembling of ministers in their synodical meetings till our further pleasure; and that you keep a watchful eye over those, who by discourse or preaching endeavor to alienate the affections of our people from us or our government.—” Pursuant to these directions the lords of the council ordered the heralds to make public proclamation at the market cross in Edinburgh, Sept. 6, of this his majesty’s royal will and pleasure. In the month of December a commission was issued out to the bishops of London and Worcester* to ordain and consecrate, according to the rites and ceremonies of the church of England, Mr. *James Sharp*, archbishop of St. Andrews, Mr. *Andrew Fairfoul*, archbishop of Glasgow, Mr. *Robert Leighton*, bishop of Dunblain, and Mr. *James Hamilton*, bishop of Galloway.—A very bad choice, says bishop *Burnet*. *Sharp* was one of the falsest and vilest dissemblers in the world. *Fairfoul* was next akin to a natural. *Leighton* was an excellent prelate; but *Hamilton’s* life was scarce free from scandal.† He had sworn to the covenant, and when one objected to him, that it went against his conscience, he said, *Such medicines as could not be chewed must be swallowed whole.*§ The English bishops insisted upon their renounc-

* Burnet, p. 133, 134.

† Ibid. 191, 192.

§ It is, as Dr. Grey remarks, that Mr. Neal has here strangely confounded two characters; ascribing to bishop Hamilton what bishop Burnet has applied to bishop Fairfoul. It is singular that Dr. Grey has, in the next paragraph, committed a similar mistake; for quoting Mr. Neal’s account of the death of Mr. James Guthrie, who, on the authority of Burnet, he says, “spoke an hour before his execution, with great composedness,” he admits the correctness of this passage:

ing their presbyterian orders, which they consented to, and were, in one and the same day, ordained, first deacons, then priests, and last of all bishops, according to the rites of the church of England.

Bishop *Burnet* says, that though the king had a natural hatred to presbytery, he went very coldly into this design; nay, that he had a visible reluctance against it, because of the temper of the *Scots* nation, and his unwillingness to involve his government in new troubles; but the earl of *Clarendon** pushed it forward with great zeal; and the duke of *Ormond* said, that episcopacy could not be established in Ireland, if presbytery continued in Scotland. The earls of *Lauderdale* and *Crawford* indeed opposed it, but the council of Scotland not protesting, it was determined; but it was a large strain of the prerogative for a king by a royal proclamation to alter the government of a church established by law, without consent of parliament. convocation or synod of any kind whatsoever; for it was not until May the next year that this affair was decided in parliament.

Some of the Scots ministers preached boldly against this change of government; and among others, Mr. *James Guthrie* minister of *Stirlin*, for which, and some other things, he was convicted of sedition and treason. Bishop *Burnet*, § who saw him suffer, says that he expressed a contempt of death; that he spoke an hour upon the ladder with the composure of a man that was delivering a sermon rather than his last words; that he justified all he had done, exhorting all people to adhere to the covenant, which he magnified highly. He was executed June 14, 1661, and concluded his dying speech with these words,† “I take God to record upon my soul, that I would not exchange this scaffold with the palace or mitre of the greatest prelate in Britain. Blessed be God, who hath shewed mercy to such a wretch, and has revealed his son in me, and made me a

but adds, that *Burnet*, but two pages before, said, that Mr. *Guthrie* spoke for *half an hour* with great appearance of serenity; and observes “so consistent was this great man with himself in the compass of two pages.” Now the inconsistency is in Dr. *Grey*, and not bishop *Burnet*, who speaks in the first place not of Mr. *Guthrie*, but of the Marquis of *Argyle*, vol. i. p. 179. *Ed.*

* Hist. p. 130-31. Kennet's Chron. 577.

§ Hist. of the Stuarts, p. 144. † Kennet's Chron. p. 459. Burnet, p. 181.

minister of the everlasting gospel ; and that he has designed, in the midst of much contradiction from satan and the world, to seal my ministry upon the hearts of not a few of this people, and especially in the congregation and presbytery of Stirling." There was with him on the same scaffold, young captain *Goran*, whose last words were these, "I bear witness with my blood to the persecuted government of this church, by synods and presbyteries. I bear witness to the solemn league and covenant, and seal it with my blood. I likewise testify against all popery, prelacy, idolatry, superstition, and the service book, which is no better than a relic of the *Romish* idolatry—"* Soon after this the rights of patronages were restored, and all the presbyterian ministers silenced, though the court had not a supply of men of any sort to fill up their vacancies.

The account that bishop *Burnet* gives of the old *Scots* presbyterian ministers, who were possessed of the church livings before the Restoration, is very remarkable, and deserves a place in this history. "They were (says he) a brave and solemn people : their spirits were eager, and their temper sour, but they had an appearance that created respect ; they visited their parishes much, and were so full of scripture, and so ready at extempore prayer, that from that they grew to practise extempore sermons ; for the custom in Scotland was, after dinner or supper, to read a chapter in the bible, and when they happened to come in, if it was acceptable, they would on a sudden expound the chapter ; by this means the people had such a vast degree of knowledge, that the poor cottagers could pray extempore. Their preachers went all in one tract in their sermons, of doctrine, reason, and use ; and this was so methodical, that the people could follow a sermon quite through every branch of it. It can hardly be imagined to what a degree these ministers were loved and revered by their people. They kept scandalous persons under severe discipline ; for breach of the sabbath, for an oath, or drunkenness, they were cited before the kirk sessions, and solemnly rebuked for it ; for fornication they stood on the stool of repentance in the church, at the time of worship, for three days, receiving admonition, and making profes-

* *Burnet*, p. 152-53.

sions of repentance, which some did with many tears, and exhortations to others to take warning by them; for adultery they sat in the same place six months covered with sackcloth. But with all this (says the bishop) they had but a narrow compass of learning, were very affected in their deportment, and were apt in their sermons to make themselves popular, by preaching against the sins of princes and courts, which the people delighted to hear, because they had no share in them.”*

The bishops and clergy, who succeeded the presbyterians, were of a quite different stamp; most of them were very mean divines, vicious in their morals, idle and negligent of their cures; by which means they became obnoxious to the whole nation, and were hardly capable of supporting their authority through the reign of king *Charles II.* even with the assistance of the civil power. Bishop *Burnet* adds,§ that they were mean and despicable in all respects; the worst preachers he ever heard; ignorant to a reproach, and many of them openly vicious; that they were a disgrace to their order, and to the sacred functions, and were indeed the dregs and refuse of the northern parts. The few who were above contempt or scandal were men of such violent tempers, that they were as much hated as the others were despised.

In Ireland the hierarchy was restored after the same manner as in Scotland; the king by his letters patent, in right of his power to appoint bishops to the vacant sees, issued his royal mandate to *Dr. Bramhall*, archbishop of Armagh, and *Dr. Taylor* bishop of Down and Connor, by virtue of which they consecrated two archbishops, and ten bishops, in one day.† His grace insisted on the re-ordination of those who had been ordained in the late times without the hands of a bishop, but with this softening clause in their orders: *Non annihilantes priores ordines (si quos habuit) nec validitatem aut invaliditatem eorundem determinantes, multo minus omnes ordines sacros ecclesiarum forinsecarum condemnantes, quos proprio iudicio relinquimus: Sed solummodo suppletentes quicquid prius defuit per canones ecclesiæ Anglicanæ requisitum*—i. e. “Not annihilating his former orders (if he had any)

* Burnet, p. 226-27. § Page 229. † Kennet's Chron. p. 440, 441.

nor determining concerning their validity or invalidity, much less condemning all the sacred ordinations of foreign churches whom we leave to their own judge, but only supplying what was wanting according to the canons of the church of England."—Without such an explication as this, few of the clergy of Ireland would have kept their stations in the church.* On the 17th of May, the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons in parliament assembled in Ireland, declared their opinion and high esteem of episcopal government, and of the book of common-prayer, according to the use of the church of England; and thus the old constitution, in church as well as state, was restored in the three kingdoms.

The French ministers, who had been tools to persuade the English presbyterians to restore the king *without a treaty*, went along with the torrent, and complimented the church of England upon her re-establishment; they commended the liturgy, which they formerly treated with contemptuous language. Some few of them pretended to bemoan the want of episcopacy among themselves, and to wonder that any of the English presbyterians should scruple conformity.† The French church at the Savoy submitted to the rites and ceremonies of the English hierarchy; and M. *Du Bosc*, minister of Caen, writes to the minister of the Savoy, that he was as dear to him under the *surplice* of England, as under the *robe* of France.‡ So complaisant were these mercenary divines towards those who disallowed their orders, disowned their churches, and the validity of all their administrations.

Lord *Clarendon* and the bishops having got over the Savoy conference, and carried the service-book with the amendments through the convocation, were now improving the present temper of the parliament to procure it the sanction of the legislature; for this purpose the king, *though a papist*, is made to speak the language of a zealous churchman. In his speech to the parliament, March 1st, he has these words; "Gentlemen, I hear you are zealous for the church, and very solicitous, and even jealous, that there is not expedition enough used in that affair. I thank you for it, since I presume it proceeds from a good root of

* Kennet's Chron. p. 449.

† Ibid. p. 462.

‡ Ibid. p. 475.

piety and devotion ; but I must tell you, that I have the worst luck in the world, if after all the reproaches of being a *papist*, while I was abroad, I am suspected of being a *presbyterian* now I am come home. I know you will not take it unkindly if I tell you, I am as zealous for the church of England as any of you can be, and am enough acquainted with the enemies of it on all sides. I am as much in love with the book of common-prayer as you can wish, and have prejudices enough against those who do not love it ; who I hope, in time, will be better informed, and change their minds. And you may be confident, I do as much desire to see an uniformity settled as any among you ; and pray trust me in that affair, I promise you to hasten the dispatch of it with all convenient speed ; you may rely upon me in it. I have transmitted the book of common-prayer with the amendments, to the house of lords but when we have done all we can, the well settling that affair will require great prudence and discretion, and the absence of all passion and precipitation.”§

The reason of the king’s requiring *discretion* in the parliament, and the absence of passion, was not in favor of the presbyterians, but the papists, who went all the lengths of the prerogative, and published a remonstrance about this time, “ wherein they acknowledge his majesty to be God’s vicegerent upon earth in all temporal affairs ; that they are bound to obey him under pain of sin ; and that they renounce all foreign power and authority, as incapable of absolving them from this obligation.” It was given out, that they were to have forty chapels in and about the city of London, and much more was understood by them (says archbishop *Tenison*) who have penetrated into the designs of a certain paper, commonly called the *Declaration of Somerset-House* ; but the design miscarried, partly by their divisions among themselves, and partly by the resoluteness of the prime minister, who charged them with principles inconsistent with the peace of the kingdom.* Father *Orleans* says, “ There were great debates in this parliament about liberty of conscience.—The catholic party was supported by the earl of *Bristol*, a man in great repute ; the

§ Rapin, vol. ii. p. 628, folio.

* Compl. Hist. p. 252. Kennet’s Chron. p. 482 and 498.

protestant party by chancellor *Hyde*, chief of an opposite faction, and a person of no less consideration, who, putting himself at the head of the prevailing church of England party in that parliament, declared not only against the Roman catholics, but against the presbyterians, and all those the church of England calls non-conformists. The king, *who was no good christian in his actions, but a catholic in his heart*, did all that could be expected from his easy temper, to maintain the common liberty, *that so the catholics might have a share in it*; but the church of England, and chancellor *Hyde*, were so hot upon that point, that his majesty was obliged to yield rather to the chancellor's importunity than to his reason."§ However, by the favor of the queen-mother, swarms of papists came over into England, and settled about the court; they set up private seminaries for the education of youth; and though they could not obtain an open toleration, they multiplied exceedingly, and laid the foundation of all the dangers which threatened the constitution and protestant religion, in the latter part of this and in the next reign.

Towards the latter end of this year, the court and bishops, not content with their triumphs over the living presbyterians, descended into the grave, and dug up the bodies of those who had been deposited in Westminster-Abbey in the late times, lest their dust should one time or other mix with the loyalists; for besides the bodies of *Cromwell*, and others already mentioned, his majesty's warrant to the dean and chapter of Westminster was now obtained, to take up the bodies of such persons who had been unwarrantably buried in the chapel of king *Henry VII.* and in other chapels and places within the collegiate church of Westminster since the year 1641, and to inter them in the church-yard adjacent; by which warrant they might have taken up all the bodies that had been buried there for twenty years past. Pursuant to these orders, on the 12th and 14th of Sept. they went to work and took up about twenty,* among whom were,

§ Kennet's Chron. p. 498.

* Among the following names, the reader will find some, who have not been noticed in the preceding History, or in the notes. The mother of Oliver Cromwell was by no means deserving of the malevolence and indignity with which her memory was treated. For though she lavished the greatest fondness on her only son, she was averse to his protectorate, seldom troubled him with her advice, and with reluctance par-

The body of *Eliza. Cromwell*, mother of *Oliver*, daughter of sir *Richard Stewart*, who died Nov. 18, 1654, and was buried in *Henry* the seventh's chapel.

The body of *Eliz. Claypole*, daughter of *Oliver*, who died August 7, 1658, and was buried in a vault made for her in *Henry* the seventh's chapel.

The body of *Robert Blake*, the famous English admiral, who after his victorious fight at Santa Cruz, died in Plymouth Sound, August 7, 1657, and was buried in *Henry* the seventh's chapel:—a man, whose great services to the English nation will be an everlasting monument of his renown.

The body of the famous Mr. *John Pym*, a Cornish gentleman, and member of the long parliament, who was buried in the year 1643, and attended to his grave by most of the lords and commons in parliament.

The body of Dr. *Doristlaus*, employed as an assistant in drawing up the charge against the king, for which he was murdered by the royalists, when he was ambassador to the states of Holland in 1649.

took of the pageantry of sovereignty. She was an amiable and prudent woman: who, to make up the deficiency of a narrow income, undertook and managed the brewing trade on her own account, and from the profits of it provided fortunes for her daughters sufficient to marry them into good families. Her anxiety for her son's safety kept her in such constant alarm, that she was discontented if she did not see him twice a day. The report of a gun was never heard by her, without her crying out, "My son is shot."—It ought to have softened the resentment of the royalists against Mrs. Claypole, though the daughter of Cromwell, that she had importunately interceded for the life of Dr. Hewett; and the denial of her suit had so afflicted her, that it was reported to have been one cause of her death, and was the subject of her exclamations to her father on her dying bed.—Thomas May, Esq. whose name appears in the following list, was a polite and classical scholar, the intimate friend of the greatest wits of his time, and ranked in the first class of them. He was the author of several dramatic pieces; and of two historical poems of the reigns of Henry II. and Edward III. But his principal work was a "Translation of Lucan's *Pharsalia*," and a continuation of it.—Colonel, or sir John Meldrum, a Scotsman, displayed his military prowess in the West, defeated the earl of Newcastle before Hull, with the assistance of sir Thomas Fairfax took the strong town of Gainsborough and the Isle of Axholm, conquered the forces of the lords Byron and Molyneux, near Ormskirk, and took the town and castle of Scarborough. Biogr. Britan. vol. iv. p. 517. Ludlow's Memoirs, 4to. p. 257. Granger's Hist of England, vol. iii. p. 94, and vol. ii. p. 265. Ed. Kennet's Chron. p. 536.

The body of sir *William Constable*, one of the king's judges, governor of Gloucester, and colonel of a regiment of foot, who died 1655.

The body of colonel *Edward Popham*, one of the admirals of the fleet, who died 1651.

The body of *William Stroud*, Esq. one of the five members of parliament demanded by king *Charles I.*

The body of colonel *Humphrey Mackworth*, one of *O. Cromwell's* colonels, buried in *Henry the seventh's* chapel, 1654.

The body of *Dennis Bond*, Esq. one of the council of state, who died August 8. 1658.

The body of *Thomas May*, Esq. who compiled the history of the long parliament with great integrity, and in a beautiful stile. He died in the year 1650.

The body of colonel *John Meldrum*, a Scotsman, who died in the wars.

The body of colonel *Boscawen*, a Cornish man.

To these may be added, several eminent presbyterian divines ; as,

The body of Dr. *William Twisse*, prolocutor of the assembly of divines, buried in the south cross of the Abbey church, July 24, 1645.

The body of Mr. *Stephen Marshal*, buried in the south aisle, November 23, 1655.

The body of Mr. *William Strong*, preacher in the Abbey church, and buried there July 4, 1654. These, with some others of lesser note, both men and women, were thrown together into one pit in St. Margaret's church-yard, near the back door of one of the prebendaries : but the work was so indecent, and drew such a general *odium* on the government, that a stop was put to any further proceedings.

Among others who were obnoxious to the ministry, were the people called QUAKERS, who, having declared openly against the lawfulness of making use of carnal weapons, even in self-defence, had the courage to petition the house of lords for a *toleration* of their religion, and for a dispensation from taking the oaths, which they held unlawful, not from any disaffection to the government, or a belief that they were less obliged by an *affirmation*, but from a per-

suasion that all oaths were unlawful; and that *swearing*, upon the most solemn occasions, was forbidden in the new testament. The lords in a committee rejected their petition, and, instead of granting them relief, passed the following act* May 2, the preamble to which sets forth, "That whereas sundry persons have taken up an opinion, that an oath, even before a magistrate, is unlawful, and contrary to the word of God. And whereas, under pretence of religious worship, the said persons do assemble in great numbers in several parts of the kingdom, separating themselves from the rest of his majesty's subjects, and from the public congregations and usual places of divine worship; be it therefore enacted, that if any such persons after the 24th of March, 1661-2, shall refuse to take an oath when lawfully tendered, or persuade others to do it, or maintain, in writing or otherwise, the unlawfulness of taking an oath; or if they shall assemble for religious worship to the number of five or more, of the age of fifteen, they shall for the first offence forfeit five pounds; for the second ten pounds; and for the third shall abjure the realm, or be transported to the plantations: And the justices of peace at their open sessions may hear and finally determine in the affair." The act was passed by commission, and had a dreadful influence upon that people, though it was notorious they were far from sedition or disaffection to the government. *G. Fox*, in his address to the king,

* Some of the society, getting early intelligence of this bill, interfered to stop its progress. Edward Burrough, Richard Hubberthorn, and George Whitehead, attended the parliament to solicit against passing it into an act: and were admitted, but without success, to offer their reasons against it, at the bar of the house. "But political considerations, party animosity, and bigotted and exasperated zeal for the church, (so called) were the moving causes of action with the majority. Appeals to their reason and humanity were vain." It aggravated the injustice and severity of this act, that it was framed, notwithstanding a paper, containing the sentiments of the *quakers* respecting oaths, had been lately presented to the king and council by Edward Burrough, entitled "A Just and Righteous Plea:" which stated their conscientious scruples, expressed in strong terms their loyalty, and declared, "that it had ever been with them an established principle, confirmed by a consonant practice, to enter into no plots, combinations, or rebellions against government, nor to seek deliverance from injustice or oppression by any such means." Gough's History of the Quakers, vol. i. p. 499, &c. *Ed.*

acquaints his majesty, that three thousand and sixty-eight of their friends had been imprisoned since his majesty's restoration; that their meetings were daily broken up by men with clubs and arms, and their friends thrown into the water, and trampled under foot, till the blood gushed out, which gave rise to their meeting in the open streets. Another narrative was printed, signed by twelve witnesses, which says, that more than four thousand two hundred quakers were imprisoned; and of them five hundred were in and about London, and the suburbs; several of whom were dead in the gaols.* But these were only the beginning of sorrows.

RELIGION, which had been in vogue in the late times, was now universally discountenanced; the name of it was hardly mentioned but with contempt, in a health or a play. Those who observed the sabbath, and scrupled profane swearing and drinking healths, were exposed under the opprobrious names of puritans, fanatics, presbyterians republicans, seditious persons, &c. The presbyterian ministers were every where suspended or deprived, for some unguarded expressions in their sermons or prayers. Lord *Clarendon* was at the head of all this madness, and declared in parliament, "that the king could distinguish between *tenderness* of conscience and *pride* of conscience; that he was a prince of so excellent a nature, and of so *tender a conscience himself*, that he had the highest compassion for all errors of that kind, and would never suffer the weak to undergo the punishment ordained for the wicked." Such was the deep penetration of the chancellor; and such the reward the presbyterians received for their past services!

* Sewel, p. 346. Kennet's Chron. p. 651.

* "Some were put into such noisome prisons as were owned not fit for dogs. Some prisons so crowded that the prisoners had not room to sit down altogether. In Cheshire sixty-eight persons were thus locked up in a small room. No age or sex found any commiseration. Men of sixty, seventy, or more years of age, were, without pity or remorse, subjected to all the rigors of such imprisonments, under the infirmities of a natural decline; many times they were forced to lie on the cold ground, without being permitted the use of straw, and kept many days without victuals. No wonder that many grew sick and died by such barbarous imprisonments as these." Gough, vol. i. p. 538. *Ed.*

The profligate manners of the court, at the same time, spread over the whole land, and occasioned such a general licentiousness, that the king took notice of it in his speech at the end of this session of parliament. "I cannot but observe (says his majesty) that the whole nation seems to be a little corrupted in their excess of living; sure all men spend much more in their clothes, in their diet, and all other expences, than they have been used to do; I hope it has been only the excess of joy after so long suffering that has transported us to these other excesses, but let us take heed that the continuance of them does not indeed corrupt our natures. I do believe I have been faulty myself; I promise you I will reform, and if you will join with me in your several capacities, we shall by our examples do more good both in city and country than any new laws would do." This was a frank acknowledgment and a good resolution, but it was not in the king's nature to retrench his expences, or control his vices for the public good.*

* In the preceding year died, on the 22d of December, aged 72 years, Mr. Thomas Lushington, a scholar of eminence and a favorer of the sentiments of Socinus; who translated into *English*, and published, Crellius's Commentary on the epistle to the *Galatians*, and a Commentary on that to the Hebrews from the *Latin* of the same author, or some other Unitarian writer. He published among other works two sermons on Matth. xxviii. 13, and Acts. ii. 1. entitled, "The Resurrection rescued from the Soldiers' Calumnies." He was reckoned more ingenious than prudent, and was more apt to display his fancy than to proceed upon solid reason. At one time he personated in his sermon, a Jewish pharisee and persecutor of Christ, descanting on the whole life of our Savior in a way suited to draw scorn and aversion on him and his attendants; he then changed his character, and speaking as a disciple of Christ, he answered the cavils and invectives before thrown out with such dexterity, that his hearers broke into such loud and repeated applauses as hindered him for a good space from proceeding in his sermon. He was a native of Sandwich, and matriculated at Broadgate's Hall in Oxford, when he was seventeen, in 1606-7. He graduated, as master of arts, in Lincoln college, in 1618. In 1631 bishop Corbet gave him the prebendal stall of Bemister Secunda in the church of Salisbury; and afterwards bestowed on him the rectory of Burnham Westgate, in Norfolk. In the rebellion he lost his spiritualities, but on the return of Charles II. was restored to them. He died and was buried at Sittingbourne near Milton, in Kent. Wood's *Athen. Oxon.* v. ii. p. 71-2. *Ed.*

In the year 1661, or soon after the restoration, died also Mr. Henry Denne, whom we have mentioned before, vol. iii. p. 320. note, and p. 549. He began his ministry in the church of England, and in 1644 drew great attention by a sermon which he preached at Baldoek in Hertford-

Though the revenues of the crown were augmented above double what they had been at any time since the reformation; and though the king had a vast dowry with his queen, whom he married this spring, yet all was not sufficient to defray the extravagance of the court; for besides the king's own expences, the queen mother maintained a splendid court of *Roman* catholics at Somerset-house, and might have done so as long as she had lived, if she could have kept within moderate bounds; but her conduct was so imprudent and profuse that she was obliged to return to France after three or four years, where she died in the year 1669. A lady of such bigotry in religion, and intrigue in politics, that her alliance to this nation was little less than a judgment from heaven.

To procure more ready money for these extravagancies, it was resolved to sell the town of Dunkirk to the French, for five hundred thousand pounds. The lord chancellor

shire; in this discourse he freely exposed the sin of *persecution*, and inveighed against the pride and covetousness of the clergy, their pluralities and non-residences, and the corrupt practices of the spiritual courts. He was reckoned by one, who had a great hand in the public affairs of the age, "to be the ablest man in the kingdom for prayer, expounding and preaching." When the government declared their design to reform religion, Mr. Denne and many others were led to extend their enquiries, after religious truth, to points which before they had only taken for granted: and, it appearing to him, in his researches, that the practice of *baptising children* was without any foundation in scripture, or the writings of the Christians for the two first ages, he publicly professed himself a *baptist*, and was baptised by *immersion* at London in 1643. This exposed him to the resentment of those who sat at the *helm* of *ecclesiastical affairs*: but notwithstanding this he obtained the parish of Elsy in Cambridgeshire. Meeting with opposition and persecution, he quitted his living and went into the *army*, and gained reputation in the military line. In 1658, he held a public disputation, concerning *infant baptism*, with Dr. Gunning, in St. Clement's church, Temple-bar; in which he is said to have afforded strong proofs of his abilities and learning, as a good *scholar* and complete *disputant*. Mr. Edwards gives him the character of "a very affecting preacher." A clergyman put on his grave this epitaph:

"To tell his wisdom, learning, goodness unto men,
"I need say no more, but here lies Henry Denne."

Crosby's History of the English Baptists, vol. i. p. 297, &c. *Ed.*

§ It was the grand argument with the Duke of York, for his adherence to the tenets of popery, that his mother had, upon her last blessing, commanded him to be firm and stedfast thereto. Reresby's Memoirs, p. 16.

Clarendon was the projector of this vile bargain,‡ as appears by the letters of count *D'Estrades*, published since his death, in one of which his lordship acknowledges, that the *thought came from himself*.* Several mercenary pamphlets were dispersed to justify this sale; but the wars with France in the reigns of king *William* and queen *Anne* have sufficiently convinced us, that it was a fatal stab to our trade and commerce; insomuch that even the queen's last ministry durst not venture to make a peace with France till the fortifications of it were demolished.

But to divert the people's eyes to other objects, it was resolved to go on with the prosecution of state criminals, and with humbling and crushing the non-conformists: Three of the late king's judges being apprehended in Holland, by the forward zeal of Sir *G. Downing*, (viz.) colonel *Okey*, *Corbet* and *Berkstead*, were brought over to England by permission of the States, and executed on the act of attainder, April 19. They died with the same resolution and courage as the former had done, declaring they had no malice against the late king, but apprehended the authority of parliament sufficient to justify their conduct.

Before the parliament rose the house addressed the king to bring colonel *Lambert* and Sir *Harry Vane*, prisoners in the Tower, to their trial; and accordingly, June 4, they

‡ Dr. Grey is much displeased with Mr. Neal for imputing the sale of Dunkirk to lord Clarendon: and remarks on it, that "had the count D'Estrades declared positively that the lord Clarendon had no concern therein, it is probable that his authority would have been rejected or passed over in silence. But lord Clarendon was a great friend to *monarchy* and *episcopacy*; and therefore lord Clarendon's character must at all adventures be run down. The reader will determine concerning the candor and fairness of this censure. The passages in which D'Estrades ascribes this transaction to lord Clarendon are to be seen in Rapin, and in Dr. Harris's life of Charles II. vol. ii. p. 191-98. Dr. Grey, on the other hand, refers to Kennet and Roger Coke, Esq. as acquitting his lordship from advising the sale of Dunkirk. Bishop Burnet, it may be added, says, on the information of his lordship's son, "that he kept himself out of that affair entirely." To reconcile the nation to the sale of Dunkirk, the king promised to lay up all the money in the Tower, and that it should not be touched but upon extraordinary occasions. But in violation of his word and of decency, it was immediately squandered away among the creatures of his mistress. Barbara Viliers. Burnet's History of his own times, vol. i. p. 251. *Ed.*

* Rapin, p. 630, 631.

were arraigned at the King's-Bench bar; the former for levying war against the king; and the latter for compassing his death. *Lambert* was convicted, but for his submissive behavior was pardoned as to life, but confined in the isle of *Guernsey*, where he remained a patient prisoner till his death, which happened about thirty years after. Sir *Harry Vane* had such an interest in the convention parliament, that both lords and commons petitioned for his life, which his majesty promised; and yet afterwards, at the instigation of the present house of commons, he was tried and executed. Sir *Harry* made a brave defence; but it was determined to sacrifice him to the ghost of the earl of *Strafford*; and when his friends would have had him petition for his life, he refused, saying, *If the king had not a greater regard for his word and honor than he had for his life, he might take it.* Nevertheless bishop *Burnet* says,* “He was naturally a fearful man, and had a head as dark in the notions of religion; but when he saw his death was determined, he composed himself to it with a resolution that surprized all who knew how little of that was natural to him. He was beheaded on Tower-hill, June 14, where a new and very indecent practice was begun; it was observed that the dying speeches of the *regicides* had left impressions on the hearers that were not at all to the advantage of the government; and strains of a peculiar nature being expected from him, drummers were placed under the scaffold, who, as soon as he began to speak of the public, upon a sign given, struck up with their drums. But this put him into no disorder; he desired they might be stopt, for he knew what was meant by it. Then he went to his devotion; and as he was taking leave of those about him, he happened to say something again with relation to the times, when the drums struck up a second time; so he gave over, saying, *It was a sorry cause that would not bear the words of a dying man*; and died with so much composedness, that it was generally thought the government lost more than it gained by his death.” The Oxford historian says, he appeared on the scaffold like an old *Roman*, and died without the least symptoms of concern or trouble.

* Burnet, p. 237, 8.

But the grand affair that employed the parliament this spring, was the famous *Act of uniformity of public prayers, &c.* designed for the inclosure of the church and the *only door of admission* to all ecclesiastical preferments. The review of the common-prayer had been in convocation three or four months,* and was brought into parliament, with their alterations and amendments, before *Christmas*; § the bill was read the first time in the house of commons Jan. 14, and passed after sundry debates but by six voices, *Yeas* 186; *Noes* 180; but it met with greater obstacles among the lords, who offered several amendments, which occasioned conferences between the two houses. The lords would have exempted *schoolmasters, tutors, and those who had the education of youth*; and in the disabling clause would have included only *livings with cure*.† But the commons being supported by the court would abate nothing,|| nor consent to any provision for such as should be ejected. They would indulge no latitude in the *surplice or cross in baptism*, for fear of establishing a schism, and weakening the authority of the church as to her right of imposing indifferent rites and ceremonies.† And the court were willing to shut out as many as they could from the establishment, to make a *general toleration* more necessary. When the lords urged the king's declaration from Breda, the commons replied, that it would be strange to call a schismatical conscience a tender one; but suppose this had been meant (say they) his majesty can be guilty of no breach of promise, because the declaration had these two limitations, a *reference to parliament*;—and *so far as was consistent with the peace of the kingdom*. May 8, the result of the conference with the house of commons, being reported to the lords, the house laid aside their objections, and concurred with the commons, and the bill passed; but,

* Dr. Grey is at a loss to understand how the act of *uniformity* could come into the *Convocation* and continue there for three or four months: for the two houses never send their bills *thither* for their perusal and approbation. He thinks, therefore, that Mr. Neal's mistake must be owing to their review of the *Common Prayer*. Examination, vol. iii. p. 320. *Ed.*

§ Kennet's Chron. p. 604.

† Ib. p. 677.

|| The reason for extending it to *schoolmasters* was, we are told, to guard against the influence and force of education. Exam. p. 321. *Ed.*

† Kennet's Chron. p. 679.

as bishop *Burnet* observes, with no great majority. May 19, it received the royal assent, and was to take place from the 24th of August following. This act being prefixed to the book of common-prayer, and lying open to public view, I shall only give the reader an abstract of it. It is entitled,

“An act for the uniformity of public prayers, and administration of sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies, and for establishing the forms of making, ordaining, and consecrating bishops, priests and deacons in the church of England.”

The preamble sets forth, “That from the first of Queen *Elizabeth* there had been one uniform order of common service and prayer enjoined to be used by act of parliament, which had been very comfortable to all good people, until a great number of people in divers parts of the realm, living without knowledge and the due fear of God, did wilfully and schismatically refuse to come to their parish churches, upon Sundays, and other days appointed to be kept as holy days. And whereas, by the scandalous neglect of ministers in using the liturgy during the late unhappy troubles, many people have been led into factions and schisms, to the decay of religion, and the hazard of many souls; therefore, for preventing the like for time to come, the king had granted a commission, to review the book of common prayer, to those bishops and divines who met at the Savoy; and afterwards his majesty required the clergy in convocation to revise it again; which alterations and amendments having been approved by his majesty, and both houses of parliament; therefore for settling the peace of the nation, for the honor of religion, and to the intent that every person may know the rule to which he is to conform in public worship, it is enacted by the king’s most excellent majesty, &c.

“That all and singular ministers shall be bound to say and use the morning prayer, evening prayer, and all other common prayers in such order and form as is mentioned in the book; and that every parson, vicar, or other minister whatsoever, shall before the feast of St. *Bartholomew*, which shall be in the year of our lord 1662, openly and publicly, before the congregation assembled for religious worship, declare his unfeigned assent and consent to the

use of all things contained and prescribed in the said book in these words, and no other."

"*I A. B. do here declare my unfeigned assent and consent to all and every thing contained and prescribed in and by the book, entitled, The book of common-prayer and administration of sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies of the church, according to the use of the church of England, together with the psalter, or psalms of David, pointed as they are to be sung or said in churches; and the form and manner of making, ordaining, and consecrating of bishops, priests and deacons.*"*

"The penalty for neglecting or refusing to make this declaration, is deprivation *ipso facto* of all his spiritual promotions.

"And it is further enacted, that every dean, canon, and prebendary; all masters, heads, fellows, chaplains, and tutors, in any college, hall, house of learning, or hospital; all public professors, readers in either university, and in every college and elsewhere; and all parsons, vicars, curates, lecturers; and every schoolmaster keeping any public or private school; and every person instructing youth in any private family, shall, before the feast of St. Bartholomew, 1662, subscribe the following declaration, (*viz.*)

"*I A. B. do declare, that it is not lawful upon any pretence whatsoever to take arms against the king; and that I do abhor that traiterous position of taking arms by his authority, against his person, or against those that are commissioned by him; and that I will conform to the liturgy of the church of England, as it is now by law established. And I do hold, that there lies no obligation upon me, or on any other person, from the oath commonly called the solemn league and covenant, to endeavor any change or alteration of government either in church or state, and that the same was in itself an unlawful oath, and imposed upon the subjects of this realm, against the known laws and liberties of this kingdom.*

"This declaration is to be subscribed by the persons abovementioned before the archbishop, bishop, or ordinary of the diocese, on pain of deprivation, for those who were

* This form of subscription and solemn declaration was inserted by the lords, with whom this act of uniformity began. *Ed.*

possessed of livings; and for schoolmasters and tutors, three months imprisonment for the first offence; and for every other offence three months imprisonment, and the forfeiture of five pounds to his majesty. Provided that after the 25th of March 1632, the renouncing of the *solemn league and covenant* shall be omitted.

“It is further enacted, that no person shall be capable of any benefice, or presume to consecrate and administer the holy sacrament of the Lord’s supper, before he be ordained a priest by episcopal ordination, on pain of forfeiting for every offence one hundred pounds.*

“No form, or order of common-prayer, shall be used in any church, chapel, or other place of public worship, or in either of the universities, than is here prescribed and appointed.

“None shall be received as lecturers, or be permitted to preach, or read any sermon or lecture in any church or chapel, unless he be approved and licensed by the archbishop or bishop, and shall read the thirty-nine articles of religion with a declaration of his *unfeigned assent and consent* to the same: and unless the first time he preaches any lecture or sermon, he shall openly read the common-prayer, and declare his assent to it; and shall on the first lecture-day of every month afterwards, before lecture or sermon, read the common-prayer and service, under pain of being disabled to preach; and if he preach while so disabled, to suffer three months imprisonment for every offence.

“The several laws and statutes formerly made for uniformity of prayer, &c. shall be in force for confirming the present book of common-prayer, and shall be applied for punishing all offences contrary to the said laws, with relation to the said book, and no other.

“A true printed copy of the said book is to be provided in every parish church, chapel, college and hall, at the cost and charge of the parishioners or society, before the feast of St. *Bartholomew*, on pain of forfeiting three pounds a month, for so long as they shall be unprovided of it.”†

* This clause was also inserted by the lords. *Ed.*

† “The act of uniformity and the corporation act.” Mr Gough observes, “did not in themselves materially affect the quakers, who aspired to no places of honor or profit, and who testified against preaching for hire, and sought for no more than a toleration and protection in their relig-

It was certainly unreasonable in the legislature to limit the time of subscription to so short a period,* it being next to impossible that the clergy in all parts of the kingdom should read and examine the alterations within that time. The dean and prebendaries of Peterborough declared, that they could not obtain copies before August 17, the Sunday immediately preceding the feast of St. *Bartholomew*; so that all the members of that cathedral did not and could not read the service in manner and form as the act directs, and therefore they were obliged to have recourse to the favor of their ordinary to dispense with their default; however, their preferments were then legally forfeited, as appears by the act of the 15th of *Charles II.* cap. 6, entitled, *An act for the relief of such as by sickness, or other impediments, were disabled from subscribing the declaration of the act of uniformity*; which says, that those who did not subscribe within the time limited were utterly disabled, and *ipso facto* deprived, and their benefices void, as if they were naturally dead. And if this was the case at Peterborough, what must be the condition of the clergy in the more northern counties? In fact, there was not one divine

ious and civil rights, to lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and honesty;" yet the corporation act in its consequences did affect them by filling the city and country with persecuting magistrates.—*History of the Quakers*, vol. i. p. 469. *Ed.*

* Dr. Grey argues that this objection is taken off by a clause, exempting from the penalties of the act those who were prevented subscribing within the limited time by some *lawful impediment* allowed and approved by the *ordinary* of the place, and complying with its requisition within a month after such impediment was removed; and the doctor adds, that, in pursuance of this clause, Dr. Laney, the bishop of Peterborough, dispensed with the dean and chapter of that church. He further alleges a public advertisement given in London, 6th of August, 1662, declaring that the book of common-prayer was then perfectly and exactly printed, and books in folio were provided for all churches and chapels in the kingdom; which left a space of eighteen days for conveying them through the country. But the doctor did not calculate how many of these days would be run out, before this notice had circulated through the nation, and had reached the remoter parts and country parishes lying at a distance from the great post roads. Bishop Burnet says, "the vast number of copies, being many thousands, that were to be wrought off for all the parish churches of England, made the impression go on so slowly, that there were few books set out to sale when the day came." Burnet, vol. i. p. 269. *Examination*, vol. i. p. 420-23, and vol. iii. p. 322-3. *Ed.*

in ten that lived at any considerable distance from London, who did peruse it within that time; but the matter was driven on with so much precipitancy, (says bishop *Burnett*†) that it seems implied, that the clergy should subscribe implicitly to a book they had never seen; and this was done by too many, as by the bishops themselves confessed.

The terms of conformity now were,

(1.) *Re-ordination*, if they had not been episcopally ordained before.

(2.) *A declaration of their unfeigned assent and consent to all and every thing prescribed and contained in the book of common-prayer, and administration of sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies of the church of England, together with the psalter, and the form and manner of making, ordaining, and consecrating of bishops, priests and deacons.*

(3.) *To take the oath of canonical obedience.*

(4.) *To abjure the solemn league and covenant, which many conscientious ministers could not disentangle themselves from.*

(5.) *To abjure the lawfulness of taking arms against the king, or any commissioned by him, on any pretence whatsoever.*

It appears from hence, that the terms of conformity were higher than before the civil wars; and the common-prayer book more exceptionable; for instead of striking out the *apocryphal* lessons, more were inserted, as the story of *Bel and the dragon*; and some new holidays were added, as *St. Barnabas*, and the *conversion of St. Paul*; a few alterations and new collects were made by the bishops themselves, but care was taken (says *Burnet**) that nothing should be altered, as was moved by the presbyterians.—The validity of presbyterian ordination was renounced, by which the ministrations of the foreign churches were disowned.—Lecturers and school-masters were put upon the same foot with incumbents as to oaths and subscriptions.—A new declaration was invented, which none who understood the constitution of England could safely subscribe—and to terrify the clergy into a compliance, no settled provision was made for those who should

† Page 269.

* Page 267.

be deprived of their livings, but all were referred to the royal clemency.†—A severity (says bishop *Burnet*) neither practiced by Queen *Elizabeth* in enacting the liturgy, nor by *Cromwell* in ejecting the royalists; in both which a fifth of the benefice was reserved for their subsistence.

Mr. *Rapin* has several remarks on this act: if we compare it with the king's declaration from Breda, (says he†) it will easily be seen what care the ministers about the king, who were the real authors or promoters of this act, had for his honor and promise; though some therefore may look upon this act as the great support and bulwark of the church, others, no less attached to its interests, will perhaps look upon it as her disgrace and scandal.—His second remark is, for the reader to take notice of the amount of the promises made to the presbyterians by the king's party, upon the assurance of which they had so cheerfully labored for his restoration, and followed the directions transmitted by his friends.—His third remark is, that by an artifice, the most gross conspiracies were invented, which had no manner of reality; or supposing they had, could no ways be charged on the presbyterians, who were not to answer for the crimes of other sects.

On the other hand, bishop *Kennet* says,* “the world has reason to admire not only the wisdom of this act, but even the moderation of it, as being effectually made for ministerial conformity alone, and leaving the people unable to complain of any imposition. And it would certainly have had the desired, and most happy effect, of unity and peace, (says his lordship) if the government had been in earnest in the execution of it.” Must the blessings of unity and peace then be built on the foundation of persecution, plunder, perfidy, and the wastes of conscience? If

† This was done by a *proviso*, drawn up by the lords, “that such persons as have been put out of their livings, by virtue of the act of uniformity, may have such allowances out of their livings for their subsistence as his majesty shall think fit.” Grey's Examination, vol. i. p. 423. A feeble, inefficient proviso, permitting the king to be kind, but leaving it to his option to be unjust and cruel; tantalising distress, rather than relieving it. *Ed.*

† Vol. ii. p. 629. folio.

* The references are, I apprehend, to the Bishop's Complete History. There is a passage correspondent to the first in the Chronicle, p. 712. *Ed.*

his majesty's declaration concerning ecclesiastical affairs breathed the spirit of true wisdom and charity, and ought to stand for a pattern to posterity, whenever they are disposed to heal the breaches of the church, (as the bishop has elsewhere declared||) where could be the wisdom and moderation of this act, which turned out two thousand ministers into the world to beg their bread upon such severe terms? And whereas the bishop says, the people had no reason to complain of imposition, was it no hardship to be obliged to go to church, and join in a form of worship that went against their consciences? Does not the act revive and confirm all the penal laws of queen *Elizabeth* and king *James*, in these words, "Be it farther enacted, that the several good laws and statutes of this realm, which have been formerly made, and are now in force for the uniformity of prayers, and administration of the sacraments within this realm of England, and places aforesaid, shall stand in full force and strength to all intents and purposes whatsoever, and shall be applied, practised, and be put in use, for the punishing all offences contrary to the said law." Surely this must affect the laity! It is more to be admired in my opinion, that the clergy of England, and all officers both civil and military, could subscribe a declaration which gave up the whole constitution into the hands of an arbitrary prince; for if the king had abolished the use of parliaments, and commanded his subjects to embrace the popish religion, which way could they have relieved themselves, when they had sworn, that *it was not lawful to take up arms against the king, or any commissioned by him, on any pretence whatsoever, on pain of high treason?* It is hard to reconcile this doctrine with the revolution of King *William* and Queen *Mary*. I shall only add, that many of the most learned and judicious divines of the church have wished, for their own sakes, that the act might be amended and altered.

Mr. *Collyer*, a nonjuring clergyman, who suffered for his principles, speaks more like a gentleman and a christian than the bishop: "The misfortune of the presbyterians (says he) cannot be remembered without regret; those who quit their interests are certainly in earnest, and deserve a

|| Kennet's Chron. p. 246.

charitable construction. Mistakes in religion are to be tenderly used, and conscience ought to be pitied when it cannot be relieved."

It is fit the authors and promoters of this memorable act, which broke the peace of the church, and established a separation, should stand upon record. Among these the earl of *Clarendon* deserves the first place, who was once for moderate measures, but afterwards altered his conduct (says bishop *Burnett*†) out of respect to the bishops.—“The rhetoric and interest of this great minister” (says *Collyer**) might possibly make an impression upon both houses, and occasion the passing the act of uniformity in the condition it now stands.” He entertained the presbyterians with hopes, while he was cutting away the ground from under their feet. Strange! that one and the same hand could, consistently with *conscience* and *honor*, draw up the king’s declaration from Breda, and his late declaration concerning ecclesiastical affairs, and this severe act of uniformity.

Next to chancellor *Hyde* was Dr. *Sheldon*, bishop of London, and afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, of whom notice has been already taken; he was a facetious man, (says *Burnett*‡) but of no great religion. When the earl of *Manchester* told the king, he was afraid the terms of conformity were so hard that many ministers would not comply; the bishop replied, he was afraid they would, *but now we know their minds* (says he) *we will make them all knaves if they conform*, And when Dr. *Allen* said, it is pity the door is so strait; he answered, *it is no pity at all; if we had thought so many of them would have conformed, we would have made it straiter*.§ And Mr. *Baxter* adds, that as far as he could perceive, it was by some designed it should be so.

† Page 270.

* Collyer, p. 88.

‡ Page 257.

§ It reflects some honor on the name of bishop Saunderson, that he spoke of this act in a milder strain. To a worthy clergyman, who was with him the evening after the king passed it, he said: “that more was imposed on ministers than he wished had been.” On passing the act he sent for Mr. Matthew Sylvester, whose living was in his diocese and treating him with great civility, earnestly pressed him not to quit his living, and patiently heard him state his difficulties: and when he found, that he could not obviate them to his satisfaction, he lamented it, and at last signified a concern, that some things were carried so high in

Next to bishop *Sheldon* was bishop *Morley*, a pious man, (says *Burnet*) but extremely passionate and very obstinate. *Morley* was thought the honestest man, but *Sheldon* the abler statesman. To these may be added, Dr. *Gunning* bishop of Ely; *Henchman* of London; *Dolben* of Rochester; *Stern* of York; Dr. *Pierce*, *Sparrow*, and *Barwick*, all creatures of the court, and tools of the prerogative.

But neither the courtiers nor bishops could have accomplished their designs without tampering with the parliament. Care was therefore taken of the best speakers, and men of influence among the commons. The parliament was undoubtedly acted by a spirit of revenge, (says *Rapin*†) and being of principles directly opposite to the presbyterians, who were for reducing the royal power within certain limits, they resolved to put it out of their power for ever to restrain the prerogative, or alter the government of the church; and the king, being in continual want of money, was content to sacrifice the presbyterians for a large supply of the nation's money, especially when he knew he was serving the cause of popery at the same time, by making way for a general toleration.

The presbyterian ministers had only three months to consider what to do with themselves, and their families. There were several consultations both in city and country to know each other's sentiments; and it happened here, as it did afterwards about taking the oaths to King *William* and Queen *Mary*; some, who persuaded their brethren to dissent, complied themselves and got the other's livings. It is not to be supposed they had all the same scruples.—Bishop *Kennet* says,* that *renouncing the covenant* was the greatest obstacle of conformity to the presbyterians. But his lordship is mistaken; for if abjuring the covenant had been omitted, they could not have taken the *corporation oath*. Some could not in conscience comply with the very form of the hierarchy. Great numbers scrupled the business of *re-ordination*, which implied a

the ecclesiastical settlement; which, he said, should not have been if he could have prevented it. Calamy's History of his own Life, vol. ii. p. 111, MS. and Church and Dissenters compared, p. 81. Ed.

† Page 632, &c.

* Page 471.

renouncing the validity of their former ministrations. But that which the dissenters of all denominations refused, was *giving their assent and consent to all and every thing contained in the book of common-prayer*. This they apprehended to be more than was due to any human composure.

Mr. *Eachard* represents them as under great difficulties; "Some (says he) were positive against any compliance, but great numbers were doubtful and uncertain, and had great struggles between the attractions of conscience and honor, interest and humor. The act was strictly penned, and pressed hard upon late principles and practices. A continual intercourse of letters passed between those in the city, and the rest in the countries, how to proceed in this nice affair. Sometimes the chief of them were for compliance, as I have been assured (says he) by the best hands, and then upon further consideration they changed their minds. They were under considerable temptations on both sides; on one side their livings and preferments were no small inducement towards their compliance; on the other side, besides their consciences, they were much encouraged by the greatness of their numbers, and were made to believe, that if they unanimously stood out, the church must come to them, since the people would never bear so shocking a change.—Besides, they had great expectations from several friends at court, and particularly the popish party, who gave them great encouragement, not only by a promise of pensions to some, but also by a toleration, and a suspension of the act itself, which not long after was partly made good. No doubt but the non-compliance of several proceeded purely from a tender conscience, and in that case ought not only to be pitied, but rather applauded than condemned." Bishop *Burnet* adds, that the leaders of the presbyterian party took great pains to have them all stick together: they said, that if great numbers stood out it was more likely to produce new laws in their favor; so it was thought (says his lordship) that many went out in the croud to keep their friends company.

It is possible some noblemen, and others who were in the interest of the presbyterians, might advise them to adhere to each other; but it is hardly credible, that men of abili-

ties and good sense should throw up their livings, sacrifice their usefulness, and beggar their families, for the sake of good company.

Some of the non-conformists quitted their stations in the church before the 24th of August, as Mr. *Baxter* and others, with an intent to let all the ministers in England know their resolution beforehand.† Others about London preached their farewell sermons the Sunday before Bartholomew-day; several of which were afterwards collected into a volume, and printed with their effigies in the title page; as the reverend Dr. *Manton*, *Bates*, *Jacomb*, *Calamy*, *Matth. Mead*, and others. The like was done in several counties of England; and such a passionate zeal for the welfare of their people ran through their sermons, as dissolved their audiences into tears.

At length the fatal St. *Bartholomew* came, when about two thousand relinquished their preferments in the church, or refused to accept of any upon the terms of the act of uniformity: an example hardly to be paralleled in the christian world! It raised a grievous cry over the nation, for here were many men much valued (says bishop *Burnet**) and distinguished by their abilities and zeal, now cast out ignominiously, reduced to great poverty, provoked by such spiteful usage and cast upon those popular practices, which both their principles and their circumstances seemed to justify, of forming separate congregations, and of diverting men from the public worship. This begot esteem, and raised compassion, as having a fair appearance of suffering persecution for conscience. Mr. *Locke* calls them worthy, learned, pious, orthodox divines, who did not throw themselves out of service, but were forcibly ejected. Nor were they cast out because there was a supply of ministers to carry on the work of religion, for there was room for the employment of more hands, if they were to be found.

At the reformation from popery by queen *Elizabeth*, there were not above two hundred deprived of their livings; besides they were treated with great mildness, and had some allowances out of their livings; whereas these were treated with the utmost severity, and cast entirely upon providence

† *Baxter's Life*, part ii. p. 384.

* Page 270, 280.

for a supply. They were driven from their houses, from the society of their friends; and, what was yet more affecting, from all their usefulness, though they had merited much from the king, and labored indefatigably for his restoration. The former were men of another faith, and owned a foreign head of the church; whereas these were of the same faith with the established church, and differed only about rites and ceremonies. It had been said, that greater numbers were ejected in the late times upon the foot of the covenant;§ but if this were true, it was in a time of war, when the civil and religious differences between the king and parliament were so intermixed, that it was impossible to separate one from the other; the whole nation was in confusion, and those who suffered by the *covenant*, suffered more for their loyalty, than their religion; for when the war was ended, the *covenant* was relaxed, and such as would live peaceably returned to their vacant cures, or were admitted to others.

Besides, the *ingratitude* of the high-churchmen upon this occasion ought to be taken notice of. “Who can answer for the violence and injustice of actions in a civil war (says a divine of the church of England?) Those sufferings were in a time of general calamity, but these were ejected not only in a time of peace, but a time of joy to all the land, and after an act of oblivion, when all pretended

§ Dr. Grey asserts this: and there was a labored attempt by Dr. Walker to prove, that the clergy, ejected, or suffering, in the civil wars, exceeded in numbers those whom the act of uniformity ejected or silenced; and that the sufferings of the former surpassed in nature and severity those of the latter. The publication, which endeavored to establish these points, was a folio, in small print, entitled, “An Attempt towards recovering an account of the numbers and sufferings of the clergy of the church of England, heads of colleges, fellows, scholars, &c. who were sequestered, harrassed, &c. in the late times of the grand rebellion: occasioned by the ninth chapter (now the second volume) of Dr. Calamy’s Abridgment of the Life of Mr. Baxter; together with an examination of that chapter.” The public was at first amused with so large a work, but by degrees began to speak freely of it in conversation, where it had the fate of other performances. It received from the press two able replies: one by Mr. John Withers, a judicious and worthy dissenting minister in Exeter; the other by Dr. Calamy, in a tract entitled, “The Church and Dissenters Compared as to Persecution.” On this subject we would refer the reader back to Mr. Neal, vol. iii. p. 150. *Ed.*

to be reconciled and made friends, and to whose common rejoicings these suffering ministers had contributed their earnest prayers and great endeavors."† Another divine of the same church writes, "I must own, that in my judgment, however both sides have been excessively to blame, yet that the severities used by the church to the dissenters are less excusable than those used by the dissenters to the church. My reason is, that the former were used in times of peace and a settled government, whereas the latter were inflicted in a time of tumult and confusion; so that the plunderings and ravagings endured by the *church ministers*, were owing (many of them at least) to the rudeness of the soldiers, and the chances of war; they were plundered not because they were conformists, but cavaliers, and of the king's party. The allowing of the sequestered ministers a fifth part of their livings was a christian act,* and what, I confess, I should have been glad to have seen imitated at the restoration. But no mercy was to be shewn to these unhappy sufferers, though it was impossible on a sudden to fill up the gap that was made by their removal."

Bishop *Burnet* says, the old clergy, now much enriched, were despised, but the young clergy who came from the university did good service. But though all the striplings in both universities were employed, a great many poor livings in the country had no incumbents for a considerable time. The author of *The five Groans of the Church*, a very strict conformist, complains with great warmth, of

† Conf. Plea for Non-Conformity, p. 12, 13.

* Dr. Grey quotes here, from Dr. Fuller, (Church Hist. book xi. p. 230.) a long detail of the evasions, on which many of the sequestered clergy were refused their fifths. Dr. Walker has also complained, that scarcely one in ten ever had them without trouble, and to the full value. "This is a case, in which," as Dr. Calamy observes, "it is no easy thing to make calculation." Supposing it to have been paid even so indifferently, it was certainly a better provision than was made by the *act of uniformity*, for those who were ejected and silenced. It afforded the sufferers, to a degree, a *legal remedy* for their calamities: and would doubtless, in many instances, be efficient. Dr. Fuller speaks of it as an instance of "the *pitiful* and *pious intentions* of parliament; which, no doubt, desired to be like the best of beings, who as closely applyth his *lenitive* as *corrosive plasters*, and that his *mercy* may take as true effect as his justice." But this matter has been before stated by Mr. Neal, vol. iii. p. 153, 54. *Ed.*

above three thousand ministers admitted into the church, who were unfit to teach because of their youth; of fifteen hundred debauched men ordained; of the ordination of many illiterate men; of one thousand three hundred forty-two factious ministers, a little before ordained; and that of twelve thousand church livings, or thereabouts, three thousand or more being inappropriate, and four thousand one hundred sixty-five *sine cures*, there was but a poor remainder left for a painful and honest ministry.

Such were the spoils of uniformity! And though Mr. *Eachard* says, there was more sense and sound doctrine preached in one twelve-month after the presbyterian ministers were turned out, than in nigh twenty years before; yet another *church writer*, who knew them better, calls the young clergy "florid and genteel preachers, of a more romantic than true majestic and divine stile, who tickled and captivated people at first, but did little service to the souls of men, and in process of time had fewer admirers and friends than at first. He adds, that in the late times they all spake the same things, and carried on the same work, which was the instruction, conversion, consolation, and edification of souls, not biting one another, nor grudging at one another. I never heard (says he) in many hundreds of sermons, diversities of opinions either set up by some, or pulled down by others; we heard indeed that some were *independents*, others *presbyterians*, and others *episcopal*, but we heard no such things from the pulpits. Some men think that the preaching of those days was mere fanaticism, blessing the usurpation, railing against bishops, or deifying *Calvin* with an infallibility; but *Calvin* was preached no farther than Christ spake in him; *Non Calvinum sed Christum prædicabant.*"*

The truth of this observation will appear further, by mentioning the names of some of those ministers, whose learning and piety were universally acknowledged, and who were capable of preaching and writing as good sense, and to as good purpose, as most of their successors; as *Dr. Gilpin, Bates, Manton, Jacomb, Owen, Goodwin, Collins, Conant, Grew, Burgess, and Annesly; Mr. Bowles,*

* Conformist Plea, part I. in pref. and p. 53.

Baxter, Clarkson, Woodbridge, Newcomen, Calamy, Jackson, Pool, Caryl, Charnock, Gouge, Jenkins, Gale, Corbet, Cradock, Matt. Mead, Howe, Kentish, Alsop, Vincent, Greenhill, S. Clark, Flavel, Phil. Henry, and others of like character, “whom I have heard vilified, and represented according to the fancies, passions, or interests of men, (says a learned conformist) but I dare not but be just to them, as to eminent professors of the christian faith, and think that common christianity has suffered much by their silencing and disparagement. A great part of the world is made to believe, that *the non-conformists* are not fit to be employed in the church, nor trusted by the state; but what they are God knows, and the world may know, if they please to consult their writings—They are not to them that know them, what they are reported by them that know them not.—I know them sufficiently to make me bewail their condition, and the vast damage to thousands of souls by their exclusion, not only in the outskirts, but in the very heart of England, who are committed in many parts to them that neither can nor will promote their everlasting interests.”* Upon the whole, though I do not pretend that all the ejected ministers were equally learned, pious† and deserving, yet upon a calm and sedate view of things I cannot help concluding, that in the main they were a body of as *eminent confessors* for truth and liberty as this or any other nation has produced.

Many complied with the terms of conformity, not because they approved them, but for the sake of their families, or because they were unwilling to be buried in silence, as bishop *Reynolds, Wilkins, Hopkins, Fowler, &c.* Several young students, who were designed for the pulpit, applied themselves to law or physic, or diverted to some secular employment. Bishop *Kennet*, in order to extenuate their

* Conform. Plea, in pref. part i.

† To suppose that more than 2000 men could be equal in worth and piety, would be to admit an impossibility; but it deserves notice, that bishop *Kennet* is so candid as to *limit* the charge of scandalous lives and characters, or of a conduct which was at least no credit to the cause for which they suffered, to *some few* only. *Grey's Examination*, p. 332. *Ed.*

calamities,§ has taken pains to point out the favors the ejected ministers received from private persons :* Some (says he) found friends among the nobility and gentry, who relieved their necessities ; some were taken as chaplains into good families, or officiated in hospitals, prisons, or chapels of ease ; some became tutors, or school-masters ; some who went beyond sea were well received in foreign parts ; some became eminent physicians and lawyers ; some had good estates of their own, and others married great fortunes : But how does this extenuate the guilt of the church or legislature, who would have deprived them of these retreats if it had been in their power ? The bishop adds, “ *Therefore we do ill to charge the church with persecution, when the laws were made by the civil government with a view to the peace and safety of the state, rather than to any honor or interest of the church.*” It seems therefore the load of persecution must lie wholly upon the legislature : but had the bishops and clergy no hand in this affair ; did they not push the civil government upon these extremities, and not only concur, but prosecute the penal laws with unrelenting rigor throughout the greatest part of this reign ? The church and state are said to be so incorporated as to make but *one constitution*, and the *penal laws* are shifted from one to the other till they are quite lost ; the *church* cannot be charged with *persecution*, because it makes no laws ; nor can the civil government be charged with it, because it makes them not against conscience, but with a view to the safety of the state ; with such idle sophisms are men to be amused, when it is to cover a reproach !

Dr. *Bates* says, “ they (the ministers) fell a sacrifice to the wrath and revenge of the old clergy, and to the servile compliance of the young gentry with the court, and their distaste of serious religion.† That this is no rash imputation upon the ruling clergy is evident (says the doctor) not

§ Kennet’s Chron. p. 388, &c.

* Dr. Grey has given the passage of bishop Kennet at length, which Mr. Neal has here noticed. But the amount of the bishop’s statement, which runs out into 31 particulars, only shews, that some men were more equitable and kind than was the legislature ; and that they who suffered under the operation of an *iniquitous law*, met with relief from the *kind disposals* of Divine Providence. Ed.

† Baxter, p. 101.

only from their concurrence in passing these laws, (for actions have a language as convincing as those of words) but from Dr. *Sheldon* their great leader, who expressed his fears to the earl of *Manchester* lest the presbyterians should comply. The act was passed after the king had engaged his faith and honor in his declaration from *Breda* to preserve liberty of conscience inviolable ; which promise opened the way for his restoration ; and after the royalists had given public assurance, that all former animosities should be laid aside as rubbish, under the foundation of universal concord."

Sad were the calamities of far the greater part of these unhappy sufferers, who with their families must have perished, if private collections in London, and divers places of the country, had not been made for their subsistence.* Bishop *Burnet* says, they cast themselves on the providence of God, and the charity of friends. The reverend and pious Mr. *Thomas Gouge*, late of St. Sepulchre's, was their advocate, who with two or three of his brethren, made frequent application to several worthy citizens, of whom they received considerable sums of money for some years, till that charity was diverted into another channel ; but nevertheless "many hundreds of them, (according to Mr. *Baxter*) with their wives and children, had neither house nor bread ;† the people they left were not able to relieve them, nor durst they if they had been able, because it would have been called a maintenance of schism or faction. Many of the ministers, being afraid to lay down their ministry after they had been ordained to it, preached to such as would hear them, in fields and private houses, till they were apprehended and cast into gaols, where many of them perished.—The people were no less divided, some conformed,

* Kennet's Chron. p. 838, 192.

§ Life, part ii. p. 385.

† The observation made, not long before he died by the excellent Mr. Phillip Henry, who survived these times, deserves to be mentioned here. It was, that "though many of the ejected ministers were brought very low, had many children, were greatly harrassed by persecution, and their friends generally poor and unable to support them ; yet in all his acquaintance he never knew nor could remember to have heard of any non-conformist minister in prison for debt." P. Henry's Life, p. 74, 3d ed. Ed.

and others were driven to a greater distance from the church, and resolved to abide by their faithful pastors at all events: they murmured at the government, and called the bishops and conforming clergy cruel persecutors; for which, and for their frequenting the private assemblies of their ministers, they were fined and imprisoned, till many families left their native country, and settled in the plantations."

The presbyterian ministers, though men of gravity, and far advanced in years, were rallied in the pulpits under the opprobrious name of *schismatics* and *fanatics*; they were exposed in the play-house, and insulted by the mob, insomuch that they were obliged to lay aside their habits, and walk in disguise. "Such magistrates were put into commission as executed the penal laws with severity. Informers were encouraged and rewarded. It is impossible (says the *Conformist Plea for the Non-Conformist**) to relate the number of the sufferings both of ministers and people; the great trials, with hardships upon their persons, estates and families, by uncomfortable separations, dispersions, unsettlements and removes; disgraces, reproaches, imprisonments, chargeable journies, expenses in law, tedious sicknesses, and incurable diseases ending in death; great disquietments and frights to the wives and families, and their doleful effects upon them. Their congregations had enough to do besides a small maintenance, to help them out of prisons, or maintain them there. Though they were as frugal as possible they could hardly live; some lived on little more than brown bread and water; many had but eight or ten pounds a year to maintain a family, so that a piece of flesh has not come to one of their tables in six weeks time; their allowance could scarce afford them bread and cheese. One went to plough six days and preached on the Lord's day. Another was forced to cut tobacco for a livelihood. The zealous justices of peace knew the calamities of the *ministers*, when they issued out warrants upon some of the *hearers*, because of the poverty of the preachers. Out of respect to the worth and modesty of some of them, (says my author§) I forbear their names." Upon these foundations, and with these triumphs,

* Part iv. p. 40.

§ Ibid. part iv. p. 43.

was the present constitution of the church of England restored. I shall make no further remarks upon it, but leave it to the censure of the reader.

Among the presbyterian divines who died this year, was Mr. *John Ley*, M. A. born at Warwick, Feb. 4, 1583, and educated in Christ-church, Oxford, where he took the degrees in arts, and was presented to the living of Great-Budworth in Cheshire. He was afterwards prebendary of Chester, and subdean, and clerk of the convocation once or twice. In the year 1641, he took part with the parliament, was one of the assembly of divines, chairman of the committee for examination of ministers, and president of Sion college. In the year 1645, he succeeded Dr. *Hyde* in the rich parsonage of Brightwell, Berks. In 1653, he was one of the *tryers*, and at length obtained the rectory of Solyhull in Warwickshire, but having broken a vein by over-straining himself in speaking, he resigned his living, and retired to Sutton-Colfield, where he died, May 16, 1662, in the 79th year of his age. He was a very learned person, well read in the fathers and councils, a popular preacher, a pious and devout christian, and one of the main pillars (says Mr. *Wood**) of the presbyterian cause.

Mr. *Henry Jeanes*, M. A. was born in Somersetshire about the year 1611, and educated in New-Inn, and afterwards in Hart-Hall, Oxon, where he took the degrees in arts, and entered into holy orders. He was an admired preacher in the university, and was quickly preferred to the rectory of Beercrocomb, and the vicarage of Kingston in Somersetshire. In the year 1641, he closed with the parliament, and became rector of Chedsoy near Bridgwater. Here he took into his family several young persons, and instructed them in the liberal arts and sciences; he was a most excellent philosopher, a noted metaphysician, and well versed in polemical divinity. With all these qualifications (says Mr. *Wood*†) he was a contemner of the world, generous, free-hearted, jolly, witty, and facetious. He wrote many books, and died in the city of Wells a little before the fatal day of St. Bartholomew, and was buried in the cathedral church there, *ætatis* 52.

* Athen. Oxon. vol. ii. p. 190.

† Ibid. p. 195.

Dr. *Humphrey Chambers* was born in Somersetshire, and educated in University college, Oxon. In the year 1623, he was made rector of Claverton in Somersetshire, but was afterwards silenced by his diocesan, bishop *Piers*, for preaching up the morality of the sabbath, and imprisoned for two years. He was one of the assembly of divines. In the year 1648, he was created *D. D.* and had the rich rectory of Pewsey given him by the earl of Pembroke. After the king's restoration he kept his living till the very day the act of uniformity took place, when having preached his farewell sermon on *Psul. cxxvi. 6*, he went home, fell sick and died, and was buried in his church at Pewsey, Sept. 8, without the service of the church, which had just then taken place.†

Mr. *Simeon Ash* was educated in Emanuel College, Cambridge. His first station in the church was in Staffordshire, where he contracted an acquaintance with the most eminent puritans. He was displaced from his living for refusing to read the *book of sports*, and not conforming to the ceremonies. After some time he got liberty to preach in an exempt church at Wroxhall, under the protection of sir *John Burgoign*; and elsewhere, under the lord *Brook*, in Warwickshire. Upon the breaking out of the civil war he became chaplain to the earl of *Manchester*, and had a considerable part in the Cambridge visitation. After the king's death he vigorously opposed the new commonwealth, and declaimed publicly against the *engagement*. He was concerned in all the designs for bringing in the king, and went with other London divines to congratulate his majesty at Breda. He was a christian of primitive simplicity, and a non-conformist of the old stamp, being eminently sincere, charitable, holy, and of a cheerful spirit. He had a good paternal estate, and was very hospitable, his house being much frequented by his brethren, by whom he was highly esteemed. He died in an advanced age on the very evening before Bartholomew-day, in a cheerful and firm expectation of a future happiness.

Mr. *Edward Bowles*, M. A. born 1613, and educated in Katherine hall, Cambridge, under Dr. *Sibbes* and Dr.

† Calamy, vol. ii. p. 753, or Palmer's Nonconf. Memorial, vol. ii. p. 509.

‡ Ibid. vol. ii. p. 1, or Ibid. vol. i. p. 85.

Brownrigge. He was first chaplain to the earl of *Manchester*, and upon the reduction of York to the parliament settled in that city. He was a wise and prudent man, having a clear head and a warm heart; an excellent scholar, and an useful preacher. He attended lord *Fairfax* when general *Monk* passed thro' Yorkshire, and presented an address to the general for a free parliament. He was very zealous and active in promoting the king's restoration, and waited on his majesty with lord *Fairfax* at Breda. It is credibly reported that the deanery of York was offered him, but not being satisfied with conformity, he was excluded the *minister*, though he continued preaching at Allhallows, and afterwards at St. Martin's, as he had opportunity.† When the fatal Bartholomew-day approached he grew sick of the times, and died in the flower of his life, aged forty-nine, and was buried on the eve of St. Bartholomew, 1662.

[In the preceding year there passed an act for regulating the press, enacting, "that no private person or persons should print, or cause to be printed, any book or pamphlet whatsoever, unless the same was first lawfully licensed and authorised to be printed by certain persons appointed by the act to licence the same; viz. *Law-books* by the lord chancellor, or one of the chief justices, or by the chief baron: books of *history*, or concerning *state-affairs*, by one of the principal secretaries of state; on *heraldry*, by the earl marshal; and all other books, i. e. to say all *novels*, *romances*, and *fairy tales*, and all books about *philosophy*, *mathematics*, *physic*, *divinity*, or *love*, by the lord archbishop of *Canterbury*. or the bishop of *London* for the time being." "The framers of this curious act," observes lord *Stanhope*, "no doubt, supposing that these *right reverend* prelates, were, of *all* men in the kingdom, most conversant with *all* these subjects." This act commenced in June 1662, and passed only for two years. It was continued by an act of the 16th of *Charles II.* and by another act of the 17th of the same reign; and in a few months afterwards it expired. We may form

† Calamy, vol. ii. p. 779—782, or Palmer's Nonconf. Mem. vol. ii. p. 580.

some idea of the private instructions given to the licenser, as well as of his excessive caution and ignorant zeal, when we are assured, that on his taking exception to the following lines in *Milton's Paradise Lost*, that admirable poem had like to have been suppressed.

“As when the sun, new risen,
Looks through the horizontal mysty air
Shorn of his beams ; or from behind the moon
In dim eclipse, disastrous twilight sheds
On half the nation, and with fear of change
Perplexes monarchies.”

Stanhope on the Rights of Juries, p. 64, &c. Secret History of the Court and Reign of Charles II. vol. i. p. 441, note ; and Dr. Harris's Life of Charles II. vol. ii. p. 263, 274. ED.]

CHAP. VII.

From the Act of Uniformity to the Banishment of the Earl of Clarendon in the Year 1667.

1662.

AT this time, says bishop *Burnet*, the name of PURITANS was changed into that of PROTESTANT NON-CONFORMISTS, who were subdivided into *presbyterians*, *independents*, *anabaptists*, and *quakers*; these being shut out of the establishment, had nothing now in view but a toleration, which the credulous *presbyterians* said they had strong assurances of, before the act of uniformity passed into a law; but in this they were disappointed, as well as in every thing else; for which the *independents* told them they might thank themselves, because their *managers* had protested against including the papists; whereas the legislature and the bishops were concerned to prevent any mischief from that quarter, and to their care the *presbyterians* should have left it.† Some observing how much the court and parliament were set against them, were for removing with their ministers to Holland; and others proposed New-England; but the papists, at a meeting of the earl of *Bristol's* house, agreed to do whatever they could to keep the non-conformists in England, and buoy them up with hopes of a toleration.

The king was a concealed Roman catholic, and had swarms of that persuasion about his person and court, who had fought for his father in the wars, or been civil to him in his exile; their design was to introduce a toleration of their religion, by the royal indulgence, in common with other dissenters from the establishment; and the king was so far in their measures, that he declared openly *he would give liberty to all or none*. The court was therefore content that the act of uniformity should pass in the severest terms, on

† *Burnet*, vol. i. p. 282.

purpose to make the number of dissenters more considerable; and when this was objected, it was replied, *the more dissenters the better*, because it will make a toleration more needful, in which the papists will be included.† The papists had two maxims from which they never departed; one was, *to keep themselves united, and promote a general toleration, or a general prosecution*. The other, *to divide the protestants as much as possible among themselves*. For this reason the sword was put into the hands of such magistrates as would inflame the differences, and exasperate their spirits one against the other. Nor were there wanting some hot-headed young clergymen, who ran greedily into the snare, and became the tools of popery and arbitrary power, till the protestant religion was expiring, and must inevitably have been lost, had it not been revived almost by a miracle. With a like view the laws against profaneness and immorality were relaxed, men's morals were neglected, interludes, masquerades, promiscuous dancing, profane swearing, drunkenness, and an universal dissolution of manners, were connived at, and the very name of godliness became a reproach.

The parliament, being made up of a set of pensioners and mercenaries, went into all the court measures, and enacted more penal laws for religion, than it may be all the parliaments put together since the reformation. They pressed the act of uniformity with inflexible rigor, and enforced it with so many other penal laws, that under their wing popery grew to such a height, as to threaten the extirpation of the *Northern heresy*. At length many of the members being dead, and others grown fat with the spoils of the public, they would have retrieved their errors, and distinguished between *protestant non-conformists* and *popish recusants*, but it was too late; and the king having found ways and means to subsist without parliaments, resolved to adhere by his standing maxim, *to give ease to all dissenters or to none*.

It is impossible to excuse the clergy from their share in the troubles of this reign. If the convocation of 1662, in their review of the liturgy, had made any amendments for the satisfaction of the presbyterians, they would undoubt-

† Burnet, vol. i. p. 285.

edly have passed both houses of parliament, and healed in some measure the divisions of the church; but they were actuated by a spirit of revenge, and not only promoted such laws as might deprive the presbyterians of the power of hurting them for the future; but assisted in putting them in execution. None had a greater share in inflaming the minds of the people, and in sounding the trumpet to persecution. But here the reader must distinguish between those zealots, who, from resentment, bigotry, or sinister views, set themselves to encourage and promote all the methods of oppression and tyranny; and those, who, though they complied with the terms of conformity themselves, were disposed to an accommodation with the protestant non-conformists upon moderate terms.

The bishops were generally of the former sort; they were old and exasperated, fond of their persecuting principles, and fearful of every thing that tended to relieve the presbyterians. They went with zeal into all the slavish doctrines of the prerogative, and voted with the court in every thing they required. But even some of these bishops, who at first were very zealous to throw the presbyterians out of the church, afterwards grew more temperate. Dr. *Laney*, bishop of Peterborough, who made a great bustle in the Savoy conference, was willing at length to wipe his hands of the dirty work, and (to use his own expression) could look through his fingers, and suffer a worthy non-conformist to preach publicly near him for years together. — Bishop *Saunderson* had a roll of non-conformist ministers under his angry eye, designed for discipline, but when he was near his end, he ordered the roll to be burnt, and said he would die in peace. — And most remarkable is the passage in the last will and testament of Dr. *Cosins*, bishop of Durham, a zealous enemy of the presbyterians, and who had met with ill usage in the late times. — “I take it to be my duty, (says he) and that of all the bishops and ministers of the church, to do our utmost endeavor, that at last an end may be put to the differences of religion, or at least that they may be lessened.” Such was the different temper of this learned prelate in the vigor of life, and when he came to review things calmly on his dying bed. To these may be added bishop *Gauden*, *Wilkins*, *Reynolds*, and a few

others, who were always moderate, and are said to carry the wounds of the church in their hearts to the grave ; but the far greater majority of the bench, especially those who frequented the court, were of different principles.

The like may be observed of the inferior clergy, who were divided, a few years after, into those of the *court* and the *country* ; the former were of an angry superstitious spirit, and far more strenuous for a few indifferent ceremonies, than for the peace of the church, or its more important articles ; their sermons were filled with the reverence due to their *holy mother*, with the sacred dignity of their own indelible characters, with the slavish doctrines of passive-obedience and non-resistance, and with the most bitter raillery and invectives against the routed presbyterians ; they encouraged the enacting severe laws, and carried them into execution as long as their superiors would permit, without any regard to mercy or merit ; but took comparatively little or no care, by their doctrine or example, of the morals of the people, which were shamefully neglected throughout the nation. The clergy of this character were by far the more numerous for twenty years after the restoration ; the tide of church preferments running in this channel, and their doctrines being the most fashionable.

The *country* clergy were of a quite different spirit ; they were determined protestants and true churchmen, but more disposed to a coalition with protestant dissenters than with papists : Among these were the *Tillotsons*, *Stillingfleets*, *Whitchcots*, *Wilkins*, *Cudworths*, &c. men of the first rank for learning, sobriety and virtue ; they were the most eminent preachers of the age, whose sermons and writings did honor to the church of England, and supported its character in the worst of times. They lamented the corruptions and vices of the people, and stood in the gap against an inundation of popery and tyranny ; but their numbers were small, because the road to preferment lay another way ; and when the high church clergy had betrayed the liberties of their country, and the cause of the protestant religion, into the hands of the papists, these appeared boldly in their defence, disarmed their adversaries, and saved the nation.

When therefore we speak of the furious proceedings of the bishops and clergy, it must not be understood of the whole body, but only of those who were tools of a corrupt court and ministry, and who, out of ignorance or other private and personal motives, went blindfold into all their destructive measures.

Bishop *Burnet*, in his book against the author of *Parliamentum Pacificum*, has the following remarkable passage: "It is well known, that those who were secretly papists, and disguised their religion, as the king himself did, animated the chief men of the church to carry the points of uniformity as high as possible—That there might be many non-conformists, and great occasion for a toleration, under which popery might creep in; for if the king's declaration from Breda had taken place, of two thousand ministers that were turned out, above seventeen hundred had stayed in; but the practice of the papists had too great an influence on the churchmen, whose spirits were too much soured by their ill usage during the war; nor were they without success on the dissenters, who were secretly encouraged to stand out, and were told, that *the king's temper and principles, and the consideration of trade, would certainly procure them a toleration.* Thus they tampered with both parties; liberty of conscience was their profession, but when a session of parliament came, and the king wanted money, then a new severe law against the dissenters was offered to the angry men of the church party as the price of it; and this seldom failed to have its effect; so that they were like the jewels of the crown, pawned when the king needed money, but redeemed at the next prorogation."

The same prelate observes in another performance, "that the first spirit of severity was heightened by the practices of the papists.—That many churchmen, who understood not the principles of human society, and the rules of the English government, wrote several extravagant treatises about the *measures of submission*; that the dissenters were put to great hardships in many parts of England." But concludes, that "He must have the brow of a jesuit that can cast this *wholly* upon the church of England, and *free the court of it.* Upon the whole matter (says his lordship)

it is evident, that the passions and infirmities of some of the church of England being unhappily stirred up by the dissenters, they were fatally conducted by the popish party to be the instruments of doing a great deal of mischief."

But to go on with the history : three days after the act of uniformity took place, the silenced ministers presented a petition to his majesty for a toleration, by the hands of Dr. *Manton*, Dr. *Bates*, and Mr. *Calamy*, to this effect ; " that having had former experience of his majesty's clemency and indulgence, some of the London ministers, who are like to be deprived of all future usefulness by the late act of uniformity, humbly cast themselves at his majesty's feet, desiring him of his princely wisdom to take some effectual course, that they may be continued in their ministry, to teach his people obedience to God and his majesty ; and they doubt not but by their dutiful and peaceable behavior, they shall render themselves not altogether unworthy of so great a favor."† The matter being debated next day in council, his majesty gave his opinion for an indulgence if it was feasible. Others were for conniving at the more eminent divines, and putting curates into their churches to read the service till they should die off :* This was the opinion of the earl of *Manchester*, who urged it with a great deal of earnestness ; but lord *Clarendon* was for the strict execution of the law : " Surely (says he) there cannot be too intent a care in kings and princes to preserve and maintain all decent forms and ceremonies both in church and state, which keeps up the reverence due to religion, as well as the duty and dignity due to the government and the majesty of kings."§ Bishop *Sheldon* was of the same side, and declared, that if the act was suspended he could not maintain his episcopal authority ; that this would render the legislature ridiculous, and be the occasion of endless distractions.|| England is accustomed to obey laws, (says he) so that while we stand on that ground we are safe ; and to answer all objections, he undertook to

† Kennet's Chron. p. 753.

* Ibid. p. 730, 742.

§ Parker's History, p. 29

|| Burnet, vol. i. p. 279.

fill the vacant pulpits more to the people's satisfaction. By such arguments, delivered with great earnestness and zeal, they prevailed with the council to let the law take place for the present.

Nevertheless, about four months after, his majesty published a declaration to all his loving subjects, by advice of his privy council, dated December 26, 1662, in which, after reciting those words of his declaration from Breda, relating to his giving liberty to tender consciences, and his readiness to consent to an act of parliament for that purpose, his majesty adds, "As all these things are fresh in our memory, so are we still firm in the resolution of performing them to the full. But it must not be wondered at, since that parliament to which those promises were made, never thought fit to offer us an act for that purpose, *that we being so zealous as we are (and by the grace of God shall ever be) for the maintenance of the true protestant religion,* should give its establishment the precedency before matters of indulgence to dissenters from it; but that being done, we are glad to renew to all our subjects concerned in those promises of indulgence this assurance, That as for what concerns the penalties upon those, who (living peaceably) do not conform to the church of England through scruple, or tenderness of misguided conscience, but modestly, and without scandal, perform their devotions in their own way, we shall make it our special care, as far as in us lies, without invading the freedom of parliament, to incline their wisdom at the next approaching sessions, to concur with us in making some act for that purpose, as may enable us to exercise with a more universal satisfaction *that power of dispensing which we conceive to be inherent in us*; nor can we doubt of their cheerful co-operating with us in a thing wherein we conceive ourselves so far engaged both in honor, and in what we owe to the peace of our dominions, which we profess we can never think secure whilst there shall be a color left to disaffected persons to inflame the minds of so many multitudes upon the score of conscience, with despair of ever obtaining any effect of our promises for their ease."

His majesty then proceeds to obviate the objection of his favoring papists ; and after having avowed to the world the due sense he had of their having deserved well from his royal father, and from himself, and even from the protestant religion, in adhering to them with their lives and fortunes, for the maintenance of their crown in the religion established, he declares, that “ it is not in his intention to exclude them from all benefit from such an act of indulgence, but that they are not to expect an open toleration ; but refers the manner to the approaching sessions of parliament, which he doubts not will concur with him in the performance of his promises.”—He concludes, “ with hoping that all his subjects, with minds happily composed by his clemency and indulgence, (instead of taking up thoughts of deserting their professions, or transplanting) will apply themselves comfortably, and with redoubled industry, to their several vocations, in such manner as the private interest of every one in particular may encourage him to contribute cheerfully to the general prosperity.

Given at our court at Whitehall, this 26th of December, in the 14th year of our reign.”

This declaration was thought to be framed at Somerset-house, where the queen-mother kept her court, without the knowledge of lord *Clarendon* or bishop *Sheldon* ; and, according to *Burnet*, was the result of a council of papists at the earl of *Bristol's*, (who were under an oath of secrecy) and of the king himself.* It is modestly expressed ; and though it carries in it a claim of the *dispensing power*, and of good-will to popery, yet it refers all to the parliament. Accordingly his majesty, in his speech at the opening the next sessions, Feb. 28, 1663, supported his declaration in the following words, “ That though he was in his nature an enemy to all severity in religion, he would not have them infer from thence, that he meant to favor popery, though several of that profession, who had served him and his father well, might justly claim a share in that indulgence he would willingly afford to other dissenters : not that I intend them to hold any place in the government (says

* *Burnet*, vol. i. p. 282, 3.

his majesty) for *I will not yield to any, no not to the bishops themselves, in my zeal for the protestant religion, and my liking the act of uniformity; and yet if the dissenters will behave themselves peaceably and modestly under the government, I could heartily wish I had such a power of indulgence to use upon all occasions, as might not needlessly force them out of the kingdom, or staying here, give them cause to conspire against the peace of it.*" This was the first open claim of a *dispensing power*, which the reader will observe did not propose a *law for liberty of conscience*, but that his majesty might have a legal power of *indulgence* vested in himself, which he might use, or recal as he thought fit. This alarmed the house of commons, who voted the thanks of the house for his majesty's resolution to maintain the act of uniformity; but that it was the opinion of the house, that *no indulgence be granted to dissenters from it*; and an address was appointed to be drawn up, and presented to his majesty, with the following reasons:

'We have considered (say they) your majesty's *declaration from Breda*, and are of opinion, that it was not a *promise*, but a gracious declaration to comply with the advice of your parliament, whereas no such advice has been given.* They who pretend a right to the supposed promise, put the right into the hands of their representatives, who have passed the act of uniformity.§ If any shall say, a right to the benefit of the declaration still remains, it tends to dissolve the very bond of government, and to suppose a disability in the whole legislature to make a law contrary to your majesty's declaration. We have also considered the nature of the *indulgence* proposed, and are of opinion, 1. That it will establish schism by a law, and make the censures of the church of no consideration. 2. That it is unbecoming the wisdom of parliament to pass a

* Rapin, vol. ii. p. 634.

§ According to this curious mode of reasoning, the authority of a trust justifies the abuse of it, and persons elected for the general welfare are not accountable for acting contrary to the interest of their constituents. Such a position is just as absurd, to use the simile of a late writer, as to imagine "that physicians, chosen to superintend and cure the sick in hospitals, have a right to kill their patients if they please." Secret History of the Reign of Charles II. vol. ii. p. 7, note. *Ed.*

law in one session for uniformity, and in another session to pass a law to frustrate or weaken it, the reasons continuing the same. 3. That it will expose your majesty to the restless importunities of every sect who shall dissent from the established church. 4. That it will increase sectaries, which will weaken the protestant profession, and be troublesome to the government; and in time some prevalent sect may contend for an establishment which may end in popery. 5. That it is unprecedented, and may take away the means of convicting recusants. 6. That the indulgence proposed will not tend to the peace, but to the disturbance of the kingdom; the best way therefore to produce a settled peace is to press vigorously the act of uniformity."

The reader will judge of the force of these reasons, which, in my opinion, would justify the severest persecution in the world; however, the king was convinced with a sum of money, and therefore made no other reply, but that *he had been ill understood*. The house then addressed him to put the laws in execution against papists; and a proclamation was issued out for that purpose, but little regarded. However, this opposition to the king and the *Roman catholics* by lord *Clarendon*, and his friends in the house of commons, laid the foundation of his impeachment the next year, and of his ruin some time after.—Bishop *Kennet* admits, That the king was inclined to a general indulgence,* "though whether it was from his good-nature, or a secret inclination to introduce popery, is not very decent to determine;" but both he and *Eachard* are of opinion,|| "That the king's clemency hardened the dissenters against the church; whereas, if they had lost all dependance on a court interest, and had found the king and his ministry intent upon the strict execution of the act of uniformity, most of them (say they) would at this juncture have conformed." A notorious mistake! the contrary to this being evident to a demonstration throughout the course of this reign. The conformity of honest men does not depend upon the will, but the understanding, and it is very ungenerous at this distance to impeach men's integri-

* Page 258.

|| *Eachard*, p. 806.

ty, who underwent a long course of the severest trials to retain it.

Some of the ejected presbyterians, who were men of piety and learning, complied as far as they could, and made a distinction between *lay-conformity*, and *ministerial*; they practised the former, and went sometimes to their parish churches before or after the exercise of their ministry in some private houses; and this they did, not for interest or advantage, but to all appearance to express their catholicism and brotherly love.* Here was the rise of *occasional conformity*, practised by Dr. *Bates*, Mr. *Baxter*, and others, to their death; but this, instead of being well taken, was the occasion of bringing some of them into trouble; for Mr. *Calamy*, late minister of Aldermanbury, being at his parish church December 28, the preacher happened to disappoint them; upon which, at the importunity of the parishioners, Mr. *Calamy* went up into the pulpit, and preached a sermon upon *Illy's concern for the Ark of God*; a subject much upon their thoughts at that time: but this was so highly resented at court, that he was sent to Newgate next week for sedition, in breaking the king's laws.† It was done *in terrorem*, says my author, but there was such a clamor among the people, and such a resort of persons of distinction to visit the prisoner, that his majesty thought fit to release him in a few days, which not being done by due course of law, the commons resented it, and presented an address, that the laws for the future might have their free course. This disgusted the king, who was willing to assert his prerogative, and shew some favor to the presbyterians, that he might cover the papists; but lord *Clarendon*, who was their implacable enemy, and at the head of that party which meditated their ruin, opposed the court measures, and encouraged his friends in both houses to abide by the laws.‡

The following summer [1663] there was a fresh discourse of liberty for the silenced ministers; and the court were so far in the design as to encourage them to petition for a *general toleration*, insinuating this to be the only way of relief, and that the legislature would go on to increase their

* Baxter's Life, part ii. p. 436. Compl. Hist. p. 267.

† Calamy, vol. ii. p. 6.

‡ Rapin, p. 312-13.

burdens, and lay them in gaols till they complied. The *independents* went up to court to speak for themselves, but the *presbyterians* refused ; upon which Mr. *Baxter* says, the independent brethren thought it owing to them that they missed of their intended liberty.* The court being displeased, lord *Clarendon* and his friends took the opportunity to awaken their resentments, by fathering upon the non-conformists some new plots against the government. There was said to be a conspiracy in the North among the republicans and separatists, to restore the long parliament, and put *Lambert* and *Ludlow* at their head, though the former was shut up in prison in a remote island, and the other gone into banishment. There had been some unadvised and angry conversation among the meaner sort of people of republican principles, but it was not pretended that any gentleman of character, much less that the body of the English non-conformists, were acquainted with it ; however, about twenty were tried and condemned at York and Leeds, and several executed. Some very mean persons were indicted at the Old-Bailey for a branch of the same design, as *Tongue*, *Phillips*, *Stubbs*, *Hind*, *Sellars*, and *Gibbes* : they were not tried separately, but set at the bar together, and condemned in the lump. It was pretended that the fifth monarchy men, anabaptists, independents, and some quakers, were consenting to some desperate designs, but the authors were never discovered ; however, four of these pretended conspirators were executed, who confessed, at the place of execution, that they had heard some treasonable expressions in company, but denied to the last that they were acquainted with any conspiracy against the king ; and whoever reads their trials will be inclined to think, that it was a design of those who were at the head of affairs, to inflame the populace against the non-conformists, in order to bring on them greater severities.†

An act was passed this summer for the relief of such persons as by sickness, or other impediments, were disabled from subscribing the declaration in the act of uniformity, and explanation of the said act. The preamble sets forth, “ That divers persons of eminent loyalty, and known

* *Baxter's Life*, part ii. p. 430, 3.

† *Kennet's Chron.* p. 840, 1. *Calamy*, vol. i. p. 305. *Rapin*, p. 635.

affection to the liturgy of the church of England, were out of the kingdom; and others by reason of sickness, disability of body, or otherwise, could not subscribe within the time limited, and were therefore disabled, and *ipso facto* deprived of their prebendaries, or other livings. therefore further time is given them to the feast of the *nativity of our Lord* next ensuing; or if out of England, forty days after their return:”* Which shews, that the time limited by the act of uniformity was not sufficient. The journal of the house of lords mentions a clause inserted by their lordships, explaining the *subscription and declaration* to relate only to *practice and obedience to the law*, which passed the upper house, though several temporal lords protested against it, as destructive to the church of England; however, when it came down to the commons, the clause was rejected, and the lords did not think fit to insist upon its being restored.†

While the parliament were relieving the loyalists, they increased the burdens of the non-conformists, for under color of the late pretended plots, they passed an act for *suppressing seditious conventicles*; the preamble to which having set forth, that the sectaries, under pretence of tender consciences, at their meetings had contrived insurrections, the act declares the 35th of Queen *Elizabeth* to be in full force, which condemns all persons refusing peremptorily to come to church, after conviction, to banishment, and in case of return to death, without benefit of clergy. It enacts further, “That if any person above the age of sixteen, after the first of July 1664, shall be present at any meeting, under color or pretence of any exercise of religion, in other manner than is allowed by the liturgy or practice of the church of England, where shall be five or more persons than the household, shall for the first offence suffer three months imprisonment, upon record made upon oath under the hand and seal of a justice of peace, or pay a sum not exceeding five pounds; for the second offence six months

* 15 Car. II. cap. 6.

† “Thus it is the declared sense of the legislature, that the unfeigned assent and consent relates not only to the *use*, but to the *inward and entire approbation of all and every thing* as expressed in the subscription.” Fowler’s French Constitution, p. 352, note.

‡ 16 Car. II. cap. 4.

imprisonment, or ten pounds ; and for the third offence the offender to be banished to some of the American plantations for seven years, excepting New-England and Virginia, or pay one hundred pounds ; and in case they return, or make their escape, such persons are to be adjudged felons, and suffer death without benefit of clergy. Sheriffs, or justices of peace, or others commissioned by them, are empowered to dissolve, dissipate, and break up all unlawful conventicles, and to take into custody such of their number as they think fit. They who suffer such conventicles in their houses or barns are liable to the same forfeitures as other offenders. The prosecution is to be within three months. Married women taken at conventicles are to be imprisoned for twelve months, unless their husbands pay forty shillings for their redemption. 'This act to continue in force for three years after the next session of parliament.'

This was a terrible scourge over the *laity*, put into the hands of a single justice of peace, without the verdict of a jury, the oath of the *informer* being sufficient. The design of the parliament (says *Rapin*) was to drive them to despair, and to force them into real crimes against the government. By virtue of this act the gaols in the several counties were quickly filled with dissenting protestants, while the papists had the good fortune to be covered under the wing of the prerogative. Some of the ministers who went to church in the sermon time, were disturbed for preaching to a few of their parishioners after the public service was over ; their houses were broke open, and their hearers taken into custody ; warrants were issued out for levying twenty pounds on the minister, twenty pounds upon the house, and five shillings upon each hearer. If the money was not immediatly paid, there was a seizure of their effects, the goods and wares were taken out of the shops ; and in the country, cattle were driven away and sold for half the value. If the seizure did not answer the fine, the minister and people were hurried to prison, and held under close confinement for three or six months. The trade of an *informer* began to be very gainful, by the encouragement of the spiritual courts. At every quarter-sessions several were fined for not coming to church, and others excommunicated ; nay, some have been sentenced to abjure the

realm, and fined in a sum much larger than all they were worth in the world.

Before the conventicle act took place the laity were courageous,* and exhorted their ministers to preach till they went to prison; but when it came home to themselves, and they had been once in gaol, they began to be more cautious, and consulted among themselves, how to avoid the edge of the law in the best manner they could; for this purpose their assemblies were frequently held at midnight, and in the most private places; and yet, notwithstanding all their caution, they were frequently disturbed; but it is remarkable, that under all their hardships they never made the least resistance, but went quietly along with the soldiers or officers, when they could not fly from them. The distress of so many families made some confine themselves within their own houses, some remove to the plantations, and others have recourse to *occasional conformity*, to avoid the penalty for not coming to church; but the *independents*, *anabaptists*, and *quakers*, declined the practice, for they said, If *persecution* was the mark of a false church, it must be absolutely unlawful to join with one that was so notoriously guilty.

Indeed the *quakers* gloried in their sufferings, and were so resolute as to assemble openly at the Bull and Mouth near Aldersgate,|| from whence the soldiers and other officers dragged them to prison, till Newgate was filled, and multitudes died by close confinement in the several gaols. The account published about this time says, there were six hundred of them in prison, *merely for religion sake*, of whom several were banished to the plantations. Sometimes the *quakers* met and continued silent, upon which it was questioned, whether such an assembly was a *conventicle for religious exercise*; and when some were tried for it in order to banishment, they were acquitted of the banishment, and came off with a fine, which they seldom paid, and were therefore continued in prison.† In short the *quakers* about London gave such full employment to the *informers*, that they had less leisure to attend the meetings of other dissenters.

* Baxter's Life, part ii. p. 436.

|| Sewel, p. 415.

† Baxter's Life, part ii. p. 436

So great was the severity of these times, and the arbitrary proceedings of the justices, that many were afraid to pray in their families, if above four of their acquaintance who came only to visit them were present. Some families scrupled asking a blessing on their meat, if five strangers were at table. In London, where the houses join, it was thought the law might be evaded if the people met in several houses, and heard the minister through a window or hole in the wall; but it seems this was over-ruled, the determination being (as has been observed) in the breast of a single mercenary justice of peace. And while conscientious people were thus oppressed, the common people gave themselves up to drunkenness, profane swearing, gaming, lewdness, and all kinds of debauchery, which brought down the judgments of heaven upon the nation.

The first general calamity that befel the kingdom was a war with the *Dutch*, which the king entered into this winter, by the instigation of the young *French* monarch *Lewis XIV.* who being grown rich by a long peace, sought for an opportunity to make new conquests in the *Spanish Flunders*; for this purpose he engaged the maritime powers in a war, that by weakening each other's hands they might not be at leisure to assist the Spaniards whom he intended to attack. The English made complaints of the encroachments of the *Dutch* upon their trade, and indignities offered to his majesty's subjects in *India*, *Africa*, and elsewhere; the *French* promoted these misunderstandings, and promised to supply the king with what sums of money he wanted; till at length war was proclaimed Feb. 22, 1664-65, in the course of which sundry bloody engagements happened at sea; the two nations were drained of their blood and their treasure, and the protestant interest almost ruined, while the *French* were little more than spectators. The war continued about two years and a half, and then ended with no manner of advantage to either nation.

[In the year 1663 there was obtained, by the interest of *Mr. Baxter* and *Mr. Ashurst*, with the lord chancellor *Hyde*, a charter for the incorporating "A society or company for propagation of the gospel in New-England, and the parts adjacent in America." Such a society had been

formed under the sanction of an act of parliament in 1646: and, by a collection made in all the parishes in England, there had been raised a sum sufficient to purchase an estate in land of between 500l. and 600l. a year. Upon the restoration of king *Charles II.* the charter became void, and colonel *Biddingsfield*, a Roman catholic officer in the army, of whom a considerable part of the land was bought seized it for his own use; pretending he had sold it under the value, in hopes of recovering it upon the king's return. The society being re-established, at great trouble and expense, were again put in possession of the estate by a decree of chancery, which the honorable Mr. *Boyle* was very instrumental in obtaining. He was appointed the first governor of the company.*

On the 4th of June this year died, aged 81, Dr. *William Juxon*, archbishop of Canterbury, whose elevation to the post of lord high-treasurer of England and other early preferments has been mentioned before, (vol. ii. p. 275.) He was born in Chichester, received his grammar learning at Merchant-taylors school, became fellow of St. *John's* college Oxford in 1598, and batchelor of the civil law in 1603, being about that time a student in *Gray's* inn. Soon after he entered into holy orders, and in 1609 was made vicar of St. *Giles*, Oxford. In 1626 he executed the office of vice-chancellor. After the death of *Charles I.* he retired to his paternal manor of Little-Compton in Gloucestershire, and devoted himself to liberal studies. On the restoration, he was advanced Sept. 4, 1660, to the see of *Canterbury*.—He was buried with great funeral pomp in St. *John's* college, Oxon. He is said to have acted at a very critical time, with a prudence, moderation and integrity, which enmity could not impeach in his arduous office as high-treasurer. He left many monuments of his munificence and liberality. “The mildness of his temper, the gentleness of his manners, and the integrity of his life,” says Mr. *Granger*, “gained him universal esteem; and even the haters of Prelacy, could never hate *Juxon*.”†

Mr. *Henry Jessey*, an eminent divine among the puri-

* Neal's History of New-England, vol. i. p. 262.

† *Granger's* History of England, vol. ii. p. 109, 154. *Wood's Athen. Oxon.*, vol. ii. p. 662-3, and *Richardson de Præsulibus*, p. 162.

tans, died also, on the 4th of Sept. this year. He was born on the 3d of Sept. 1601, at West-Rowton, near Cleaveland in Yorkshire, where his father was minister. At seventeen years of age he was sent to St. John's college in Cambridge; he continued six years at the university, where he commenced first bachelor, then master of arts. In 1623 died his father, who had hitherto supplied him according to his ability; which event left him in such strait circumstances, that he had not above 3d. a day for his maintenance, yet he so œconomically managed this small pittance, as to spare some of it for hiring books. He pursued his studies with diligence, and, not contenting himself with the *ipse dixit* of authority, he investigated science freely. He left the university well versed in the *Hebrew* and the writings of the *rabbies*, with a knowledge of *Syriac* and *Chaldee*. During this period his mind imbibed a strong sense of religion, and he determined to devote himself to the ministry. He spent nine years, after leaving the university, as chaplain in the family of Mr. *Brampton Gurdon*, at Asington, in Suffolk, improving his time, and, among other studies, giving his attention to physic. In 1627 he received *episcopal* ordination, but could not be prevailed upon to accept any promotion until 1633, when the living of Aughton, in Yorkshire, was given to him. But he was removed the very next year for not using the ceremonies, and for taking down a crucifix. On this he was received into the family of Sir *Matthew Bointon* in the same county, and preached frequently at two parishes in the neighborhood. In 1635, accompanying his patron to London, he was invited to be pastor of the congregation formed in 1616 by Mr. *Henry Jacob*; this his modesty led him to decline for some time, but, after many prayers and much consideration, he accepted the invitation, and continued in this post till his death. Soon after the sentiments of the *baptists* were embraced by many of this society. This put him upon studying the controversy; and the result was, that after great deliberation, many prayers, and frequent conferences with pious and learned friends, he altered his sentiments, first concerning the mode, and then the subjects of baptism. But he maintained the same temper of friendship and charity towards other christians, not only as to

conversation, but church communion. When he visited the churches in the north and west of England, he labored to promote the spirit of love and union among them, and was a principal person in setting up and maintaining, for some time, a meeting of some eminent men of each denomination in London. He divided his labors according to the liberality of his temper. In the afternoon of every Lord's day he was among his own people. In the morning he usually preached at St. *George's* church, Southwark, and once in the week at Ely-house, and at the Savoy to the maimed soldiers. The master study of his life was a new translation of the bible; in this design he engaged the assistance of many persons of note. It was almost compleated, when the great turn given to public affairs at the restoration rendered it abortive. The benevolence of his exertions formed a most distinguishing trait in his character. He chose a single life, that he might be more at liberty for such labors. Besides his own alms, he was a constant solicitor and agent for the poor, and carried about with him a list and description of the most peculiar objects of charity, which he knew. Thirty families had all their subsistence from him.

But his charity was not limited to his own congregation; and where he thought it no charity to give, he would often lend without interest or security. One of the most remarkable instances of his charity, which had scarcely a precedent, was what he shewed to the poor *Jews* at Jerusalem, who by a war between the *Swedes* and *Poles*, which cut off their subsistence from their rich brethren in other countries, were reduced to great extremities. Mr. *Jessey* collected for them 300*l.* and sent with it letters with a view to their conversion to christianity. In the year 1650 he had written a treatise to remove their prejudices, and convince them of the messiahship of Jesus, recommended by several of the assembly of divines, and afterwards translated into *Hebrew* to be dispersed among the *Jews* of all nations. He was exposed to a great number of visitors; which occasioned him to have it written over his study door;

AMICE, QUISQUIS HUC ADES;
AUT AGITO PAUCIS, AUT ABI,
AUT ME LABORANTEM ADJUVA.

WHATEVER FRIEND COMES HITHER,
DISPATCH IN BRIEF, OR GO,
OR HELP ME BUSIED TOO. *H. J.*

When he went long journies, he laid down rules to regulate the conversation for his fellow travellers, which were enforced by small pecuniary mulcts on the violation of them. He was meek and humble, and very plain in speech, dress and demeanor. He was so great a scripturist, that if one began to rehearse any passage, he could go on with it, and name the book, chapter and verse, where it might be found. The original languages of the Old and New Testament were as familiar to him as his mother tongue. He was several times apprehended at meetings for religious worship. Upon the restoration he was ejected from his living at *St. George's*, silenced from his ministry, and committed to prison. About five or six months after his last release, he died full of peace and joy; lamented by persons of different persuasions, several thousands of whom attended his funeral. Crosby's *History of the Baptists*, vol. i. p. 307—21. Palmer's *Non-conformists Memorial*, vol. i. p. 108—13. *The Life and Death of Mr. Jessey*, 1671; where are the letters written to the Jews, remarks on our translation of the bible, and rules for a new version. Ed.]

The next judgment which befel the nation was the most dreadful *plague* that had been known within the memory of man. This was preceded by an unusual drought; the meadows were parched and burnt up like the highways, insomuch that there was no food for the cattle, which occasioned first a murrain among them, and then a general contagion among the human species, which increased in the city and suburbs of London until eight or ten thousand died in a week.* The richer inhabitants fled into the remoter

* Dr. Grey has introduced here a full and affecting narrative of the progress of this calamity, and of the mortality it produced; drawn up by the pen of Mr. Vincent, one who charitably gave his assistance at that time, as copied by Dr. Calamy, in his continuation, p. 33. It was usual for people, as they went about their business, to drop down in the street. A bagpiper, who, excessively overcome with liquor, had fallen down and lay asleep in the street was taken up, and thrown into a cart, and betimes the next morning, carried away with some dead bodies. At day-break he awoke, and rising began to play a tune:

counties ; but the calamities of those who stayed behind, and of the poorer sort, are not to be expressed. Trade was at a full stand ; all commerce between London and the country was entirely cut off, lest the infection should be propagated thereby. Nay, the country house-keepers and farmers durst not entertain their city friends or relations till they had performed quarantine in the fields or out-houses. If a stranger passed through the neighbourhood, they fled from him as an enemy. In London the shops and houses were quite shut up, and many of them marked with a red cross, and an inscription over the door, *Lord have mercy upon us !* Grass grew in the streets ; and every night the bell-man went his rounds with a cart, crying, *Bring out your dead.* From London the plague spread into the neighboring towns and villages, and continued near three quarters of a year, till it had swept away almost one hundred thousand of the inhabitants.

Some of the established clergy, with a commendable zeal, ventured to continue in their stations, and preach to their parishioners throughout the course of the plague, as *Dr. Walker, Dr. Horton, Dr. Meriton*, and a few others ;* but most of them fled, and deserted their parishes at a time when their assistance was most wanted ; upon this some of the ejected ministers ventured to preach in the vacant pulpits, imagining that so extraordinary a case would justify their disregard to the laws. The ministers who embarked in this service were the reverend *Mr. Thomas Vincent, Mr. Chester, Mr. Janeway, Mr. Turner, Grimes, Franklin*, and others. The face of death, and the arrows that fled among the people in darkness at noon-day, awakened both preachers and hearers : Many who were at church one day were thrown into their graves the next ; the cry of great numbers was, *What shall we do to be saved ?* A more awful time England had never seen.

But it will amaze all posterity, that in a time both of war and pestilence, and when the non-conformist ministers

which so surprized those who drove the cart, and could see nothing distinctly, that in a fright they betook them to their heels, and would have it they had taken up the devil in the disguise of a dead man. *Sir John Reresby's Memoirs, p. 10. 11. Ed.*

* *Baxter's Life, part iii. p. 2.*

were hazarding their lives in the service of the souls of the distressed and dying citizens of London, that the prime minister and his creatures, § instead of mourning for the nation's sins, and meditating a reformation of manners, should pour out all their vengeance upon the non-conformists, in order to make their condition more insupportable. One would have thought such a judgment from heaven, and such a generous compassion in the ejected ministers, should have softened the hearts of their most cruel enemies; but the presbyterians must be crushed, in defiance of the rebukes of Providence. Bishop *Kennet* and Mr. *Eachard* would excuse the ministry, by alledging, that some of the old *Oliverian* officers were enlisted in the *Dutch* service;* which, if true, was nothing to the body of the presbyterians, though lord *Clarendon* did what he could to incense the parliament, and make them believe they were in confederacy with the enemies of the government. In his harangue to the house, he says, "their countenances were more erect, and more insolent, since the beginning of the war than before; that they were ready, if any misfortune had befallen the king's fleet, to have brought the war into our fields and houses. The horrid murderers of our late royal master have been received into the most sacred councils in Holland; and other infamous persons of our nation are admitted to a share in the conduct of their affairs, with liberal pensions. Too many of his majesty's subjects have been enlisted in their service for a maintenance. Their friends at home made no doubt of doing the business themselves, if they could pitch upon a lucky day to begin the work. If you carefully provide for suppressing your enemies at home, you will find your enemies abroad more inclined to peace—" Is it possible that such a speech could proceed from the lips of a wise and faithful counsellor, who was to ask for money to carry on the war? Could the chancellor think, that the way to conquer abroad was to divide and harrass the king's subjects at home, in the midst of the distress of a terrible plague? He confessed afterwards, that he was most averse to this war, and abhorred it from his very soul; and yet he makes a handle of it to rain down vengeance on the presbyterians, who had no concern in it; but it hap-

§ Baxter's Life, part iii. p. 3.

* Eachard, p. 824.

pened to them as in popish countries, when any general calamity befalls the people, it is imputed to too great an indulgence to *heretics*, and the vengeance is returned upon their heads.† Bishop *Burnet* is of opinion that the Oxford act was rather owing to the liberty the non-conformists took in their sermons to complain of their own hardships, and to lament the vices of the court, as the causes of the present calamities. And supposing this to be true, their complaints were not without reason.

However, the load was to lie on the dissenting ministers, and therefore an act was brought into the house to banish them from their friends, which had the royal assent, October 31, 1665. It was entitled, *An Act to restrain Non-Conformists from inhabiting Corporations*; the preamble to which sets forth, “That divers parsons, and others in holy orders, not having subscribed the act of uniformity, have taken upon them to preach in unlawful assemblies, and to instil the poisonous principles of schism and rebellion into the hearts of his majesty’s subjects, to the great danger of the church and kingdom. Be it therefore enacted, that all such non-conformist ministers shall take the following oath: *I A. B. do swear, that it is not lawful upon any pretence whatsoever, to take arms against the king; * and that I do abhor that traiterous position of taking arms by his authority, against his person, or against those that are commissioned by him, in pursuance of such commissions; and that I will not at any time endeavor any alteration of government either in church or state.* And all such non-conformist ministers shall not, after the 24th of March, 1665, unless in passing the road, come, or be within five miles of any city, town corporate, or borough that sends burgesses to parliament: or within five miles of any parish, town, or place, wherein they have since the act of oblivion been parson, vicar, or lecturer. &c. or where they have preached in any conventicle on any pretence, whatsoever, before they have taken and subscribed the aforesaid

† Ibid. p. 846.

* A project was formed of imposing this clause on the whole nation, by requiring this oath of every subject. The point was so near being carried, that the bill brought in for the purpose was rejected by three voices only. Secret History of the Reign of Charles II. vol. ii. p. 172. note. *Ed.*

oath before the justices of peace at their quarter-sessions for the county, in open court; upon forfeiture for every such offence of the sum of forty pounds, one third to the king, another third to the poor, and a third to him that shall sue for it. And it is further enacted, that such as shall refuse the oath aforesaid shall be incapable of teaching any public or private schools, or of taking any boarders§ or tablers to be taught or instructed, under pain of forty pounds, to be distributed as above. Any two justices of peace, upon oath made before them of any offence committed against this act, are empowered to commit the offender to prison for six months, without bail or mainprize.”

The earl of *Southampton*, lord *Wharton*, *Ashley*, Dr. *Earl*, bishop of Salisbury, and others, vehemently opposed this bill, out of compassion to the non-conformists, and as it enforced an unlawful and unjustifiable oath, which (as the earl of *Southampton* observed) *no honest man could take*; but the madness of the times prevailed against all reason and humanity.† The promoters of the act were lord chancellor *Clarendon*, archbishop *Sheldon*, *Ward* the new bishop of Salisbury, and their creatures, with all that were secret favorers of popery (says bishop *Burnet*.) It was moved that the word *legally* might be inserted in the oath, before the word *commissioned*; and that before the words *endeavored to change the government*, might be inserted the word *unlawfully*; but all amendments were rejected;† however, *Bridgman*, chief justice of the *common-pleas*, declaring that the oath must be so understood, Dr. *Bates* and about twenty others took it, to avoid the imputation of sedition; but they had such a lecture afterwards from the bench for their scruples, that they repented of what they had done before they went out of court. Mr. *Howe*, and about twelve in Devonshire, and a few in Dorsetshire, took the oath with a declaration in what sense and with what limitations they understood it.*

§ “This act seemed,” it is justly observed, “to be the last step in the climax of intolerance; for to deprive men of the means of subsistence implies more deliberate cruelty, though it does not excite so much horror as fire and faggots.” Secret History of the Reign of Charles II. vol. ii. p. 171, note. *Ed.*

† Baxter, part iii. p. 3. Burnet, vol. i. p. 329.

† Baxter's Life, part iii. p. 15. * Howe's Life, p. 41.

But the body of the non-conformist ministers refused the oath, choosing rather to forsake their habitations, their relations, and friends, and all visible support, than destroy the peace of their consciences. Those ministers who had some little estate or substance of their own, retired to some remote and obscure villages, or such little market-towns as were not corporations, and more than five miles from the places where they had preached; but in many counties it was difficult to find such places of retirement; for either there were no houses untenanted, or they were annexed to farms which the ministers were not capable of using; or the people were afraid to admit the ministers into their houses, lest they should be suspected as favorers of non-conformity. § Some took advantage of the ministers' necessities, and raised their rents beyond what they could afford to give. Great numbers were thus buried in obscurity, while others who had neither money nor friends, went on preaching as they could, till they were sent to prison, thinking it more eligible to perish in a gaol than to starve out of one; especially when by this means they had some occasional relief from their hearers, and hopes that their wives and children might be supported after their death. † Many who lay concealed in distant places from their flocks in the day-time, rode thirty or forty miles to preach to them in the night, and retired again before daylight. These hardships tempted some few to conform (says Mr. *Baxter*,) contrary to their former judgments; but the body of dissenters remained stedfast to their principles, and the church gained neither reputation nor numbers.—The *informers* were very diligent in hunting after their game; and the soldiers and officers behaved with great rudeness and violence. When they missed of the ministers, they went into the barns and out-houses, and sometimes thrust their swords up to the hilts in the hay and straw, where they supposed they might lie concealed; they made havoc of their goods, and terrified the women and children almost out of their lives. These methods of cruelty reduced many ministers with their families to the necessity of living upon brown rye-bread and water; but few were reduced to public beggary, (says Mr. *Baxter**) the

§ *Baxter*, part iii. p. 4. Burnet, p. 331.

† *Baxter's Life*, part iii. p. 15.

* Page 4.

providence of God appearing wonderfully for their relief, in their greatest extremities.

And as if the judgments of heaven upon this nation were not heavy enough, nor the legislature sufficiently severe, the bishops must throw their weight into the scale; for in the very midst of the plague, July 7, 1665, archbishop *Sheldon* sent orders to the several bishops of his province to return the names of all ejected non-conformist ministers, with their places of abode, and manner of life; and the returns of the several bishops are still preserved in the Lambeth library.* The design of this enquiry was to gird the laws closer upon the dissenters, and to know by what means they earned their bread; and if this tender-hearted archbishop could have had his will, they must have starved, or sought a livelihood in foreign countries.

This year put an end to the life of Dr. *Cornelius Burgess*, a divine of the puritan stamp† educated at Oxford, and

* Comp. Hist. vol. iii p. 279.

† “If all the *puritans*,” says Dr. Grey, “had been of his rebellious stamp, they had certainly been a *wicked crew*, but there was a great difference in *puritans*, some very good, and some very bad, as is justly observed by Mr. Fuller.” In his first volume also, p. 268. the doctor impeaches the character of this divine, in the words of *Eachard*; who calls him “*The seditious Dr. Burgess*, and one of the greatest *Bontefeus* of the whole party, being the perpetual trumpeter to the most violent proceedings, a great instrument in bringing on the miseries of the nation; who died in great want and poverty, tormented and eaten up by a cancer in his neck and cheek—a fearful instance of rebellion and sacrilege.” To these and other invectives of the archdeacon *Eachard* against Dr. Burgess, Dr. Calamy replied; but the reply goes chiefly to shew the archdeacon’s partiality, by inveighing in this manner against Burgess, when the characters of some on the other side were open to similar charges. The *fact*, which seems to bear hard on the name of this divine is, that though he declared it “by no means lawful to alienate the bishop’s lands from public and pious uses, or to convert them to any *private person’s* property;” yet he gained so much as to grow rich by the purchase of them. After the restoration he lost all. This, Dr. Calamy thinks, might be allowed a sufficient punishment without branding his memory. What inconsistency or faults soever might be chargeable on Dr. Burgess, the interpretation which the archdeacon puts on his death deserves severe censure, “as rash and presuming.” This method gives a particular and invidious construction to events that arise from *general* laws, and equally befall the righteous and the wicked: and it shews, how *they* who use it would direct, if it were in their power, the evils and calamities of life. It indicates as much a want of candor and generosity as of sound judgment. It appears from

chaplain to king *Charles I.* He suffered much by the high commission court, but taking part with the parliament, was chosen one of the pacific divines who met at the Jerusalem Chamber, to accommodate differences in the church : He often preached before the house of commons, and was one of the assembly of divines, but refused to take the covenant till he was suspended. He was ejected at the restoration from St. Andrews in the city of Wells, in Somersetshire, and having laid out all his money in the purchase of bishops' lands, he was reduced to absolute poverty. || He appeared at the head of the London divines, against bringing the king to his trial, and was esteemed a very learned and able divine. He died at his house at Watford, June 1665.

We have already remembered Dr. *Cheynel* among the Oxford professors, a man of great abilities, and a member of the assembly of divines. He quitted his preferments in the university, for refusing to take the *engagement*, and was ejected from the living of Petworth at the restoration, without having enriched himself by any of his preferments. †

It is reported that he was sometimes disordered in his

a MS. history drawn up by Dr. Henry Sampson, a noted physician, that Dr. Burgess was deemed a man of solid parts and great learning ; that no temptations could induce him to return to the episcopal side ; that in the year 1648, he preached a sermon fuller of loyalty than the boldest at that time would dare to express ; that he was against imposing the covenant, and refused to take it till he was suspended. He was excellently skilled in the liturgical controversies and those of church-government ; and was possessed of all the books of common-prayer that were ever printed in England, and bestowed them upon Oxford library. Dr. Calamy's Letter to Mr. Archdeacon Eachard, p. 107—111. *Ed.*

|| Wood's Athen. Oxon. vol. ii. p. 235. Calamy, vol. ii. p. 586, or Palmer's Non-Conformists Memorial, vol. ii. p. 384.

† For he was remarkable throughout his life for hospitality and contempt of money. Dr. Johnson published an account of this extraordinary man, that appeared first in the Gentleman's Magazine for March and April 1775 ; which, Mr Palmer remarks, is a satire both upon Dr. Cheynel and the times. Dr. Cheynel, this narrative says, " had an intrepidity which was never to be shaken by any danger, and a spirit of enterprize not to be discouraged by difficulty ; which were supported by an unusual degree of bodily strength. Whatever he believed he thought himself obliged to profess, and what he professed he was ready to defend." *Ed.*

head, but he was perfectly recovered some years before his death, which happened at his house near Brighthelmstone in Sussex, September 1665.*

[There died in prison this year, Mr. *Samuel Fisher*, a man of great parts and literature, of eminent piety and virtue, who reflected honor on each denomination of christians, with which through the change of his sentiments he became successively connected. His father was a haberdasher of hats, and mayor of Northampton. In 1623, at the age of eighteen, he became a student in Trinity college, Oxford; where he took the degree of master of arts, and then removed to New Inn. At the university, he distinguished himself by his application and proficiency, gained an accurate knowledge of Greek and Roman antiquities, and was particularly given to the study of rhetoric and poetry. When he had finished his academic course, he became chaplain to Sir *Arthur Haselrigg*. In 1632, he was presented to the vicarage of Lidd in Kent, a living of 500l. a year. Here he had the character of a very powerful preacher, united with humility and affability of carriage. While in this situation, in consequence of frequent conversation with a *baptist* minister, he was led into an examination of the questions concerning baptism, which ended in his embracing the opinions of the *baptists*, being baptized by *immersion*, and taking the pastoral care of a congregation of that people, having freely resigned his living and returned his diploma to the bishop; which those who differ from him must applaud as a singular instance of sincerity and self-denial. On this he rented a farm and commenced grazier; “by which he procured a decent competency, enhanced” (says Mr. *Gough*) “by the consolation of solid content, and the internal testimony of an approving heart.” During his connection with the *baptists* he baptized some hundreds, and was frequently engaged in public disputes in vindication of their sentiments, to the number of nine in the course of three years, with several noted ministers, sometimes in the presence of 2000 auditors, and once with Dr. *Cheyne*. He published also a treatise, entitled “*Baby Baptism mere Babism*,” which is

* Wood’s *Athen. Oxon.* vol. ii. p. 245. Calamy, vol. ii. p. 673, and Palmer’s *Non-Conformists Memorial*, vol. ii. p. 457.

represented as containing the whole state of the controversy as it was then managed. He was deemed an ornament to the sect, and was one of the chief defenders of their doctrine. In 1655, he embraced the principles of the *quakers*, and became an active and laborious minister among them. He preached at Dunkirk against the idolatry of the priests and friars : and, in company with another friend, travelled on foot over the Alps to Rome ; where they testified against the superstitions of the place, and distributed some books amongst the ecclesiastics ; and left it without molestation. After his return he suffered among *protestants* the persecution which he escaped among the Romanists. The great part of the four last years of his life was spent in prison ; and after two years confinement in the White-Lion prison in Southwark, he died, “ in perfect peace with God ; in good esteem both with his friends and many others. on account of the eminence of his natural parts and acquired abilities as a scholar, and of his exemplary humility, social virtues, and circumspect conversation as a christian : In meekness instructing those who opposed him, and laboring incessantly by his discourses and by his writings to propagate and promote true christian practice and piety.” Wood’s *Athen. Oxon.* vol. ii. p. 243. Crosby’s *History of the Baptists*, vol. i. p. 361, &c. and Gough’s *History of the Quakers*, vol. i. p. 163, and vol. ii. p. 141. ED.]

The vices of the nation not being sufficiently punished by *pestilence* and *war*, it pleased Almighty God this year to suffer the city of London to be laid in ashes by a dreadful *conflagration*, which broke out in Pudding-lane, behind the Monument, Sept. 2, 1666, and within three or four days, consumed thirteen thousand two hundred dwelling-houses, eighty-nine churches, among which was the cathedral of St. Paul’s ; many public structures, schools, libraries, and stately edifices. Multitudes lost their goods and merchandize, and the greatest part of their substance, and some few their lives ; the king, the duke of *York*, and many of the nobility, were spectators of the desolation, but had not the power to stop its progress, till at length it ceased almost as wonderfully as it began. Moorfields was filled with household goods, and the people were forced to

lodge in huts and tents : Many families who were the last week in prosperity, were now reduced to beggary, and obliged to begin the world again. The authors of this *fire* was said to be the *papists*, as appears by the inscription upon the monument. The parliament being of this opinion, petitioned the king to issue out a proclamation, requiring all popish priests and jesuits to depart the kingdom within a month, and appointed a committee who received evidence of some papists who were seen to throw fire-balls into houses. and of others who had materials for it in their pockets ; but the men were fled, and none suffered but one *Hubert*, a Frenchman, by his own confession.*

In this general confusion, the churches being burnt, and many of the parish ministers withdrawn for want of habitation or places of worship, the non-conformists resolved again to supply the necessities of the people, depending upon it that in such an extremity, they should escape persecution. Some churches were erected of boards, which they called *tabernacles*, and the dissenters fitted up large rooms with pulpits, seats, and galleries, for the reception of all who would come. Dr. *Manton* had his rooms full in Covent-Garden ; Mr. *Tho. Vincent*, Mr. *Doolittle*, Dr. *Turner*, Mr. *Grimes*, Mr. *Jenkyns*, Mr. *Nath. Vincent*, Dr. *Jacomb*, Mr. *Watson*, had their separate meetings in other places. The independents also, as Dr. *Owen*, Dr. *Goodwin*, Mr. *Griffiths*, *Brooks*, *Caryl*, *Barker*, *Nye*, and others, began the same practice ; many citizens frequented the meetings, where the liturgy was not read ; though the few parish pulpits that remained were filled with very able preachers ; as Dr. *Tillotson*, *Stillingfleet*, *Patrick*, *White*, *Gifford*, *Whicheet*, *Horton*, *Meriton*, &c. But none of these calamities had any farther influence upon the court prelates, than that they durst not prosecute the preachers so severely for the present.†

Among the non-conformist ministers who died this year were the Reverend Mr. *Edward Calamy*, B. D. || the ejected

* *Hubert* was a French *Hugonot*, of *Rean* in *Normandy*. Though he confessed the fact, yet, according to *Eachard*, he suffered unjustly : for he was a sort of lunatic, and had not landed in *England* till two days after the fire, as appeared by the evidence of the master of the ship who had him on board. *Grey's Examination*, vol. iii. p. 349. *Ed.*

† *Baxter's Life*, part iii. p. 40. || *Calamy's Abridg.* vol. ii. p. 4.

minister of Aldermanbury, born in London, 1600, and bred in Pembroke-Hall, Cambridge; he was first chaplain to Dr. *Felton*, bishop of Ely; and afterwards settled at St. Edmondsbury, from whence, after ten years, he with thirty other ministers were driven out of the diocese by bishop *Wren's* visitation articles and the book of sports. Upon the death of Dr. *Stoughton*, 1639, he was chosen to Aldermanbury, where he soon gained a vast reputation. He was one of the divines who met in the Jerusalem chamber for accommodating ecclesiastical matters in the year 1644. He was afterwards a member of the assembly at Westminster, and an active man in all their proceedings. He was one of the most popular preachers in the city,* and had a great hand in the king's restoration, but soon repented his having done it without a previous treaty. He refused a bishopric, because he could not have it upon the terms of the king's declaration; and soon after the *Bartholomew* act, was imprisoned in Newgate for preaching an occasional sermon to his parishioners. § He afterwards

* His week-day lecture was constantly attended for twenty years together by persons of the greatest quality, there being seldom so few as twenty coaches. He was president in meetings of the city ministers, and qualified by natural and acquired abilities, to be the leader of the *presbyterians*. He dared censure the conduct of Cromwell to his face, and was never known to be intimidated, where he thought his duty was concerned. Of which his grandson gives a remarkable proof † He was one of the writers against the liturgy. The title of one of the answers to him and his brethren. is a curious specimen of the taste and spirit of the times. It was called "A Throat Hapse for the Frogs and Toads that crept abroad croaking against the Common-Prayer-Book." *Granger's History of England*, vol. ii. p. 184. octavo, and note. *Ed.*

§ This confinement made no small noise; Mr. Calamy was a man so generally beloved and respected. Dr. Wilde published a copy of verses on the occasion, which was spread through all parts of the kingdom. And the passage through Newgate-street was obstructed by the coaches of those who visited him in his imprisonment. A popish lady, who had been stopped by them, finding what alarm and disturbance this proceeding against Mr. Calamy had produced, took the first opportunity to wait upon the king at Whitehall, and communicate the whole matter to him, expressing her fear, that if such steps as these were taken, he would lose the affections of the city, which might be of very ill consequence. On this remonstrance, and for some other reasons, Mr. Calamy was in a little time discharged by the express order of his majesty. *Memoirs of Dr. Edmund Calamy*, a MSS. *Ed.*

† Preaching before General Monk soon after the restoration, having

lived pretty much retired till this year, when being driven in a coach through the ruins of the city of London, it so affected him, that he went home, and never came out of his chamber more, dying within a month in the 67th year of his age.*

Mr. *Arthur Jackson*, M. A. the ejected minister of St. Faith's, was born about the year 1593, and educated in Cambridge. He became minister of St. *Michael's*, Woodstreet, in the year 1625, when the pestilence raged in the city; and continued with his parish throughout the whole course of the distemper.† He was fined five hundred pounds for refusing to give evidence against Mr. *Love*, and committed prisoner to the Fleet, where he remained seventeen weeks. At the restoration he was chosen by the provincial assembly of London to present a bible to the king at his public entrance.§ He was afterwards one of the commissioners of the Savoy; and when the uniformity act took place, being old, he retired to a private life, and died with great satisfaction in his non-conformity, Aug. 5, 1665, in the seventy-fourth year of his age.

Dr. *William Spurstow*, the ejected minister of Hackney, was sometime master of Katherine-Hall, Cambridge, but ejected for refusing the *engagement*. He was one of the authors of *Smectymnus*, a member of the assembly of divines, and afterwards one of the commissioners of the Savoy; a man of great learning, humility and charity, and of a cheerful conversation: He lived through the *sickness* year, but died the following in an advanced age.‡

On occasion to speak of filthy lucre, he said, "Some men will betray three kingdoms for filthy lucre's sake:" and immediately threw his handkerchief, which he usually waved up and down while he was preaching, towards the General's pew. Palmer and Granger, *ut supra*. *Ed.*

* Non-conformists Memorial, vol. i. p. 73.

† Calamy's Abridg. vol. ii. p. 3; or Palmer's Non-conformists Memorial, vol. i. p. 104.

§ "There was," Mr. Granger observes, "a particular propriety in assigning this office to him, as he had written a commentary on several parts of the bible." He was a man of prodigious application: at the university he studied fourteen or sixteen hours a day, and to the day of his death constantly rose, summer and winter, at three or four o'clock in the morning. Granger's Hist. of England, vol. iii. p. 43, octavo. *Ed.*

‡ Calamy, vol. ii. p. 471; or Palmer's Nonconformists Memorial, vol. ii. p. 173.

This year was memorable for the fall of the great earl of *Clarendon*, lord high chancellor of England, who attended the king in his exile, and upon his majesty's restoration was created a peer, and advanced to the high dignity of chancellor of England. He governed with a sovereign and absolute sway as prime minister for about two years; but in the year 1663, he was impeached of high treason by the earl of *Bristol*; and though the impeachment was dropt for want of form, his interest at court declined from that time, and after the Oxford parliament of 1665, his lordship was out of all credit. This summer the king took the seals from him, and on the 12th of November Sir *Edward Seymour* impeached him of high treason, at the bar of the house of peers, in the name of all the commons of England, for sundry arbitrary and tyrannical proceedings contrary to law, by which he had acquired a greater estate than could be honestly gotten in that time—for procuring grants of the king's lands to his relations, contrary to law—for corresponding with *Cromwell* in his exile*—for advising and effecting the sale of *Dunkirk*—for issuing out *Quo Warranto's* to obtain great sums of money from the corporations—for determining people's title to their lands at the council table, and stopping proceedings at law, &c. The earl had made himself obnoxious at court by his magisterial carriage to the king,† and was grown very unpopular by his superb and magnificent palace at St. James's, erected in a time of war and pestilence, which cost him fifty thousand pounds:§ Some called it *Dunkirk-house*, as being built with his share of the price of that fortress; and others *Holland-house*, as if he had received money from

* Dr. Grey supposes that Mr. Neal could not but know, that lord Clarendon had cleared himself from this charge to the king's satisfaction during his exile; who declared "that he was sorry that he was not in a condition to do him more justice than to declare him innocent, which he did, and commanded the clerk of the council to draw up a full order for his justification: which his majesty himself would sign."

† Burnet, p. 365, 369, 370.

§ Mr. Eachard says that this palace was built in the absence of the chancellor, principally at the expence of the Vintner's company; and that when he came to see the case of it, he rather submitted than consented, and with a sigh said, "This house will one day be my ruin." Grey's Examination, vol. iii. p. 352. note. The doctor fills two pages here, with quoting lord Clarendon's vindication of himself. Ed.

the king's enemies in time of war. The king's second marriage, which proved barren, was laid to his charge, and said to be contrived for the advancement of his grand-children by the duchess of York, who was the earl's daughter. When his majesty inclined to part with his queen, and if possible to legitimate his addresses to Miss *Steward*, the chancellor got her married privately to the duke of *Richmond*, without the king's knowledge, which his majesty was told was to secure the succession of the crown to his own family. This intriguing, together with his high opposition to the Roman catholics, and to all who were not of his principles, procured him many enemies, and struck him quite out of the king's favor. The earl did not think fit to abide the storm, but withdrew to France, leaving a paper behind him, in which he denies almost every article of his charge;* but the parliament voted his defence scandalous, and ordered it to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman. December 18, his lordship was banished the king's dominions for life by act of parliament; he spent the remaining seven years of his life at Roan in Normandy, among papists and presbyterians, whom he would hardly suffer to live in his own country, and employed the chief of

* The articles of the charge stated by Mr. Neal were, if you credit Dr. Welwood, the ostensible causes only of the chancellor's fall. The true reason why he was abandoned to his enemies was, that he secretly opposed the design of the parliament to settle such a revenue upon the king during life as would place him beyond the necessity of asking more, except on some extraordinary occasion: and he drew the earl of Southampton into his views, urging that he knew the king so well, that if such a revenue were once settled upon him for life, neither of them two would be of any further use; and there would be no probability of seeing many more sessions of parliament during that reign. This came to the king's ears. *Memoirs*. p. 109-10, 6th ed. Lord Cornbury in a letter to the duke of Ormond, preserved by Carte, said that his father never stirred as long as he saw any probability of being brought to his trial in parliament, though all his friends persuaded him to leave the kingdom, fearing that his innocence would not protect him against the malice of his enemies. When he found that there was a design to prorogue the parliament on purpose to try him by a *jury of peers*, by which means he might fall into the hands of the *protesting lords*, he resolved to avail himself of an opportunity of going over to Calais. *Grey's Exam.* vol. iii. p. 355-56. *Ed.*

his time in writing the history of the grand rebellion,§ which is in every one's hands.

The earl of *Clarendon*, was a protestant of Laudean principles in church and state, and at the head of all the penal laws against the non-conformists to this time. Bishop *Burnet* says,‡ “ He was a good chancellor,* but a little too rough ; that he meddled too much in foreign affairs, which he never understood well : that he had too much levity in his wit, and did not observe the decorum of his post.” Mr. *Rapin* adds,|| “ That from him came all the blows aimed at the non-conformists since the beginning of this reign. His immoderate passion against presbyterianism was this great man's foible. He gloried in his hatred of that people ; and, perhaps, contributed more than any other person to that excess of animosity which subsists against them at this day among the followers of his maxims and principles.” Mr. *Eachard* says, “ His removal was a great satisfaction to the dissenters ;” directly contrary to Mr. *Baxter*, “ who observes a remarkable providence of God, that he who had dealt so cruelly by the non-conformists should be banish-

§ He also read over *Livy* and *Tacitus*, and almost *Tully's* works ; and “ was a much greater, perhaps a happier man alone and in exile,” says Mr. *Granger*, “ than *Charles* the second upon his throne.” *History of England*, vol. iii. p. 360, and vol. iv. p. 64, note. *Ed.*

‡ Page 33.

‡ Dr. *Grey* gives bishop *Burnet's* character of the lord chancellor more at length ; and prefixes another character of his lordship drawn by the pen of Mr. *Carte*, to “ obviate,” as he expresses himself, “ the ill-natured reflection cast upon him by Mr. *Neal* ; because he adhered to the interest of his king and country, and would not give up the church established into the hands of unreasonable fanatics.” *Ed.*

* A domestic incident, related by bishop *Burnet*. is supposed to have fixed and heightened the chancellor's zeal for the constitutional liberties of his country, in civil matters. On a visit which he paid to his father, a gentleman of *Wiltshire*, when he began to grow eminent in his profession, as they were walking one day in a field, his father observed to him. “ that men of his profession did often stretch law and prerogative to the prejudice of the liberty of the subject, to recommend and advance themselves ;” and charged him, that he should “ never sacrifice the laws and liberties of his country to his own interest, or to the will of a prince.” He repeated this twice ; and immediately fell into a fit of apoplexy, of which he died in a few hours. *Burnet's History of his own Times*, vol. i. p. 231.

‡ Vol. ii. p. 650, folio ed.

ed by his own friends, while the others, whom he had persecuted, were most moderate in his case, and many of them for him. It was a great ease that befel good men by his fall, (says he) for his way was to decoy men into conspiracies, or pretended plots, and upon those rumors innocent people were laid in prison, so that no man knew when he was safe; whereas since his time, though the laws have been made more severe, yet men are more safe."* His lordship was undoubtedly a person of very considerable abilities, which have been sufficiently celebrated by his admirers, but I have not been able to discover any great or generous exploits for the service of the public; and how far his conduct with regard to the non-conformists was consistent with humanity, religion, or honor, must be left with the reader.

* Baxter, part iii. p. 20, 21.

CHAP. VIII.

From the Banishment of the Earl of CLARENDON to the King's Declaration of Indulgence in the year 1672.

1667.

UPON the fall of the Earl of *Clarendon*, the discourse of a toleration began to revive: The king in his speech to his parliament, Feb. 10, has this passage: "One thing more I hold myself obliged to recommend to you at this present, that is, that you would seriously think of some course to beget a better union and composure in the minds of my protestant subjects in matters of religion, whereby they may be induced not only to submit quietly to the government, but also cheerfully give their assistance to the support of it."* Sundry pamphlets were published upon this head; and the duke of *Buckingham* being now prime minister, the non-conformists about London were connived at, and people went openly and boldly to their meetings.

But the house of commons, who were yet influenced by the pernicious maxims of the late chancellor, petitioned the king to issue out his proclamation, for enforcing the laws against conventicles, and for preserving the peace of the kingdom, against unlawful assemblies of papists and non-conformists. Accordingly, his majesty issued out his proclamation, that "upon consideration of the late petition, and upon information that divers persons in several parts of the realm (abusing his clemency, even while it was under consideration to find out a way for the better union of his protestant subjects) have of late frequently and openly, in great numbers, and to the great disturbance of the peace, held unlawful assemblies and conventicles, his majesty declares that he will not suffer such notorious contempt of the laws to go unpunished, but requires, charges, and com-

* Calamy's Abridgment, vol. i. p. 316.

mands, all officers to be circumspect and vigilant in their several jurisdictions, to enforce and put the laws in execution against unlawful conventicles, commanding them to take particular care to preserve the peace."

The sufferings of the dissenters began to excite compassion in the minds of the people, insomuch that their numbers visibly increased, partly through the indulgence of the court, and the want of churches since the fire of London, and partly through the poverty of the common people, who having little to lose, ventured to go publicly to *meetings* in defiance of the laws. The indolence of the established clergy, and the diligence of the non-conformist ministers, contributed very much to the increase of *non-conformists*. Bishop *Burnet* says, § "The king was highly offended at the behavior of most of the bishops; archbishop *Sheldon*, and *Morley*, who kept close by lord *Clarendon*, the great patron of persecuting power, lost the king's favor; the former never recovered it, and the latter was sent from court into his diocese. When complaint was made of some disorders and conventicles, the king said the clergy were chiefly to blame, for if they had lived well, and gone about their parishes, and taken pains to convince the non-conformists, the nation might have been well settled, but they thought of nothing but to get good benefices, and keep a good table." In another conversation with the bishop, about the ill state of the church, † his majesty said, "If the clergy had done their parts it had been easy to run down the non-conformists, but they will do nothing, (says the king) and will have me do every thing; and most of them do worse than if they did nothing. I have a very honest chaplain, (says he) to whom I have given a living in Suffolk, but he is a very great blockhead, and yet has brought all his parish to church; I cannot imagine what he could say to them, for he is a very silly fellow; but he has been about from house to house, and I suppose his nonsense has suited their nonsense; and in reward of his diligence I have given him a bishopric in Ireland." About this time *Ralph Wallis*, a cobbler of Gloucester, published an account of a great number of scandalous conformist ministers, and enumerated their scandals, to the great displeas-

ure of the clergy; and I fear (says Mr. *Baxter**) to the temptation of many non-conformists, who might be glad of any thing to humble the prelatists.

The learned Dr. *Lazarus Seaman*, the ejected minister of Allhallows, Bread-street, died this year, of whom we have given some account among the Cambridge professors; he was educated in Emanuel college, and by his indefatigable industry rose to high reputation in the learned world for his exact acquaintance with the oriental languages; he was an able divine, an active member of the assembly at Westminster, and was taken notice of by king *Charles I.* at the treaty of the Isle of Wight, for his singular abilities in the debates about church government. || He was also master of Peterhouse, Cambridge, but lost all at the restoration; he underwent strong pains with admirable patience, and at length died in peace in the month of September 1667. ‡

Mr. *George Hughes*, B. D. the ejected minister of Plymouth, born in Southwark, § and educated in Corpus Christi college in Cambridge. He was called to a lecture in London, but was silenced for non-conformity by archbishop *Laud*. After some time he went to Tawistock, and last of all settled at Plymouth, having institution and induction from Dr. *Brownrigge*, bishop of Exeter, in the year 1644. Here he continued till the year 1662, whence he was ejected a week before the act of uniformity took place. He was afterwards imprisoned in St. Nicholas Island, where he contracted an incurable scurvy and dropsy, which at length put an end to his life. He was well read in the fathers, an acute disputant, a most faithful pastor to a large flock under his care, and a most holy, pious, and exemplary christian. He had the greatest interest and influence of any minister in the west country, and refused a rich bishopric at the restoration. He was both charitable and hospitable

* Life, part iii. p. 23.

|| Calamy, vol. ii. p. 17. and Palmer's Non-conf. Mem. vol. ii. p. 76.

‡ He left a very valuable library, which yielded 700l. and was the first sold by auction in England. *Ed.*

§ In 1603, when his mother, who had never child before, though she was now married to her fourth husband, was fifty-two years of age.—She lived to her 96th year. *Ed.*

when it was in his power, and died at length in a most heavenly manner, in the month of July, 1667, and in the sixty-fourth year of his age. The reverend Mr. *John Howe*, his son-in-law, composed a Latin epitaph for him, which is inscribed on his tomb.*

The kingdom was at this time full of factions and discontents, arising from the late calamities of fire and plague, as well as the burthen of the Dutch war; trade was at a stand, and great numbers of his majesty's subjects were both dispirited and impoverished by the penal laws; but that which struck all considerate men with a panic, was the danger of the protestant interest, and the liberties of Europe, from the formidable progress of the French armies, which this very summer overrun the Spanish Flanders, and took the strong towns of Charleroy, Bergue, Aeth, Douay, Tournay, Audenard, Lisle, Courtray, Furnes, &c. which, with their dependencies, were yielded in full sovereignty to France by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. The English court seemed unconcerned at the French conquests, till they were awakened by the clamors of the whole nation; upon this Sir *William Temple* was sent into Holland, who in a few weeks concluded a triple alliance between England, Holland, and Sweden, which strengthened the protestant interest while it subsisted; but the French mistresses and money, could dissolve the strongest bonds.

In this critical situation of affairs abroad, some attempts were made to quiet the minds of his majesty's protestant subjects at home, for men began to think it high time for protestants to put a stop to the pulling down their neighbors houses, when the common enemy was threatening the destruction of them all; therefore lord keeper *Bridgman*, lord chief justice *Hales*, bishop *Wilkins*, *Reynolds*, Dr. *Burton*, *Tillotson*, *Stillington*, and others, set on foot a *comprehension* of such as could be brought into the church by some abatements, and a *toleration* for the rest. But the project was blasted by the court bishops, and lord *Clarendon's* friends, who took the alarm and raised a mighty outcry of the danger of the church.† No body (say they) knows where the demands of the presbyterians will end; the cause

* Calamy, vol. ii. p. 222, or Palmer's Non-conf. Memorial, vol. i. p. 387.

† Burnet, vol. i. p. 380, &c.

of the hierarchy will be given up, if any of those points are yielded, which have been so much contested ; besides, it is unworthy of the church to court, or even treat with her enemies, when there is so little reason to apprehend that we should gain any considerable numbers thereby. But to this it was replied, that the prodigious increase of popery and infidelity was a loud call of Providence, to attempt every thing that could be done without sin for healing our divisions. That though the non-conformists could not legally meet together to bring in their concessions in the name of the body, it was well enough known what they scrupled, and what would bring most of them into the church. That a compliance in some lesser matters of indifference would be no reproach, but an honor to the church, how superior soever she might be in argument or power.

The proposals were drawn up by bishop *Wilkins* and Dr. *Burton*, and communicated by the lord keeper to Dr. *Bates*, *Manton*, and *Baxter*, and by them to their brethren, under the following particulars :†

1. That such ministers who in the late times had been ordained only by presbyters, should have the imposition of the hands of a bishop, with this form of words : *Take thou authority to preach the word of God, and administer the sacraments in any congregation of the CHURCH OF ENGLAND, when thou shalt be lawfully appointed thereunto.*

2. That instead of all former subscriptions, after the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, they subscribe the following declaration : *I A. B. do hereby profess and declare, that I approve the doctrine, worship, and government established in the church of England, as containing all things necessary to salvation ; and that I will not endeavor by myself, or any other, directly or indirectly, to bring in any doctrine contrary to that which is so established. And I do hereby promise, that I will continue in the communion of the church of England, and will not do any thing to disturb the peace thereof.*

3. That the guesure of kneeling at the sacrament, the cross in baptism, and bowing at the name of Jesus, be left indifferent or taken away.

4. That if the liturgy and canons be altered in favor of

† *Baxter's Life*, part iii. p. 25.

dissenters, then every preacher upon his institution shall declare his assent to the lawfulness of the use of it, and promise, that it shall be constantly used at the time and place accustomed.

The alterations proposed to be made in the liturgy, were these :

To read the psalms in the new translation.

To appoint lessons out of the canonical scripture instead of the apocrypha.

Not to enjoin god-fathers and god-mothers, when either of the parents are ready to answer for the child in baptism. To omit that expression in the prayer, *By spiritual regeneration*. To change the question, *Wilt thou be baptized?* into, *Wilt thou have this child baptized?* To omit those words in the thanksgiving, *To regenerate this infant by thy Holy Spirit, and to receive him for thy child by adoption*. And the first rubric after baptism, *It is certain by God's word, &c.* In the exhortation after baptism, instead of, *Regenerate and grafted into the body, to say, received into the church of Christ*. No part of the office of baptism to be repeated in public when the child has been lawfully baptized in private.

To omit this passage in the office of confirmation : *After the example of thy holy apostles, and to certify them by this sign of thy favor and gracious goodness towards them.*— And instead of, *vouchsafe to regenerate, read, vouchsafe to receive into thy church by baptism*.

To omit the expressions in matrimony, *with my body I thee worship*; and that in the collect, *Thou hast consecrated, &c.*

In the visitation of the sick, ministers to be allowed to make use of such prayers as they judge expedient.

In the burial of the dead, instead of, *Forasmuch as it has pleased Almighty God, of his great mercy, to take unto himself, &c.* read, *Forasmuch as it has pleased Almighty God to take out of this world the soul &c.* Instead of, *In sure and certain hope*, to read, *In a full assurance, of the resurrection by our Lord Jesus Christ*. To omit the following words, *We give thee hearty thanks, for that it has pleased thee to deliver this our brother out of the miseries*

of this sinful world ; and these other, As our hope is this our brother doth.

In the communion service to change, *That our sinful bodies may be made clean by his body, into, Our sinful souls and bodies may be cleansed by his precious body and blood.*

The communion not to be enjoined.

The liturgy to be abbreviated, especially as to the morning service, by omitting all the responsal prayers, from, *O Lord, open thou &c.* to the litany ; and the litany, and all the prayers, from, *Son of God, we beseech thee, &c.* to, *We humbly beseech thee, O Father.*

The Lord's prayer not to be enjoined more than once, viz. after the absolution, except after the minister's prayer before sermon.

The *gloria patri* to be used but once, after reading the psalms.

The *venite exultemus* to be omitted, unless it be thought fit to put any, or all of the first seven among the sentences at the beginning.

The communion service to be omitted when there are no communion days, except the ten commandments, which may be read after the creed ; and enjoining the prayer, *Lord have mercy upon us, and incline our hearts to keep these laws,* only once, at the end.

The *collects, epistles, and gospels,* to be omitted, except on particular holy days.

The prayers for the parliament to be inserted immediately after the prayer for the royal family, in this or the like form : *That it may please thee to direct and prosper all the consultations of the high court of parliament to the advantage of thy glory, the good of the church, the safety, honor, and welfare of our sovereign and his kingdoms.*

To omit the two hymns in the consecration of bishops, and ordination of priests.

In the catechism, after the first question, *What is thy name ?* It may follow, *When was this name given thee ?* After that, *What was promised for you in baptism ?* ans. *Three things were promised for me.* In the question before the commandments, it may be altered thus, *You said it was promised for you.* To the fourteenth question, *How*

many sacraments hath Christ ordained ? the answer may be, Two only, baptism and the Lord's supper.

Mr. *Baxter* proposed further, that the subscription might be only to the doctrinal articles of the church. That the power of bishops, and their courts, to suspend and silence men, might be limited. That the baptismal covenant might be explicitly owned by all who come to the sacrament. But it was replied, that more than what was above-mentioned would not pass with the parliament.

The proposals for a *toleration* were communicated by Mr. *Baxter* to the independents by Dr. *Owen*, and were to the following effect :

1. That such protestants who could not accept of the proposals for a *comprehension* might have liberty for the exercise of their religion in public, and to build, or to procure places for their public worship at their own charges, either within or near towns, as shall be thought most expedient.

2. That the names of all such persons who are to have this liberty be registered, together with the congregations to which they belong ; and the names of their teachers.

3. That every one admitted to this liberty be disabled from bearing any public office, but shall fine for offices of burden.

4. Upon shewing a certificate of being listed among those that are indulged, they shall be freed from such legal penalties as are to be inflicted on those who do not frequent their parish churches.

5. Such persons so indulged shall not for their meeting in conventicles be punished by confiscation of estates.

6. Provided they pay all public duties to the parish where they inhabit, under penalty of———.

7. This indulgence to continue three years.*

According to these heads of agreement a bill was prepared for the parliament by lord chief justice *Hales* ; but bishop *Wilkins*, an honest and open-hearted man, having disclosed the affair to bishop *Ward*, in hopes of his assistance, alarmed the bishops, who, instead of promoting the design, consulted measures to defeat it ; for as soon as the parliament met, notice was taken that there were rumors without doors of an act to be offered for *comprehension* and in-

* *Baxter's Life*, part iii. p. 25.

dulgence, upon which a vote was passed, that *no man should bring such an act into the house*. And to crush the non-conformists more effectually, archbishop *Sheldon* wrote a circular letter to the bishops of his province, dated June 8, to send him a particular account of the conventicles in their several dioceses, and of the numbers that frequented them; and whether they thought *they might be easily suppressed by the civil magistrate*.* When he was provided with this information he went to the king, and obtained a proclamation to put the laws in execution against the non-conformists, and particularly against the *preachers*, according to the statute of 17th King *Charles II.* which forbids their inhabiting corporations.

Thus the persecution was renewed; and the parliament, still bent on severities, appointed a committee to enquire into the behavior of the non-conformists, who reported to the house, that divers conventicles, and other seditious meetings, were held in their very neighborhood, in defiance of the laws, and to the danger of the peace of the kingdom.† General *Monk*, who was near his end, and sunk almost into contempt, was employed to disperse them, and received the thanks of the house for his zeal in that important service, wherein he was sure to meet with no opposition. They also returned his majesty thanks for his proclamation for suppressing conventicles, desiring him to take the same care for the future. By this means the private meetings of the dissenters, which had been held by connivance, were broken up again. Mr. *Baxter* was committed to Clerkenwell prison, for preaching to his neighbors in his own house at Acton, and for refusing the Oxford oath; but upon demanding an *habeas corpus*, his *mittimus* was declared invalid for want of naming the witnesses.§ The justices would have mended their *mittimus* and sent him to Newgate, but Mr. *Baxter*, being released, wisely kept out of the way. Mr. *Taverner* of Uxbridge, was sentenced to Newgate, for teaching a few children at Brentford. Mr. *Button*, late university orator, was sent to prison for teaching two knights sons in his own house; and multitudes in many counties had the like usage, suffering imprisonment for six months.¶

* Burnet, vol. i. p. 382.

† Ibid, p. 139.

§ Baxter's Life, part iii. p. 49.

¶ Ibid. p. 26.

But this was contrary to the king's inclinations, who was only for playing the dissenters against the parliament for a sum of money; when the house therefore was up, his majesty ordered some of the non-conformists to be told, that he was desirous to make them easy, and that if they would petition for relief they should be favorably heard.* Sir *J. Barber* secretary of state acquainted Dr. *Manton* with the king's intention, upon which an address was drawn up and presented to his majesty at the earl of *Arlington's* lodgings by Dr. *Jacomb*, *Manton*, and *Bates*; the king received them graciously, and promised to do his utmost to get them comprehended within the establishment. He wished there had been no bars at all, but that he was forced to comply for peace sake, and that he would endeavor to remove them, though it was a work of difficulty. He complained of the umbrage that their numerous assemblies gave to clamorous people, and advised them to use their liberty with more discretion hereafter. When the ministers promised obedience, and assured his majesty of their steady loyalty, and constant prayers for the prosperity of his person and government, he dismissed them with a smile, and told them, that *he was against persecution, and hoped ere long to be able to stand upon his own legs*. But his majesty's promises were always to be bought off by a sum of money to support his pleasures.

The controversy of the *reasonableness of toleration* was now warmly debated without doors; many ill-natured books were written to expose the doctrine of the presbyterians, as leading to *antinomianism* and licentiousness of manners.† Others exposed their characters and manner of preaching. Among these, must be reckoned *the friendly debate*, which, though written by a good man, (says bishop *Burnet*‡) had an ill effect in sharpening people's spirits too much against the dissenters. The author was Dr. *Simon Patrick*, afterwards bishop of Ely, but now in the heat of his youth; who, by aggravating some weak and unguarded expressions, endeavored to expose the whole body of non-conformist ministers to contempt. But I must do this prelate so much justice as to inform the reader, that

* *Baxter's Life*, part iii. p. 37, 87. † *Ibid.* part iii. p. 39.

‡ *Burnet*, vol. i. p. 382.

in his advanced age he expressed his dissatisfaction with this part of his conduct ; and, in a debate in the house of lords about the *occasional bill*, declared, “ he had been known to write against the dissenters with some warmth in his younger years, but that he had lived long enough to see reason to alter his opinion of that people, and that way of writing.” A rare instance of ingenuity and candor ! We shall have occasion to mention Sir *Roger L’Estrange* hereafter.

But one of the most virulent writers of his time, under the form of a clergyman, was *Samuel Parker*, afterwards bishop of Oxford, a man of considerable learning and great smartness, but of no judgment, and as little virtue ; and as to religion (says bishop *Burnet**) rather impious than otherwise. At length *Andrew Marvel*, the liveliest wit of the age, attacked him in a burlesque strain, and with so peculiar and entertaining an address, that from the king down to the tradesman, his books were read with the highest pleasure. He had all the men of wit on his side, and not only humbled *Parker* more than the serious and grave writings of *Dr. Owen*, but silenced the whole party ; one of whom concludes his letter to Mr. *Marvel* with these words : *If thou darest to print or publish any lye or libel against Dr. Parker, by the eternal God I will cut thy throat.* Subscribed *J. G.*

All sober men were of opinion, that it was ungenerous and cruel to treat a number of peaceable men, whom the laws had put almost out of their protection, in so ludicrous a manner.† Religion itself suffered by it. I remember, says lord chief justice *Hales*, that when *Ben Johnson*, in his play of the *Alchymist*, introduced *Anartus* in derision of the *puritans*, with many of their phrases taken out of scripture, in order to render that people ridiculous, the play was detested and abhorred, because it seemed to reproach religion itself ; but now, when the presbyterians were brought upon the stage in their peculiar habits, and with their distinguishing phrases of scripture, exposed to the laughter of spectators, it met with approbation and applause.

But such was the complexion of the court, that they bid defiance to virtue, and even to decency, giving countenance

* *Burnet*, p. 382.

† *Rapin*, p. 406.

to all manner of licentiousness. The play-houses were become nests of prostitution (says *Burnet*,*) and the stage was defiled beyond example; the king, queen, and courtiers, went about in masks, and came into citizen's houses unknown, where they danced with a great deal of wild frolic, and committed indecencies not to be mentioned. They were carried about in hackney chairs, and none could distinguish them except those who were in the secret. Once the queen's chairman, not knowing who she was, left her to come home in a hackney coach, some say in a cart. *Buckingham*, who gloried in his debaucheries, and *Wilnot* earl of *Rochester*, the greatest wit and libertine of his age, were the principal favorites. To support these extravagancies the house of commons supplied the king with what money he wanted, and were themselves so mercenary, that the purchase of every man's vote was known; for as a man rose in credit in the house, he advanced his price, and expected to be treated accordingly.

The university was no less corrupt, there was a general licentiousness of manners among the students; the sermons of the younger divines were filled with encomiums upon the church, and satires against the non-conformists; the evangelical doctrines of repentance, faith, charity, and practical religion, were unfashionable. The speeches and panegyrics pronounced by the *orators* and *terre filius*, on public occasions, were scurrilous, and little less than blasphemous; as appears by the letter in the margin from Mr. *Willis*, to the honorable *Robert Boyle*, Esq.† of the proceedings at the opening of archbishop *Sheldon's* theatre,

* *Burnet*, p. 267, 386. *Rapin*, p. 652.

† *A letter from Mr. John Wallis to the Honorable Robert Boyle, Esq. dated from Oxford, July 17, 1669.*

SIR,

AFTER my humble thanks for the honor of yours of July 3. I thought it not unfit to give you some account of our late proceedings here. Friday, July 9, was the dedication of our new theatre. In the morning was held a convocation in it, for entering upon the possession of it; wherein was read, first the archbishop's instrument of donation (sealed with his archiepiscopal seal) of the theatre, with all its furniture, to the end that St. Mary's church may not be further profaned by holding the act in it. Next a letter of his, declaring his intention to lay out 2000*l* for a purchase to endow it. Then a letter of thanks to be sent from the university to him, wherein he is acknowledged to be both

which is copied *verbatim* from the original under his own hand.

our creator and redeemer, for having not only built a theatre for the act, but, which is more, delivered the blessed Virgin from being so profaned for the future: He doth (as the words of the letter are) *non tantum condere, hoc est creare, sed etiam redimere*. These words (I confess) stopped my mouth from giving a *placet* to that letter when it was put to the vote. I have since desired Mr. Vice-chancellor to consider, whether they were not liable to a just exception. He did at first excuse it; but, upon further thoughts, I suppose he will think fit to alter them, before the letter be sent and registered. After the voting of this letter, Dr. South (as university orator) made a long oration; the first part of which consisted of satirical invectives against Cromwell, fanatics, the royal society, and new philosophy. The next of encomiastics; in praise of the archbishop, the theatre, the vice-chancellor, the architect, and the painter. The last of execrations; against fanatics, conventicles, comprehension, and new philosophy; damning them *ad inferos, ad gehennam*. The oration being ended, some honorary degrees were conferred, and the convocation dissolved. The afternoon was spent in panegyric orations, and reciting of poems in several sorts of verse, composed in praise of the archbishop, the theatre, &c. and crying down fanatics. The whole action began and ended with a noise of trumpets; and twice was interposed variety of music, vocal and instrumental; purposely composed for this occasion. On *Saturday* and *Monday*, those exercises appertaining to the act and vespers, which were wont to be performed in St. Mary's church, were had in the theatre. In which, beside the number of proceeding doctors (nine in divinity, four in law, five in physie, and one in music) there was little extraordinary; but only that the *terræ filius* for both days were abominably scurrilous; and so suffered to proceed without the least check or interruption from vice-chancellor, pro-vice-chancellors, proctors, curators, or any of those who were to govern the exercises; which gave so general offence to all honest spectators, that I believe the university hath thereby lost more reputation than they have gained by all the rest; all or most of the heads of houses, and eminent persons in the university, with their relations, being represented as a company of whore-masters, whores, and dunces. And, among the rest, the excellent lady, which your letter mentions, was, in the broadest language, represented as guilty of those crimes, of which (if there were occasion) you would not stick to be her compurgator; and (if it had been so) she might (yet) have been called *whore* in much more civil language. During this solemnity (and for some days before, and since) have been constantly acted (by the vice-chancellor's allowance) two stage plays in a day (by those of the Duke of York's house) at a theatre erected for that purpose at the town-hall; which (for ought I hear) was much the more innocent theatre of the two. It hath been here a common fame for divers weeks (before, at, and since the act) that the vice-chancellor had given 300*l.* bond (some say 500*l.* bond) to the *terræ filius*, to save them harmless, whatever they should say, provided it were neither blasphemy nor treason. But this I take to be a slander. A less encouragement would serve the turn with such persons. Since

About this time died the Rev. Mr. *Matthew Newcomen*, M. A. the ejected minister of Dedham in Essex; he was educated in St. John's college, Cambridge, and succeeded the famous Mr. *John Rogers*. He was a most accomplished scholar and christian, a member of the assembly of divines, and together with Dr. *Arrowsmith* and *Tuckney*, drew up their catechism.* He was one of the commissioners of the Savoy, and had many offers of preferment in the late times, but would not desert his church at Dedham, till he was displaced by the act of uniformity; after which he retired to Holland, and became pastor of the English church at Leyden, where he died about this time, universally lamented by the professors, for his humble and pleasant conversation, as well as his universal learning and piety. §

Mr. *Joseph Allein*, the ejected minister† of Taunton, and author of the *Call to the unconverted*, was born at the Devizes in Wilshire, and educated in Lincoln college, Oxon. He was public preacher in the church of Taunton about seven years, and was universally beloved for his great piety and devotion. After his ejection, he preached as he had opportunity six or seven times a week. May 26, 1663, he was committed to Ilchester gaol, for singing psalms in his own house, and preaching to his family, others being present; here he continued a year, but upon his enlargement he returned again to his work, which he followed with unwearied diligence. July 10, 1665, he was committed a second time to gaol with several other ministers and forty private persons, where he contracted such distempers and weaknesses as brought him to his grave,

the act (to satisfy the common clamor) the vice-chancellor hath imprisoned both of them; and it is said, he means to expel them. I am, Sir,

Your honor's very humble and affectionate Servant,

JOHN WALLIS.

* I have by me a copy of Mr. Neal's History, which was formerly the property of the Rev. John Waldron, a dissenting minister in Exeter, who has written in the margin, here, this note. "I have been assured by Mr. Edward Parr, an ejected minister, who lived with Dr. Gouge, that he drew up the catechism. J. W." Ed.

§ Calamy, vol. ii. p. 294. Palmer's Non-conformists' Memorial, vol. i. p. 503.

† To speak with accuracy, Mr. Allein was only assistant to Mr. George Newton the minister of Taunton. Dr. Grey. Ed.

before he was thirty-six years of age.† He was an awakening, lively preacher, zealous and successful in his master's work, and withal of a peaceable and quiet spirit.— He died in the year 1663 or 69.

The tide in the house of commons still run very strong on the side of persecution, as appears by two extraordinary clauses added to the conventicle act, which, having expired some time since, was now revived by the parliament which met October 19. The court went into it with a view of reducing the presbyterians to the necessity of petitioning for a *general toleration*. “If we would have opened the door to let in popery (says Mr. *Baxter**) that *their toleration* might have been charged upon us, as done for our sakes, and by our procurement, we might in all likelihood have had our part in it; but I shall never be one of them who, by any new pressures, shall consent to petition for the papist's liberty; no craft of jesuits or prelates shall make me believe, that it is necessary for the non-conformists to take this odium upon themselves.”§ The court bishops were for the bill, but the moderate clergy were against it. Bishop *Wilkins* spoke against it in the house; and when the king desired him in private to be quiet, he replied, that he thought it an ill thing both in conscience and policy, therefore as he was an Englishman, and a bishop, he was bound to oppose it; and since by the laws and constitution of England, and by his majesty's favor, he had a right to debate and vote, he was neither afraid nor ashamed to own his opinion in that matter. However, the bill passed both houses, and received the royal assent April 11, 1670.† It was to the following effect: “that if any person upwards of sixteen years shall be present at any assembly, conventicle or meeting, under color or pretence of any exercise of religion, in any other manner than according to the liturgy and practice of the church of England, where there are five or more persons present, besides those of the said household, in such cases the offender shall pay five shillings for the first offence, and ten shillings for the second. And the preachers or teachers in any such meeting shall forfeit twenty pounds for

† Calamy, vol. ii. p. 574. Palmer, vol. ii. p. 377.

* Part iii. p. 36. § Burnet, vol. i. p. 400. † Rapin, p. 655,

the first and forty for the second offence. And lastly, those who knowingly suffer any such conventicles in their houses, barns, yards, &c. shall forfeit twenty pounds. Any justice of peace, on the oath of two witnesses, or any other sufficient proof, may record the offence under his hand and seal, which record shall be taken in law for a full and perfect conviction, and shall be certified at the next quarter sessions. The fines above-mentioned may be levied by distress and sale of the offender's goods and chattels, and in case of the poverty of such offender, upon the goods and chattels of any other person or persons, that shall be convicted of having been present at the said conventicle, at the discretion of the justice of peace, so as the sum to be levied on any one person, in case of the poverty of others, do not amount to above ten pounds for any one meeting: the constables, headboroughs, &c. are to levy the same by warrant from the justice, and to be divided, one third for the use of the king, another third for the poor, and *the other third to the informer or his assistants, regard being had to their diligence and industry in discovering, dispersing, and punishing the said conventicles.* The fines upon ministers for preaching are to be levied also by distress; and in case of poverty, upon the goods and chattels of any other present; and the like upon the house where the conventicle is held, and the money to be divided as above.

“And it is further enacted, that the justice or justices of peace, constables, headboroughs, &c. may by warrant, with what aid, force and assistance they shall think necessary, break open, and enter into any house, or place where they shall be informed of the conventicle, and take the persons so assembled into custody. And the lieutenants, or other commissioned officers of the militia, may get together such force and assistance as they think necessary, to dissolve, dissipate, and disperse such unlawful meetings, and take the persons into custody.” Then follow two extraordinary clauses: That if any justice of peace refuse to do his duty in the execution of this act, he shall forfeit five pounds.

“And be it further enacted, that all clauses in this act shall be construed most largely and beneficially for the suppressing conventicles, and for the justification and encour-

agement of all persons to be employed in the execution thereof. No warrant or *mittimus* shall be made void, or reversed for any default in the form; and if a person fly from one country or corporation to another, his goods and chattels shall be seizable wherever they are found. If the party offending be a wife, cohabiting with her husband, the fine shall be levied on the goods and chattels of the husband, provided the prosecution be within three months."

The wit of man could hardly invent any thing short of capital punishment, more cruel and inhuman.* One would have thought a prince of so much clemency as *Charles II.* who had often declared against persecution, should not have consented to it, and that no christian bishop should have concurred in the passing it. Men's houses are to be plundered, their persons imprisoned, their goods and chattels carried away, and sold to those who would bid for them. Encouragement is given to a vile set of *informers*, and others, to live upon the labor and industry of their conscientious neighbors.† Multitudes of these *infamous wretches* spent their profits in ill houses, and upon lewd women, and then went about the streets again to hunt for further prey. The law is to be construed in their favor, and the power to be lodged in the hand of every individual justice of peace, who is to be fined five pounds if he refuses his warrant.— Upon this, many honest men, who would not be the instruments of such severities, quitted the bench. Mr. *Eachard*, being ashamed to ascribe these cruelties to the influence of the bishops, says, "that this and all the penal laws made against the dissenters were the *acts of the parliament*, and not of the *church*, and were made more on a civil and political, than upon a moral or religious account; and always

* This iniquitous law, by the power with which it invested a single justice, destroyed the bulwark of English liberty, the *trial by jury*. It punished the innocent for the guilty, by subjecting the husband to a penalty for the conduct of the wife, and the goods of any person present to fines, which other offenders were incompetent to discharge. The mode of conviction was clandestine. Its natural tendency was to influence magistrates to partiality in judgment, and to reverse the scriptural qualification for magistracy to the encouragement of evil doers, and the punishment of those who do well; by the fines it imposed on justices and on officers, and by the sanction it gave to informers. Gough's History of the Quakers, vol. ii. p. 298, 99. *Ed.*

† Burnet, p. 398.

upon some fresh provocation in reality or appearance.”— This is the language by which the patrons of high-church cruelty endeavor to excuse themselves from the guilt of persecution; but it must fall somewhere; and that it may not fall too heavy upon the church, it is artfully, and with great good manners, cast *entirely upon the legislature*, and put upon the score of sedition, whereas it was well known the dissenters behaved peaceably, and were very far from disturbing the state. Nor does the preamble to the act charge them with disloyalty, but only says, “that for the providing speedy remedies against the practice of seditious sectaries, and others, who under pretence of tender consciences, have or *may* at their meetings contrive insurrections,* be it enacted, &c.” as if it was possible to do this in the company of women and servants, who were always present in their assemblies. It is therefore evident, that the act was levelled purely against liberty of conscience, and was so severely executed, that (as Sir *Harry Capel* observes) there was hardly a conventicle to be heard of all over England. The two houses (says our church historian,†) were express for the execution of these laws; the bishops and clergy were sincerely zealous in it, and the honest justices and magistrates (as he calls them) bore the more hard upon them, because they saw them so bold in despising and evading the justice of the nation.

Great numbers were prosecuted on this act, and many industrious families reduced to poverty. Many ministers were confined in gaols and close prisons; and warrants were issued out against them and their hearers, whereby

* “These words, as *late experience has shewn*, were silyly omitted,” says Dr. Grey, who adds, “Here he (Mr. Neal) injuriously lays the blame upon the bishops, as if the king and the two houses were wholly under their direction and influence; and treats Mr. Archdeacon Ee-ehard not over-civilly for being of a contrary opinion.” The first censure in this paragraph is not very civil in Dr. Grey; nor does it appear well grounded, since Mr. Neal has inserted so much of the paragraph as *charges* the sectaries with *having* contrived insurrections. Nor does Mr. Neal lay the *whole blame* upon the bishops, for he says, “the two houses were for the execution of “these laws:” though, it is true, indeed, he is not willing that the guilt should be cast *entirely upon the legislature*; for “the bishops and clergy were sincerely zealous in this business of persecution.” *Ed.*

great sums of money were levied. In the diocese of Salisbury the persecution was hottest, by the instigation of bishop *Ward*; many hundreds being pursued with great industry, and driven from their families and trades. || The act was executed with such severity in *Starling's* mayoralty, that many of the trading men in the city were removing with their effects to Holland, till the king put a stop to it. *Informers* were every where at work, and having crept into religious assemblies in disguise, levied great sums of money upon ministers and people. Soldiers broke into the houses of honest farmers, under pretence of searching for conventicles, and where ready money was wanting, they plundered their goods, drove away their cattle, and sold them for half price. Many were plundered of their household furniture; the sick had their beds taken from under them, and themselves laid on the floor. Should I sum up all the particulars, and the accounts I have received (says Mr. *Sewel*†) it would make a volume of itself.— These vile creatures were not only encouraged, but pushed on vehemently by their *spiritual guides*; for this purpose archbishop *Sheldon* sent another circular letter to all the bishops in his province, dated May 7, 1670, in which he directs all ecclesiastical judges and officers. “to take notice of all non-conformists, holders, frequenters, maintainers, and abettors of conventicles, especially of the preachers or teachers in them, and of the places wherein they are held; ever keeping a more watchful eye over the cities and greater towns, from whence the mischief is for the most part derived unto the lesser villages and hamlets.— And wheresoever they find such wilful offenders, that then with an hearty affection to the worship of God, the honor of the king and his laws, and the peace of the church and kingdom, they do address themselves to the civil magistrates, justices, and others concerned, imploring their help and assistance for preventing and suppressing the same, according to the late act in that behalf made and set forth. And now, my lord, what the success will be we must leave to God Almighty; yet, my lord, I have this confidence under God, that if we do our parts now at first seriously,

|| Calamy's Abridgement, vol. i. p. 232.

§ Burnet, p. 398.

† Sewel, p. 493.

by God's help, and the assistance of the civil power, considering the abundant care and provision the act contains for our advantage, we shall in a few months see so great an alteration in the distractions of these times, as that the seduced people returning from their seditious and self-seeking teachers to the unity of the church, and uniformity of God's worship, it will be to the glory of God, the welfare of the church, the praise of his majesty and government, and the happiness of the whole kingdom." Can this be the language of a christian and protestant bishop; or is it not more like a father of the inquisition, or the dragoon-ing commission of *Lewis XIV.* when he revoked the edict of Nantz?†

Copies of this letter were sent by the archdeacons to the officers of the several parishes within their jurisdictions, earnestly exhorting them to take especial care, to perform whatsoever is therein required, and to give an account at the next visitation. Many of the bishops chose to lie behind the curtain, and throw off the odium from themselves to the *civil magistrate*; but some of the more zealous could not forbear appearing in person, as bishop *Ward*, already mentioned, and bishop *Gunning*.‖ who often disturbed the *meetings* in person; once finding the doors shut, he ordered the constable to break them open with a sledge; another time he sat upon the bench at the quarter-sessions, upon which the chairman desired his lordship to give the *charge*, which he refusing, received a very handsome rebuke; it being hardly consistent with one that is an ambassador of the prince of peace, to set in judgment upon the consciences of his poor countrymen and neighbors, in order to plunder and tear them to pieces.§ The bishop was so zealous in the cause, that he sunk his

† Calamy's Abridg. vol. i. p. 328.

‖ Henshaw, the bishop of Peterborough, declared publicly in the church at Rowel, after he had commanded the officers to put this act in execution, "Against all fanatics it hath done its business, except the quakers; but when the parliament sits again, a stronger law will be made, not only to take away their lands and goods, but also to sell them for bond slaves." On this Mr. Gough properly asks, "Who can acquit the church so called of their share in the persecution, when the rulers thereof were so intemperately warm and active in it, and still insatiate with all these severities, inhumanly planning more and greater. History, vol. ii. p. 303. Ed.

§ Calamy, vol. ii. p. 692.

character by giving a public challenge to the *presbyterians*, *independents*, *anabaptists*, and *quakers*, and appointed three days for the disputation ; on the first of which his lordship went into the pulpit in the church, where was a considerable congregation, and charged the former with sedition and rebellion out of their books, but would hear no reply.* When the day came to dispute with the *quakers*, they summoned their friends, and when the bishop railed, they paid him in his own coin ; and followed him to his very house with repeated shouts, *the hireling flieth*.

The non-conformist ministers did what they could to keep themselves within the compass of the law ; they preached frequently twice a day in large families, with only four strangers, and as many under the age of sixteen as would come ; and at other times, in places where people might hear in several adjoining houses ; but after all, infinite mischiefs ensued, families were impoverished and divided ; friendship between neighbors was interrupted ; there was a general distrust and jealousy of each other ; and sometimes upon little quarrels, servants would betray their masters, and throw their affairs into distraction. Among others that suffered at this time was Dr. *Manton*, who was apprehended on a Lord's day in the afternoon, just as he had done sermon, the door being opened to let a gentleman out, the justice and his attendants rushed in and went up stairs ; they stayed till the doctor had ended his prayer, and then wrote down the names of the principal persons present, and took the doctor's promise to come to them at an house in the piazza's of Covent-garden, where they tendered him the Oxford oath, upon his refusal of which, he was committed prisoner to the Gate-house ; where he continued till he was released by the *indulgence*. At another time his meeting-house in White-Hart Yard was broken up ; the *place* was fined forty pounds, and the *minister* twenty, which was paid by lord *Wharton*, who was then present : They also took down the names of the hearers for the benefit of the justices of peace and spiritual courts.

The behavior of the quakers was very extraordinary, and had something in it that looked like the spirit of martyrdom.† They met at the same place and hour as in times

* Calamy's Abridg. vol. ii. p. 334.

† Burnet, p. 398.

of liberty, and when the officers came to seize them, none of them would stir; they went all together to prison; they stayed there till they were dismissed, for they would not petition to be set at liberty, nor pay the fines set upon them, nor so much as the prison fees. When they were discharged, they went to their meeting-house again, as before; and when the doors were shut up by order, they assembled in great numbers in the street before the doors, saying, they would not be ashamed, nor afraid to disown their meeting together in a peaceable manner to worship God; but in imitation of the prophet *Daniel*, they would do it more publicly, because they were forbid. Some called this obstinacy, others firmness; but by it they carried their point, the government being weary of contending against so much perverseness.†

On the first of September, 1670, two of their principal speakers, *Wm. Penn* and *Wm. Mead*, were tried at the Old-Baily, for an unlawful and tumultuous assembly in the open street, wherein they spake or preached to the people, who were assembled in Grace-church-street, to the number of three or four hundred, in contempt of the king's laws, and to the disturbance of the peace. The prisoners pleaded *not guilty*, but met with some of the severest usage that has been known in an *English* court of justice. They were fined forty marks a-piece for coming into court with their hats on, though it was not done out of contempt, but from a principle of their religion. It appeared by the witnesses, that there was an assembly in Grace-church-street, but there was neither riot, nor tumult, nor force of arms. *Mr. Penn* confessed they were so far from recanting, or declining to vindicate the assembling themselves to preach,

† A respectable member of the society of *quakers* has remarked, with propriety and force, on this language of bishop Burnet; "that had he concluded with the word *perseverance* instead of *perverseness*, his description had been less objectionable, as being nearer the truth. The prejudice discovered by that dignified prelate against this people tarnished his reputation as a *faithful* historian, and as a man; as a *true son of the church*, it is not much to be wondered at, when it is considered that they rejecting its honors and its revenues, struck at the *root* of the hierarchy: whilst other dissenters, in general, contending chiefly about rites and ceremonies, manifested little or no objection to that *grand support*, pecuniary emolument: as their practice in common, particularly during the interregnum, incontestibly proved. A Letter to the Editor. *Ed.*

pray, or worship the eternal, holy, just God, that they declared to all the world, they believed it to be their duty, and that all the powers on earth should not be able to divert them from it. When it was said, they were not arraigned for worshipping God, but for breaking the law, *William Penn* affirmed he had broken no law, and challenged the recorder to tell him upon what law he was prosecuted. The recorder answered, upon the *common law*, but could not tell where that common law was to be found. *Penn* insisted upon his producing the law, but the court overruled him, and called him a troublesome fellow. *Penn* replied, "I design no affront to the court, but if you deny to acquaint me with the law you say I have broken, you deny me the right that is due to every Englishman, and evidence to the whole world that your designs are arbitrary." Upon which he was haled from the bar into the *bail-dock*. As he was going out, he said to the jury, "If these fundamental laws which relate to liberty and property must not be indispensably maintained, who can say he has a right to the coat upon his back? Certainly then our liberties are openly to be invaded, our wives to be ravished, our children enslaved, and our estates led away in triumph, by every, sturdy beggar and malicious informer, as their trophies."

William Mead, being left alone at the bar, said, "You men of the jury, I am accused of meeting by *force of arms*, in a tumultuous manner.—Time was when I had freedom to use a carnal weapon, and then I feared no man; but now I fear the living God, and dare not make use thereof, nor hurt any man. I am a peaceable man, and therefore demand to know upon what law my indictment is founded; if the recorder will not tell what makes a riot, *Coke* will tell him, that it is when three or more are met together to beat a man, or to enter forcibly into another man's lands, to cut his grass or wood, or break down his pales." Upon this the recorder, having lost all patience, pulled off his hat, and said, I thank you, sir, for telling me what the law is. *Mead* replied, thou mayest put on thy hat, I have no fee for thee now. The mayor *Starling* told him he deserved to have his tongue cut out, and ordered him likewise to be carried to the *bail-dock*.

When the prisoners were gone, the recorder gave the jury their charge, upon which *William Penn* stood up, and with a loud voice said, "I appeal to the jury, and this great assembly, whether it be not contrary to the undoubted right of every Englishman, to give the jury their charge in the absence of the prisoners?" The recorder answered with a sneer, Ye are present, ye do hear, do ye not? *Penn* answered, No thanks to the court; I have ten or twelve material points to offer in order to invalidate the indictment, but am not heard. The recorder said, *Pull him down; Pull the fellow down.* *Mead* replied, these were barbarous and unjust proceedings; and then they were both thrust into the hole.

After the jury had withdrawn an hour and a half, the prisoners were brought to the bar to hear their verdict; eight of them came down agreed, but four remained above, to whom they used many unworthy threats, and in particular to Mr. *Bushel*, whom they charged with being the cause of the disagreement. At length, after withdrawing a second time, they agreed to bring them in *guilty of speaking in Grace-Church-street*; which the court would not accept for a verdict, but after many menaces told them, they should be locked up without meat, drink, fire, or tobacco; nay, they should starve, unless they brought in a proper verdict. *William Penn* being at the bar, said, "My jury ought not to be thus threatened. We were by force of arms kept out of our meeting-house, and met as near it as the soldiers would give us leave. We are a peaceable people, and cannot offer violence to any man. And looking upon the jury, he said, *You are Englishmen, mind your privilege, give not away your right.*" To which some of them answered, *Nor will we ever do it.* Upon this they were shut up all night without victuals or fire, or so much as a chamber-pot, though desired. Next morning they brought in the same verdict; upon which they were threatened with the utmost resentments. The mayor said, *he would cut Bushel's throat as soon as he could.* The recorder said, *he never knew the benefit of an inquisition till now; and that the next sessions of parliament a law would be made wherein those that would not conform should not have the*

benefit of the law.† The court having obliged the jury to withdraw again, they were kept without meat and drink till next morning, when they brought in the prisoners *not guilty*; for which they were fined forty marks a man, and to be imprisoned till paid. The prisoners were also remanded to Newgate for their fines in not pulling off their hats.* The jury, after some time, were discharged by *habeas corpus* returnable in the *common pleas*, where their commitment was judged illegal. This was a noble stand for the liberty of the subject in very dangerous times, when neither law nor equity availed any thing. The conventicle act was made to encourage prosecutions; and a narrative was published next year, of the oppressions of many honest people in Devonshire, and other parts, by the informers and justices; but the courts of justice outran the law itself.

Hitherto the king and parliament had agreed pretty well, by means of the large supplies of money the parliament had given to support his majesty's pleasures; but now having

†The speech of the recorder, it appears by a quotation from the "State Trials" in a late publication, was fuller and stronger than Mr. Neal's abridged form represents it. "Till now," said this advocate for arbitrary power, "I never understood the reason of the policy and prudence of the Spaniards in suffering the inquisition among them, and certainly it will *never be well with us* till something like the Spanish inquisition be in England." Stuart's Peace and Reform against War and Corruption, p. 63. note; and Gough's History of the Quakers, vol. ii. p. 336. *Ed.*

* The prisoners excepted to this fine, as being arbitrarily imposed, in violation of the great charter of England, which saith; "No man ought to be amerced, but by the oath of good and lawful men of the vicinage." The name of the judge, before whom the case of the jury was solemnly argued in the court of *common pleas*, and by whom it was judged illegal, was Sir John Vaughan, then chief justice: a name which deserves to be mentioned in this connection, with peculiar respect, and to be perpetuated by Englishmen with gratitude. For this adjudication confirmed in the strongest manner the rights of juries, and secured them from the attack of arbitrary and unprincipled judges. Sir John Vaughan was a man of excellent parts, and not only versed in all the knowledge requisite to make a figure in his profession, but he was also a very considerable master of the politer kinds of learning. He was the intimate friend of the great *Seldon*, and was buried in the Temple church, as near as possible to his remains. He died in 1674. His son published his Reports, in which is the above case. Gough, vol. ii. p. 336. British Biography, vol. vii. p. 130-31; and Granger's History, vol. iii. p. 369. *Ed.*

assurance of large remittances from France, his majesty resolved to govern by the prerogative, and stand upon his own legs. || His prime counsellors were lord *Clifford*, *Anthony Ashley Cooper*, afterwards lord *Shaftesbury*, the duke of *Buckingham*, earl of *Arlington*, and duke *Lauderdale*, who from the initial letters of their names were called the *CABAL*. Lord *Clifford* was an open papist, and the earl of *Arlington* a concealed one. *Buckingham* was a debauchee, and reputed a downright atheist; he was a man of great wit and parts, and of sounder principles in the interests of humanity (says *Mr. Baxter*) than the rest of the court. *Shaftesbury* had a vast genius, but, according to *Burnet*, at best was a deist; he had great knowledge of men and things, but would often change sides as his interest directed. *Lauderdale* was a man of learning, and from an almost republican was become a perfect tool of the prerogative, and would offer at the most desperate councils. He had scarcely any traces of religion remaining, though he called himself a presbyterian, and had an aversion to king *Charles I.* to the last. By these five ministers of state the king and duke of *York* drove on their designs of introducing popery and arbitrary power; in order to which, a secret treaty was concluded with France; the triple alliance was broken, and a new war declared with the Dutch to destroy their commonwealth, as will be seen presently. By this means the king had a plausible pretence to keep up a standing army, which might secure him in the exercise of an absolute authority over his subjects, to set aside the use of parliaments, and settle the Roman catholic religion in the three kingdoms. These were the maxims the court pursued throughout the remaining part of this reign.

In the beginning of this year died *Dr. Anthony Tuckney*, ‡ born in September 1599, and educated in *Emanuel*

|| *Eachard*, p. 864. *Rapin*, p. 653.

‡ To what is said concerning *Dr. Tuckney* by *Mr. Neal*, and before in the note to p. 141, vol. iii. it is proper to add two facts which are much to his honor. One is, that in his elections at *St. John's*, when the president, according to the language and spirit of the times, would call upon him to have regard to the *godly*, his answer was “no one should have a greater regard to the truly *godly* than himself: but he was de-

college, Cambridge. He was afterwards vicar of Boston in Lincolnshire, where he continued till he was called to set in the assembly of divines at Westminster. In the year 1645, he was made master of his college, and in the year 1648, being chosen vice-chancellor, he removed to Cambridge with his family. He was afterwards master of St. John's and *regius professor*, which he held till the restoration, when the king sent him a letter, desiring him to resign his professorship, which if he did, his majesty, in consideration of the great pains and diligence of the said doctor in the discharge of his duty, would oblige his successor to give him sufficient security in law, to pay him one hundred pounds a year during his natural life. Upon this notice the doctor immediately resigned, and had his annuity paid him by Dr. *Gunning*, who succeeded him. After the coming out of the *five mile act* he shifted about in several counties, and at last died in Spittleyard, London, February 1669, in the seventy-first year of his age, leaving behind him the character of an eminently learned and pious man, an indefatigable student, a candid disputant, and an earnest promoter of truth and godliness.*

About the same time died Mr. *William Bridge*, M. A. the ejected minister of Yarmouth; he was student in Cambridge thirteen years, and fellow of Emanuel college. He afterwards settled in Norwich, where he was silenced by bishop *Wren* for non-conformity, 1637. He was afterwards excommunicated; and when the writ *de excommunicato capiendo* came out against him he withdrew to Hol-

terminated to choose none but scholars:" adding very wisely, "they may deceive me in their godliness; they cannot in their scholarship." The other fact is, that though he is said to have had a great hand in composing the Confession and Catechisms of the assembly at Westminster, and in particular drew up the exposition of the commandments in the larger catechism; yet he voted against subscribing or swearing to the confession &c. set out by authority. This conduct the more deserves notice and commendation, because the instances of a consistent adherence to the principles of religious liberty among those who were struggling for liberty, were so few and rare in that age. In the year 1753, Dr. Samuel Salter, prebendary of Norwich, published a correspondence between Dr. Tuckney and Dr. Benjamin Whichcote, on several very interesting subjects. See Whichcote's *Moral and Religious Aphorisms*, preface the second, p. 15. *Ed.*

* Calamy, vol. ii. p. 77; or Palmer's *Noncon. Mem.* vol. i. p. 205.

land, and became pastor to the English church at Rotterdam, where Mr. *Jer. Burroughs* was preacher. In 1642, he returned to England, and was *one of the dissenting brethren* in the assembly of divines. He was chosen after some time minister of Great Yarmouth, where he continued his labors till the *Bartholomew* act ejected him with his brethren.* He was a good scholar, and had a well-furnished library, was a hard student, and rose every morning winter and summer at four of the clock. He was also a good preacher, a candid and charitable man, and did much good by his ministry.† He died at Yarmouth, March 12, 1670, *ætat.* seventy.

While the protestant dissenters were harassed in all parts of the kingdom, the Roman catholics were at ease under the wing of the prerogative; there were few or no processes against them, for they had the liberty of resorting to mass at the houses of foreign ambassadors, and other chapels, both in town and country; nor did the bishops complain of them in the house of lords, by which means they began in a few years to rival the protestants both in strength and numbers. The commons represented the causes of this misfortune in an address to the king, together with the remedies, which if the reader will carefully consider, he will easily discover the different usage of protestant non-conformists and popish recusants.‡

The causes of the increase of popery, were, 1. The great number of jesuits who were all over the kingdom. 2. The chapels in great towns for saying mass, besides ambassadors houses, whither great numbers of his majesty's sub-

* Calamy, vol. ii. p. 478. Palmer, vol. ii. p. 208.

§ In Peck's "*Desiderata Curiosa*" is a letter of William Bridge to Henry Scobel, Esq. clerk of the council, about augmenting the income of preachers, with the names of the *independent* ministers of prime note in the county of Norfolk. This shews that he was a leading man among the independents. Granger's History of England, vol. iii. p. 44. Dr. Grey imputes to Mr. Bridge a republican spirit, because in a sermon before the commons, he said, "The king must not only command according to God's law, but man's laws: and if he don't so command, resistance is not resistance of *power* but of *will*. To say, that such resistance must only be defensive, is nonsense: for so a man may be ever resisting, and never resist." Grey, vol. i. p. 187.

‡ Rapin, vol. ii. p. 658.

jects resorted without control. 3. The fraternities or convents of priests and jesuits at St. James's, and in several parts of the kingdom, besides their schools for the educating youth. 4. The public sale of popish catechisms, &c. 5. The general remissness of magistrates, and other officers, in not convicting papists according to law. 6. Suspected recusants enjoying offices by themselves or their deputies. 7. Presentations to livings by popish recusants, or by others as they direct. 8. Sending youth beyond sea under tutors, to be educated in the popish religion. 9. The few *Exchequer processes* that have been issued forth, though many have been certified thither. 10. The great insolence of papists in Ireland, where archbishops and bishops of the pope's creation appear publicly, mass being said openly in Dublin, and other parts of the kingdom.

The remedies which the house proposed against these growing mischiefs were,

1. That a proclamation be issued out to banish all popish priests and jesuits out of the realm, except such as attend the queen and foreign ambassadors. 2. That the king's subjects be forbid going to hear mass and other exercises of the *Romish* religion. 3. That no office or employment of public authority be put into the hands of popish recusants. 4. That all fraternities, convents, and popish schools, be abolished, and the jesuits, priests, friars, and school-masters, punished. 5. That his majesty require all the officers of the *Exchequer*, to issue out *processes* against popish recusants convict, certified thither. 6. That *Punket* the pretended primate of Ireland, and *Talbot* archbishop of Dublin, be sent for into England, to answer such matters as should be objected against them.

The king promised to consider the address, but hoped they would allow him to distinguish between new *converts*, and those who had been bred up in the popish religion, and served him and his father in the late wars. After some time a proclamation was issued, in which his majesty declares, that *he had always adhered to the true religion established in this kingdom against all temptations whatsoever*; and that he would employ his utmost care and zeal in its defence. But the magistrates, knowing his majesty's inclinations, took no care of the execution of it. Nay, the

duke of York, the king's brother, having lately lost his duchess, lord *Clarendon's* daughter, who died a papist,* made a formal abjuration of the protestant religion at this time before father *Simon*, an English jesuit, publicly declaring himself a Roman catholic; the reason of which was, that the present queen having no children, the papists gave the duke to understand, that they were capable to effect his majesty's divorce, and to set aside his succession, by providing him with another queen, which they would certainly attempt, unless he would make an open profession of the Roman catholic religion, which he did accordingly.

The house of commons was very lavish of the nation's money this session, for though there was no danger of an invasion from abroad, they voted the king two millions and a half, with which his majesty maintained a standing army, and called the parliament no more together for almost two years. After the houses were up, the *CABAL* began to prosecute their scheme of making the king absolute; in order to which, besides the two millions and a half granted by parliament, they received from France the sum of seven hundred thousand pounds in two years, which not being sufficient to embark in a war with the Dutch, the king declared in council, by the advice of *Clifford*, that he was resolved to *shut up the Exchequer*, wherein the bankers of London, (who had furnished the king with money on all occasions at great interest) had lodged vast sums of other people's cash deposited in their hands. By this means the bankers were obliged to make a stop, which interrupted the course of trade, and raised a great clamor over the whole kingdom. The king endeavored to soften the bank-

* This Dr. Grey is unwilling to admit, though he owns that Monsieur Maimbourg published, in French, her declaration for renouncing the Protestant religion, and he quotes largely from Dr. Richard Watson, a celebrated English divine, who published an answer to it. The amount of his defence of the duchess, as it appears in this quotation, is, that when on account of her illness the worship of her oratory had been deserted, it was renewed again by her order, and the doors of her chamber, which was adjoining to it, were opened that she might hear the prayers; and that the bishop of Oxford was sent for to administer the sacrament to her. In opposition to this, which rises to presumptive evidence only, and in support of Mr. Neal, it may be added; that Sir John Resby says, that she died "with her last breath declaring herself a Papist." *Memoirs*, p. 19. *Ed.*

ers, by telling them it should be only for a year, and that he would pay the arrears out of the next subsidies of parliament; but he was worse than his word; so that great numbers of families and orphans were reduced to beggary, while the king gained about one million four hundred thousand pounds.

A second advance of the *CABAL* towards arbitrary power, was to *destroy the Dutch commonwealth*; for this purpose the triple alliance was to be broken, and pretences to be found out for quarrelling with that trading people. The earl of *Shaftesbury* used this expression in his speech to the parliament for justifying the war, *Delenda est Carthago*, that is, *the Dutch commonwealth must be destroyed*; but an occasion was wanting to justify it to the world.—There had been a few scurrilous prints and medals struck in *Holland*, reflecting on the king's amours, below the notice of the English court, which the Dutch however had caused to be destroyed. Complaints were also revived of the insolence of the Dutch in the *East-Indies*, and of the neglect of striking the flag in the narrow seas to the king's yacht, passing by the Dutch fleet. The *cabal* managed these complaints like men who were afraid of receiving satisfaction, or of giving the adversary any umbrage to prepare for the storm. The Dutch, therefore, relying on the faith of treaties, pursued their traffic without fear; but when their rich *Smyrna* fleet of merchantmen, consisting of seventy-two sail, under convoy of six men of war, passed by the *Isle of Wight*, the English fleet fell upon them and took several of their ships, without any previous declaration of war; a breach of faith (says *Burnet*) which Mahometans and pirates would have been ashamed of.*

Two days after the attempt upon the *Smyrna* fleet, the *cabal* made the third advance towards popery and absolute power, by advising the king to suspend the penal laws against all sorts of non-conformists. It was now resolved to set the dissenters against the church, and to offer them the protection of the crown to make way for a general toleration. Lord *Shaftesbury* first proposed it in council, which the majority readily complied with, provided the Roman catholics might be included; but when the declar-

* Vol. ii. p. 16. 12mo.

ation was prepared, the lord keeper *Bridgman* refused to put the seal to it, as judging it contrary to law, for which he was dismissed, and the seals given to the earl of *Shaftesbury*, who maintained, that the indulgence was for the service of the church of England.* “As for the church (says his lordship,) I conceive the *declaration* is extremely for their interest; for the narrow bottom they have placed themselves upon, and the measures they have proceeded by, so contrary to the properties and liberties of the nation, must needs in a short time prove fatal to them; whereas this leads them into another way, to live peaceably with the dissenting and different protestants, both at home and abroad;” which was true if both had not been undermined by the papists.† Archbishop *Sheldon*, *Morley*, and the rest of their party, exclaimed loudly against the *indulgence*, and alarmed the whole nation, insomuch that many sober and good men, who had long feared the growth of popery, began to think their eyes were open, and that they were in good earnest; but it appeared afterwards that their chief concern was for the *spiritual power*; for though they murmured against the *dispensing power*, they fell in with all their other proceedings; which, if Providence had not miraculously interposed, must have been fatal to the protestant religion and the liberties of Europe.

At length the *declaration* having been communicated to the French king, and received his approbation, was published, bearing date March 15, 1671-2, to the following effect :‡

“CHARLES REX,

“OUR care and endeavors for the preservation of the rights and interests of the church, have been sufficient-

* History of the Stuarts, p. 566. † Des Maiz. Col. p. 677, &c.

‡ The bishops took the alarm at this declaration: and charged their clergy to preach against popery. The pulpits were full of a new strain: it was every where preached against, and the authority of the laws were magnified. The king complained to Sheldon, that controversy was preached, as if on purpose to inflame the people, and alienate them from him and his government; and Sheldon, apprehensive that the king might again press him on this subject, convened some of the clergy, to consult with them what answer to make to his majesty.

ly manifested to the world, by the whole course of our government since our happy restoration, and by the many and frequent ways of *coercion* that we have used for reducing all erring or dissenting persons, and for composing the unhappy differences in matters of religion, which we found among our subjects upon our return; but it being evident by the sad experience of twelve years, that there is very little fruit of all these forcible courses, *we think ourselves obliged to make use of that supreme power in ecclesiastical matters, which is not only inherent in us, but hath been declared and recognised to be so, by several statutes and acts of parliament*; and therefore we do now accordingly issue this our declaration, as well for the quieting of our good subjects in these points, as for inviting strangers in this conjuncture to come and live under us; and for the better encouragement of all to a cheerful following of their trades and callings, from whence we hope, by the blessing of God, to have many good and happy advantages to our government; as also for preventing for the future the danger that might otherwise arise from private meetings and seditious conventicles.

“ And in the first place, we declare our express resolution, meaning and intention to be, that the church of England be preserved, and remain entire in its doctrine, discipline and government, as now it stands established by law; and that this be taken to be, as it is, the basis, rule, and standard of the general and public worship of God, and that the orthodox conformable clergy do receive and enjoy the revenues belonging thereunto, and that no person, though of a different opinion and persuasion, shall be exempt from paying his tithes, or other dues whatsoever.— And farther we declare, that no person shall be capable of holding any benefice, living, or ecclesiastical dignity or preferment, of any kind, in this our kingdom of England, who is not exactly conformable.

“ We do in the next place declare our will and pleasure

Dr. Tillotson suggested this reply: “ That since the king himself professed the protestant religion, it would be a thing without a precedent, that he should forbid his clergy to preach in defence of a religion which they believed, while he himself said he was of it.” Burnet’s Hist, vol. ii. p. 17. 12mo. ed. and Birch’s Life of Tillotson, p. 41. *Ed.*

to be, that *the execution of all, and all manner of penal laws in matters ecclesiastical, against whatsoever sort of non-conformists or recusants, be immediately suspended, and they are hereby suspended*; and all judges, judges of assize and gaol delivery, sheriffs, justices of peace, mayors, bailiffs, and other officers whatsoever, whether ecclesiastical or civil, are to take notice of it, and pay due obedience thereto.

“ And that there may be no pretence for any of our subjects to continue their illegal meetings and conventicles, we do declare, that we shall from time to time allow a sufficient number of places, as they shall be desired, in all parts of this our kingdom, for the use of such as do not conform to the church of England, to meet and assemble in order to their public worship and devotion, which places shall be open and free to all persons.

“ But to prevent such disorders and inconveniencies as may happen by this our indulgence, if not duly regulated; and that they may be the better protected by the civil magistrate; *our express will and pleasure is, that none of our subjects do presume to meet in any place, until such places be allowed, and the teacher of that congregation be approved by us.*

“ And lest any should apprehend that this restriction should make our said allowance and approbation difficult to be obtained, we do farther declare, that this our indulgence, as to the allowance of the public places of worship, and approbation of the preachers, shall extend to all sorts of *non-conformists and recusants, except the recusants of the Roman catholic religion*, to whom we shall in no wise allow public places of worship, but only indulge them their share in the common exemption from the penal laws, and the exercise of their worship in their private houses only.

“ And if after this our clemency and indulgence, any of our subjects shall pretend to abuse this liberty, and shall preach seditiously, or to the derogation of the doctrine, discipline or government, of the established church, or shall meet in places not allowed by us, we do hereby give them warning, and declare we will proceed against them with all imaginable severity. And we will let them see, we can be as severe to punish such offenders when so just-

ly provoked, as we are indulgent to truly tender consciences.”

Given at our court at Whitehall this 15th day of March, in the four and twentieth year of our reign.

The protestant non-conformists had no opinion of the *dispensing power*, and were not forward to accept of liberty in this way; they were sensible the indulgence was not granted out of love to them, nor would continue any longer, than it would serve the interest of popery. “The beginning of the Dutch war (says one of their writers) made the court think it necessary to grant them an indulgence, that there might be peace at home while there was war abroad, though much to the dissatisfaction of those who had a hand in framing all the severe laws against them.”* Many pamphlets were written for and against the dissenters accepting it, because it was grafted on the *dispensing power*. Some maintained, that it was setting up altar against altar, and that they should accept of nothing but a *comprehension*. Others endeavored to prove, that it was the duty of the presbyterians to make use of the liberty granted them by the king, because it was their natural right, which no legislative power upon earth had a right to deprive them of, as long as they remained dutiful subjects; that meeting in separate congregations distinct from the parochial assemblies, in the present circumstances, was neither schismatical nor sinful.† Accordingly most of the ministers, both in London and in the country, took out licenses, a copy of which I have transcribed from under the king’s own hand and seal in the margin.‡ Great numbers

* Baxter, part iii. p. 99. Welwood’s Memoirs, p. 190.

† Welwood’s Memoirs, p. 102.*

‡ CHARLES REX.

CHARLES by the grace of God, king of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. To all mayors, bailiffs, constables, and others, our officers and ministers civil and military, whom it may concern, greeting. In pursuance of our declaration of the 15th of March 1671-2. We do hereby permit and license G. S. _____ of the congregational persuasion, to be a teacher of the congregation allowed by us, in a room or rooms of his house in _____ for the use of such as do not conform to the church of England, who are of that per-

* The Editor cannot meet with these passages in Welwood’s Memoirs, 6th edition.

of people attended the meetings, and a cautious and moderate address of thanks was presented to the king for their liberty, but all were afraid of the consequences.

It was reported further, that the court encouraged the non-conformists, by some small pensions of fifty and one hundred pounds to the chief of their party; that Mr. *Baxter* returned the money, but that Mr. *Pool* acknowledged he had received fifty pounds for two years, and that the rest accepted it.* This was reported to the disadvantage of the dissenters by Dr. *Stillingfleet* and others, with an insinuation that it was *to bribe them to be silent, and join interest with the papists*; but Dr. *Owen*, in answer to this part of the charge, in his preface to a book entitled *An Enquiry, &c.* against Dr. *Stillingfleet*, declares, that “it is such a frontless malicious lie, as impudence itself would blush at; that however the dissenters may be traduced, they are ready to give the highest security that can be of their stability in the protestant cause; and for myself (says he) never any person in authority, dignity, or power in the nation, nor any from them, papist or protestant, did ever speak or advise with me about any indulgence or toleration to be granted to papists, and I challenge the whole world to prove the contrary.” From this indulgence Dr. *Stillingfleet* dates the beginning of the presbyterian separation.

This year died Dr. *Edmund Staunton*, the ejected minister of Kingston-upon-Thames, one of the assembly of divines, and some time president of Corpus-Christi College in Oxford. He was son of Sir *Francis Staunton*, born at Wooburne in Bedfordshire 1601, and educated in Wadham college, of which he was a fellow.† Upon his taking orders, he became minister of Bushby in Hertfordshire, but

suasion commonly called *congregational*, with further license and permission to him the said G. S. ——— to teach in any place licensed and allowed by us, according to our said declaration.

Given at our court at Whitehall the second day of May, in the 24th year of our reign 1672. By his majesty's command.

ARLINGTON.

* Burnet, vol. ii. p. 46, 47.

† Dr. Staunton, in 1615, became a commoner of Wadham college: on the 4th of October, in the same year, was admitted scholar of Corpus Christi college: and afterwards Fellow, and M. A. Wood's Athen. Oxon. vol. ii. p. 352, and Dr. Grey. *Ed.*

changed it afterwards for Kingston-upon-Thames. In 1634 he took the degrees in divinity, and in 1648 was made president of Corpus-Christi college, which he kept till he was silenced for non-conformity. He then retired to Rickmansworth in Hertfordshire, and afterwards to a village in that county called Bovingden, where he preached as often as he had opportunity. He was a learned, pious, and peaceable divine. In his last sickness he said he neither feared death nor desired life, but was willing to be at God's disposal. He died July 14, 1671, and was buried in the church belonging to the parish.*

Mr. *Varasor Powel* was born in Radnorshire, and educated in Jesus college, Oxon. When he left the university he preached up and down in Wales, till being driven from thence for want of presbyterial ordination, which he scrupled, he came to London, and soon after settled at Dartford in Kent. In the year 1646 he obtained a testimonial of his religious and blameless conversation, and of his abilities for the work of the ministry, signed by Mr. *Herle* and seventeen of the assembly of divines. Furnished with these testimonials he returned to Wales, and became a most indefatigable and active instrument of propagating the gospel in those parts. There were few, if any, of the churches or chapels in Wales, in which he did not preach; yea, very often he preached to the *poor Welch* in the mountains, at fairs, and in market-places; for which he had no more than a stipend of one hundred pounds *per annum*, besides the advantage of some sequestered livings in North Wales, (says my author) which, in those times of confusion, turned but to a very poor account. Mr. *Powel* was a bold man, and of republican principles, preaching against the *protectorship of Cromwell*, and wrote letters to him, for which he was imprisoned, to prevent his spreading disaffection in the state. At the dawn of the restoration, being known to be a fifth monarchy man, he was secured first at Shrewsbury, afterwards in Wales, and at last in the Fleet. In the year 1662 he was shut up in South-Sea castle near Portsmouth, where he continued five years. In 1667 he was released, but venturing to preach again in his own country, he was imprisoned at Cardiff, and in the year 1669 sent up

*Calamy's Abridg. vol. ii. p. 63. Palmer's Non-con. Mem. vol. i. p. 173.

to London, and confined a prisoner in the Fleet, where he died, and was buried in Bunhill-fields, in the presence of an innumerable croud of dissenters, who attended him to his grave. He was of an unconquerable resolution, and of a mind unshaken under all his troubles. The inscription on his tomb calls him, "A successful teacher of the past, a sincere witness of the present, and an useful example to the future age; who, in the defection of many, found mercy to be faithful, for which being called to many prisons, he was there tried, and would not accept deliverance, expecting a better resurrection." He died October 27, 1671, in the 53d year of his age, and the eleventh year of his imprisonment.*

* To Mr. Neal's account of Mr. Vavasor Powel it may be added, that he was born 1617, and descended from an ancient and honorable stock: on his father's side, from the Powells of Knochlas in Radnorshire; and on his mother's, from the Vavasors, a family of great antiquity, that came out of Yorkshire into Wales, and was related to the principal gentry in North Wales. So active and laborious was he in the duties of the ministry, that he frequently preached in two or three places in a day, and was seldom two days in the week, throughout the year, out of the pulpit. He would sometimes ride an hundred miles in the week, and preach in every place where he could gain admittance, either by night or day. He would often alight from his horse, and set on it any aged person whom he met with on the road on foot, and walk by the side for miles together. He was exceedingly hospitable and generous, and would not only entertain and lodge, but clothe the poor and aged. He was a man of great humility, very conscientious and exemplary in all relative duties, and very punctual to his word. He was a scholar, and his general deportment was that of a gentleman. His sentiments were those of a *Sabbatarian Baptist*. In 1642, when he left Wales, there was not then above one or two gathered churches; but before the restoration, there were above twenty distinct societies, consisting of from two to five hundred members, chiefly planted and formed by his care and industry, in the principles of the *Baptists*. They were also for the ordination of elders, singing of psalms and hymns in public worship; laying on of hands on the newly baptised, and anointing the sick with oil, and did not limit their communion to an agreement with them in their sentiments on baptism. He bore his last illness with great patience, and under the acutest pains would bless God, and say, "he would not entertain one hard thought of God for all the world." and could scarcely be restrained from acts of devotion, and from expressing his sentiments of zeal and piety.—Dr. Grey after Wood, has vilified Mr. Powel by retailing the falsehoods of a piece entitled "*Strena Vavasoriensis*." Crosby's History, vol. i. p. 373, &c. *Life and Death of Vavasor Powel. Ed.*



A

SUPPLEMENT

TO

CHAPTERS V. VI. VII. *and* VIII.

SECT. I.

The History of the Baptists.

AT this period it is proper to resume the History of the Baptists, which we only slightly touched in our supplemental pages, at the end of the fourth chapter. This people, from the Restoration to the Declaration of indulgence in 1672, were exposed to severe sufferings: though they had no influence in the preceding vicissitudes of government. It was not known that during the contest between *Charles I.* and the parliament, any one of this sect was in the king's army; some of them in that of the parliament; and it was supposed, that a special reason of disbanding one entire regiment in the earl of *Essex's* army was, the colonel having entertained and given countenance to *Separatists* and some *Anabaptists*. Although in and after 1649, their numbers did increase, insomuch that the principal officers in divers regiments of horse and foot became *baptists*, particularly in *Cromwell's* own regiment of horse, and the duke of *Albemarle's* of foot; yet it is said, on good information, that before that year there were not, at any time, twenty of this denomination in any sort of command in the whole army. Until the year 1648, two only of this profession, Mr. *Lawrence* and Mr. *John Fiennes*, a son of lord *Say*, were members of the house of commons; and, in that year, before the death of the king, they withdrew from the parliament, not approving their proceedings, and lived private for about six years, when Mr. *Lawrence* was called again into public employment. In 1650, some

of this persuasion, viz. Capt. *Mildmay*, Capt. *Pack*, and Sir *John Harman*, were preferred to commands at sea.* Major-general *Harrison*, “a man of excellent natural parts,” says Mr. *Baxter*, “for affection and oratory, but not well seen in the principles of his religion,”† was the only baptist among the king’s judges.‡

Whatever concern, however, they may be supposed to have had in national affairs, it soon ceased after *Cromwell* assumed the reins of government, who, when he thought himself well settled, and perceived that it would please the dominant party, began to undermine the *sectarians*, and in particular to suppress the *baptists*. Mr. *Baxter* charges them with growing insolent both in England and Ireland, after *Cromwell’s* death, and the succession of his son *Richard* was set aside : and that, joining their brethren in the army, they were every where put in power. He complains of some personal insults and ungenerous treatment, which he received from some who resided near to him, irritated by their remembrance of the opposition he had made to their sentiments, and who, though not many more than twenty, “talked,” as he expresses it, “as if they had been lords of the world.”§ This spirit of resentment and triumph was soon humbled by the disappointment of hope, and a subsequent series of sufferings.

This appears, in the first instance, from a petition presented to king *Charles II.* signed by thirty-five, on behalf of many others in *Lincolnshire*. It stated, that not only their meetings for religious worship were interrupted by the magistrates ; and bonds for good behaviour were imposed upon them, for the violation of which, on account of renewing their assemblies, they were prosecuted as peace-breakers ; but that they were abused in the streets, and their own houses could not afford them protection ; for, if they were heard praying to God in their families, they were insulted by sounding of horns, beating against their doors, and threats that they should be hanged. If they appealed to the magistrates, the rage of their adversaries received a sanction from the odious terms with which those who sat on the bench of justice reviled them. Many of

* Crosby’s History of the Baptists, vol. ii. p. 2—5. † Baxter’s Life, part i. p. 57. ‡ Crosby, vol. ii. p. 9. § His own Life, part ii. p. 206.

them were indicted at the sessions for not attending on the preaching of the episcopal clergy, and alarmed with a design of levying from every one a penalty of 20l. per month.

The petition was graciously received by the king, who promised that he would take particular care that none should trouble them on account of their conscience, in things pertaining to religion; and immediately directed a member of parliament to go to the lord chancellor and secretary, that the proper measures for this end might be taken.

In the same year, another petition and representation of their sufferings was presented by some *baptists*, inhabitants of Kent, and prisoners in the gaol at Maidstone. In this paper they appealed to their "Confession of Faith," as truly representing their principles concerning magistracy and government; and deplored the danger which threatened their lives, and the ruin which hung over their wives and little ones, by the violence exercised against them. For, besides being made prisoners, the houses of some had, without any authority from the executive power, been broken open in the dead of night; and from others their goods and cattle had been taken away and detained.

Great also were the sufferings of those who resided in Gloucestershire. The most eminent cavaliers rode about, armed with swords and pistols, ransacking their houses, and abusing their families in a violent manner. At the house of Mr. *Helme*, at Winchcombe, the bed whereon his children laid was not spared; and their outrageous conduct so frightened his wife as to throw her into an illness which threatened her life. Mr. *Warren*, who possessed the parsonage of Rencome, was with his wife and family penned up into an upper room of his house, and so harassed night and day by the violence of the assailants and the noise of hautboys, that he died in the place. Mr. *Fletcher*, who had been put into a vacant place by authority, was so beat and inhumanly treated by a cavalier of his parish, that he and his family fled for their lives. One pious minister was assaulted as he was entering his pulpit. Another was violently pulled out of his house; his wife, children, and goods, were thrown into the street, none of

the parish were allowed to give them entertainment and he himself was haled to gaol.*

It is less surprising that these people were insulted by the ignorant populace, and were abused by the petty officers of power, when even the legislature marked them as the objects of suspicion, hatred, and severity. For the parliament assembled upon the restoration, when it passed an act for confirming all ministers in the possession of their benefices, how *heterodox* soever they had been, provided they would conform for the future, excepting such as had been of the *baptist* persuasion.†

So far from being encouraged to conform, or being permitted in peace and security to dissent, they were pursued with cruelty. Divers of them were cast into Reading prison, for conscientiously scrupling to take some oaths administered to them. At Newport in Wales, at the end of sermon, two were set upon by soldiers with swords and staves.‡ At London, Dr. *John Griffith* was committed to Newgate, where he lay seventeen months, for no other crime but preaching to a congregation of protestants. In Lincolnshire, Mr. *Thomas Grantham* and some others were taken from their meeting at Boston by some soldiers, and after having been lodged all night in a public inn, had their rest disturbed, and their minds grieved, by the incessant curses and oaths of their guards; they were, on the next morning, conveyed to the common gaol, and detained there, without so much as the least pretence of any crime laid to their charge, till the assizes, when they were dismissed. At Dover, the magistrates were severe against them, taking them from their meeting-houses, and committing them to prison. After four-and-twenty days they were admitted to bail, and appearing at the assizes were forbidden to assemble any more in their own place of worship, but were allowed the use of one of the churches. This privilege, which they enjoyed about the space of five months, was afterwards denied to them. Upon meeting again in their own place, their worship was disturbed, and twenty-four of them, under different commitments, sent to prison; at the quarter-sessions, a bill of indictment was found against them;

* Crosby, vol. ii. p. 4—30. † Wall's History of Infant Baptism, vol. ii. p. 24.

‡ Crosby, vol. ii. p. 94, 97.

some traversed it, others submitted to the court, and the rest were remitted to the prison again.*

A circumstance which much aggravated the proceedings against these people was, that they were not apprehended by the peace-officers only, but by rude, youthful, and mercenary soldiers; who seized them, to the terror of women and children, with musquets and drawn swords, did violence to their persons, and broke their goods.†

In June 1661, one of these military banditties went to a meeting-house in White-chapel, and laid hands on more than twenty; one of whom refusing to go with them, unless they produced their warrant, they not only pulled him along by force, and beat him about the head with their hangers, but lifting him up between three or four several times, let him fall with violence, and drove his breast and stomach against the rails with such force, that his health was greatly injured by the blows and falls. When a suit was commenced against the actors of this tragedy, the persons, at whose complaint the soldiers were arrested, were themselves arrested, and were sent to Newgate, where they lay about ten or twelve days before they could be bailed, and were held bound from sessions to sessions, for a long time, before they could be discharged.

The persons assembling in the same meeting-house were assaulted by a like body of soldiers, October the 20th, 1661, and one of them, the minister objecting to the authority under which they pretended to act, was by a mittimus, pretending and inserting great matters, cast into Newgate, where he lay *thirty weeks*, without any thing laid to his charge, and then they released him.

On the 3d of November, in the same year, a similar outrage was committed, in the same place, with as little shew or face of law. The preacher and three more were seized, and thrown into New Prison, from which, in time of sessions, one was removed to Newgate, under pretence of being brought to his trial; which, however, he could never procure, though he called for it in the face of the court, nor was his name returned in the calender. Yet he was kept in gaol *twelve weeks*, till fetched out by a person in

* Crosby, vol. ii. p. 149, 150, 154, 5. †Crosby, vol. ii. p. 161.

authority. He suffered in all eighteen, and the other persons twenty-eight weeks imprisonment.*

In the following year, their religious assemblies, in different parts of the town, met with the like violent interruptions from the soldiery, breaking in with their swords and muskets, and acting under the authority of *John Robinson* the lieutenant of the Tower, as in the former cases. In one instance a child in the cradle was awaked out of its sleep by their violence, and so terrified, that it fell sick, and died in three days. In other instances, the forms and furniture of their places of worship were broken and destroyed. *Robinson*, being told by them that they had broken the pulpit in Brick-lane, replied, "it was well done; and gave them a piece of gold, as a reward for their good service. In all cases, the persons of those assembled were exposed to their indiscriminating rage; neither sex, nor childhood, nor old age, nor women with child, were spared. At one place the mob was let in to act with soldiers, at the direction of *Robinson*. Many of the conscientious sufferers by illegal commitments, were cast into prison.

Even the walls of the prison did not afford them a secure retreat. In the prison itself they were exposed to outrage and fury. When they have been engaged together in religious conversation and acts of devotion, the felons of the gaol, the thieves and housebreakers, the pickpockets and highwaymen, have been let into their room, have threatened them, violently assaulted, and beaten them.†

But in the country, were usually the greatest injustice and cruelty practised. The gentlemen in the commission of the peace, near Aylesbury in Buckinghamshire, distinguished themselves by their virulence in prosecuting the *non-conformists*, and particularly the *baptists*. They filled not the *county gaol* only with prisoners of this description, but hired large houses in Aylesbury, and converted them into prisons; and not contented with the severities in daily exercise, such as confiscation of goods and imprisonment, they attempted to revive the old practice of punishing *heretics* with banishment and death. They grounded their proceedings on the oppressive act of the 35th of *Elizabeth*, for the punishment of persons obstinately refus-

* Crosby, vol. ii. p. 162—5. † Crosby, vol. ii. p. 172—179.

ing to come to church ;* which went to banish them, if, after three months imprisonment, they refused conformity ; and if they did not leave the kingdom within a limited time, or should return, to inflict DEATH without benefit of clergy. In 1664, some of these justices proceeded on this act against ten men and two women, all *baptists*, who had been apprehended at their meeting in or near Aylesbury : on these persons, because they refused to conform, and to abjure the realm, sentence of death was passed, and immediately their goods also were seized. The other dissenters, who constituted the majority of inhabitants in the town, alarmed at these proceedings, and anticipating their own doom, shut up their shops : this stop to commerce struck the whole town with horror and surprize. A son of one of the condemned persons immediately took horse for London, and was introduced, by Mr. *William Kiffin*, a gentleman of note amongst the *baptists*, and of interest at court, to chancellor *Hyde*, who was easily engaged to lay the case before the king. His majesty expressed great surprize, that any of his subjects should be put to death for their religion, and enquired whether any law in force justified such proceedings ? Being satisfied on this point, he promised his pardon. But lest any precipitancy in executing the sentence should supersede the benefit of his grace, while the pardon was passing through the usual form, the king, on a renewed application, granted an immediate reprieve. The condemned persons, however, were continued close prisoners till the next assizes, and then the judge brought down his majesty's pardon, and they were all set at liberty.† This would, undoubtedly, check the disposition of the justices to a similar process. But the virtuous sufferers, besides their other calamities, owed their safety to favor instead of law ; and appeared under the ignominious character of *pardoned criminals*, when they ought to have enjoyed the security and reputation of peaceable and innocent subjects.

The rage of the people, sanctioned by the conduct of the magistrates and the clergy towards the *baptists*, rose to such a height as to deny them the benefit of the common burying places. Nay, there wanted not instances of their being taken out of their graves. The inhabitants of Croft

* See Neal, vol. i. p. 465, of this edition. † Crosby, vol. ii. p. 180-85.

in Lincolnshire treated in this manner the corpse of Mr. *Robert Shalder*, in the year 1666. He had suffered much by imprisonment, and died soon after his release. He was buried amongst his ancestors; and on the same day his grave was opened, and his body taken out, dragged on a sledge to his own gate, and left there.

In the year 1670, the *baptists* of Lewes, and other places in the county of Sussex, suffered in their property by the proceedings of Sir *Thomas Nutt* and other justices, on the conventicle act. They were convicted without being admitted to plead in their own defence. They were fined in an arbitrary manner; and those fines were recovered in a way exceedingly oppressive and injurious, by distress and sale of goods. Where the fines amounted, as levied on various persons, to 5l. there were enacted, by distraints, 29l. 17s. In some instances, four cheeses were seized to recover 10s. five pair of shoes for 5s. a cow for 2l. 15s. and a horse for 5s. Cattle worth 27l. was sold for 14l. 5s. as a distress for 11l. 10s. One person, for a meeting held in his house, was fined 20l. for which were taken from him six cows, two young bullocks, and a horse, his whole stock. On entering an appeal, they were returned to him; but, being cast at the sessions, he was fined 60l. which was at last remitted to 23l. For non-payment of this sum he was committed to the jailor's hands, though the vicar of the parish, touched with remorse for his share in the prosecution, offered his bond to pay the whole fine within a quarter of a year.*

It was remarked by one who had been bound over to several assizes and sessions, for having religious assemblies held at his house, that the justices, who in *criminal* matters were often silent, and generally cool and disposed to lenity; when any person or accusation came before them concerning *dissenters*, were very forward speakers, and zealously aggravated the charge.

But nothing more strongly marked the malignant temper of the times against the *baptists*, than the publication of a pamphlet, in the year 1673, avowedly designed to raise an abhorrence of the sect, and to stand "as an eternal memorial of their cruelty and hatred to all orthodox ministers."

* Crosby, vol. ii. p. 244-58.

It was entitled, "Mr. *Baxter* baptised in blood." The story it exhibited was, that Mr. *Josiah Baxter*, a godly minister of New-England, for no other reason than because he had worsted the *baptists* in a disputation, had been murdered in his own house, amidst "the howlings, groans, and screechings of his dear relations, lying bound by him;" and it represented this murder as committed with circumstances of peculiar atrocity and cruelty: he being first stripped and severely whipt, and then unbowelled and fled alive. To give it the air of authenticity, the pamphlet was pretended to be published by the mournful brother of the said minister, an inhabitant of Fenchurch street, London; and it was actually licensed by Dr. *Samuel Parker*. This vile tale had its origin in invention and malice only. For the king's privy council examined the case and detected the forgery. It appeared on the oaths of the officers in Fenchurch street, that no such person as *Benjamin Baxter*, the pretended publisher, had, in their memory, lived there: and on the affidavits of a master of a vessel, and of a merchant who sailed from Boston about twenty days after this murder was said to be committed, it also appeared, that no such fact had taken place, nor had there been such a person as Mr. *Josiah Baxter*. The whole story was pronounced by an order of council "altogether false and fictitious;" and Dr. *Parker* confessed his mistake and credulity in licensing the pamphlet, and acknowledged, by a testimonial under his hand, his conviction that the whole was "both false and groundless." Mr. *Andrew Marvel* not without intimating a suspicion that Dr. *Parker* was concerned in the fabrication, says, that "from beginning to end there never was a completer falsehood invented."* It grieves and shocks a good mind to think that, in any age or party, men can be found to invent and countenance such groundless and malevolent forgeries.

Besides this general survey of the persecutions to which the *baptists* were exposed throughout the kingdom, it may be proper, briefly, to notice two or three particular caess. One is that of Mr. *John James*, the minister of a congregation of *baptists*, who observed the *seventh* day as a *sabbath*, and assembled in Bulstake-alley. Towards the end

* Crosby, vol. ii. p. 278—294.

of the year 1661, they were interrupted in their worship by a justice and headborough, as Mr. *James* was preaching, whom they commanded in the king's name to be silent and come down, having spoken treason against the king. As Mr. *James* proceeded in his discourse, without noticing this summons, it was repeated, with a threat of pulling him down. On this the disturbance grew so great, that Mr. *James* was obliged to stop; but still refusing to leave the pulpit, he was pulled down, and halled away; and the hearers were carried, by sevens, before the justices sitting at the Half-moon tavern, and those who refused the oath of allegiance were committed to prison. Mr. *James* was examined in the meeting-house; insult and threats accompanied the interrogatories, and he was committed on the charge of speaking *treasonable words* against his majesty. On this charge he was tried, and condemned, and executed. Previously to the execution, his wife delivered to the king a petition, stating his innocence, and the character of the witnesses against him, signifying who she was, which the king received with a taunt: "Oh! Mr. *James*! he is a sweet gentleman;" and when she attempted to follow for some further answer, the door was shut against her. On the next morning, she renewed her attendance and suit: and his majesty replied, "that he was a rogue, and should be hanged." A lord in waiting, asking who was meant, the king answered, "Oh, *John James*, that rogue; he shall be hanged; yea, he shall be hanged."*

The celebrated Mr. *Benjamin Keach* had, also, no small share in the sufferings of the times. He was seized, when preaching, and committed to gaol; sometimes bound, sometimes released upon bail, and sometimes his life was threatened. Troopers, who were sent down into Buckinghamshire to suppress the meetings of *dissenters*, entered into an assembly where he was conducting the worship, with great violence, and swearing that they would kill the preacher. He was accordingly seized, and four of them declared their resolution to trample him to death with their horses. They bound him, laid him on the ground, and were going to spur all their horses at once upon him, when

* Crosby, vol. ii. p. 165—171.

their officer, seeing their design, rode up towards them and prevented its execution. Mr. *Keach* was taken up, tied behind one of the troopers, across his horse, and carried to gaol; where he suffered some time great hardships, before he was released.

In the year 1644, Mr. *Keach* printed, at the request of friends, without his name, and with a recommendatory preface by another hand, a little piece entitled "The Child's Instructor; or, a new and easy Primer." In this book were advanced several principles contrary to the doctrines and ceremonies of the church of England; viz. That *infants* ought not to be baptized: that *laymen* having abilities may preach the gospel: that *Christ* should reign personally upon the earth in the latter day, &c. Soon after this tract was printed, and Mr. *Keach* had received some copies of it, his house was searched for it, all the copies of it they found, were seized, and he was bound over to the *assizes* in a recognizance of one hundred pounds, and two sureties with him in fifty pounds each. On Oct. 8, Mr. *Keach* was brought to the bar at Aylesbury, where the *assizes* were held, before lord chief justice *Hide*. The judge not only interrogated him, whether he were the author of the *Primer*, but, by unjust reflections and angry insults, endeavored to incense the jury against him, and to render him odious. Mr. *Keach* was refused a copy of his indictment till he had pleaded to it. In the course of the trial, abuse and contempt were cast upon him from the bench. The jury were intimidated, when they hesitated on their verdict. Mr. *Keach* was convicted: and the sentence passed was, that he should be committed to gaol for a fortnight, stand in the pillory for two hours on the following Saturday at Aylesbury, with a paper on his head with this inscription: "for writing, printing, and publishing a schismatical book, intituled *The Child's Instructor; or, a new and easie Primer:*" that the same punishment, under like circumstances, should be inflicted on him on the next Thursday at Winslow: that there his book should be openly burnt before his face, in disgrace of him and his doctrine: that he should be fined twenty pounds; and that he should remain in *gaol* until he found sureties for his good behavior and appearance at the next *assizes*;

then to renounce his doctrines, and make such public submission as should be enjoined him. No pardon could be obtained, nor the least relaxation of the sentence, which the sheriff took care should be punctually executed.*

Mr. *Vavasor Powell* might be added to the list of those whose zeal and labors particularly exposed them to persecution. But his sufferings have been already noticed.†

The spirit of persecution thus raged against this people : but not without a mixture of events, which were adapted seriously to effect the minds of their persecutors, and to alarm them to reflection. On the day of the king's proclamation, at Waltham, near Theobalds, there was a man, who at the bonfire, in the evening, expressed a rage against the *dissenters*, and the *baptists* in particular, by violence of language and oaths ; and as he threw faggots into the fire, cried, " here is a round-head ; here is an anabaptist !" he was struck with death that night, and never saw the morning. A minister at one place, inveighing, in his sermon against this sect, fell into a swoon, and was speechless for two hours, so that it was apprehended that he would never recover out of the fit. At Brockington in Gloucestershire, a young woman, who had bitterly reviled them, giving a sudden shriek, as the preacher was discoursing on *Jude* 14, 15, dropt down in the religious assembly, and never recovered. The sufferings and character of the *dissenters* were made a jest upon the stage at Oxford. In a play acted there, by the *scholars*, one personated the *Old Puritan* ; who broke a vein and vomited so much blood, that his immediate death was apprehended, and he lay sometime dangerously ill. Two of the actors, and a woman that joined them in this dramatic exhibition, were cut off by death.‡ Some remarkable calamities befel those who were instruments in the prosecution of Mr. *John James*.§ One of the actors in the rude and unnatural treatment of Mr. *Shalder's* corpse, after it was interred, died suddenly ; and another languished for some time, terrified with the remembrance of the insults he had offered to the dead.¶— A woman named *Anne Clemens*, at Chipping-Norton, dis-

* Crosby, vol. ii. p. 185—209.

† At the end of chap. viii.

‡ Crosby, vol. ii. p. 30—34.

§ Ibid. p. 172.

¶ Ibid. p. 241.

tinguished by her rage and malice against the *dissenters*, fell into such circumstances of poverty, as to be obliged to sell her land, and mortgage her house for near its worth. Not one of her children, who resided in the neighborhood, was in a comfortable condition ; and she herself was so reduced as to beg alms of those she had hated and persecuted. Her affliction was heightened by a diseased appetite, which called for as much as would satisfy two or three persons ; and by a disposition to breed vermin, so that though her clothes were not only washed, but ovened, she could not be kept clean. *Richard Allein*, an active informer, and violent in his conduct towards the *dissenters*, fell into afflictions that shortened his days. His eldest son was killed at London ; and about the same time, another was accused and convicted for robbing on the highway, and by great friends and fees escaped with his life. An officer in the county troops of Oxford, with an income of seventy pounds per annum, before he could accomplish his design of suppressing the *dissenters*, sunk in his own estate, died greatly in debt, and his son's children became common beggars. One *Werg*, a forward and active constable, did not long survive the expiration of his office, and imputed his death to watching one cold night to take the dissenters at their meeting. Five persons, who received pensions as spies and informers, were observed not to prosper afterwards, and every one of them shortly died. An *Irish peer*, and three *Irish justices* of title and rank, bitter persecutors, it was remarked, while they were directing their whole power to the ruin of the *dissenters*, were themselves ruined, their estates were sold, and their families became extinct. Whereas Sir *Littleton Obaldiston*, a justice of peace, who had been heard to rail at the *dissenters*, and acted with others in committing them to prison, afterwards laid aside his enmity, was instrumental in releasing several, and conducted himself in a friendly manner ; and it was noticed, that his estate continued to his posterity. And it was remarked, that—*Howard*, Esq. a justice and officer in the county troops in Oxfordshire, who had from an enemy become a friend to the *dissenters*, though he adhered to the established worship, was the only one of those who had molested and harassed them that was living on the 30th

of December, 1707, being then an old man, full of days, wealth and honor.*

It becomes us, I am sensible, to be very cautious, how we construe the events, which are common to all men. "There is usually" (says an excellent writer) "much rashness and presumption in pronouncing, that the calamities of sinners are particular judgments of God; yet if, from sacred and profane, from ancient and modern historians, a collection were made of all the persecuting tyrants, who delighted in tormenting their fellow-creatures, and who died not the common death of all men, nor were visited after the visitation of all men, but whose plagues were horrible and strange, even a sceptic would be moved at the evidence, and would be apt to suspect that it was *Theion ti*, that the hand of God was in it."†

But the history, which we are detailing, presents objects to our consideration more pleasing than the sufferings of the persecuted, or calamities that befel persecutors. It records the virtues which the persecuted displayed, and the consolations in which, under their heavy trials, they rejoiced. We see the power of faith and piety, when we hear the *Baptists* confined in Reading gaol declaring, "Our Lord and King, whom we serve, hath brought us under his own pavilion: and *his banner over us* hath been and still is *love*, and hath been teaching of us these lessons following. 1st. In the loss of all outward things, having Christ, we enjoy all things, and are satisfied in the Lord: we shall take the spoiling of our goods with far more comfort, than the enemy will do in the spending of them, for that word [Job xx. 22, 23] is very much on our hearts concerning him. 2dly. We hope we have learned, in whatsoever condition we are, to be therewith contented; and are persuaded in our hearts this is given us in an answer of many prayers breathed forth unto the Lord on our behalfs. 3dly. That whereas formerly we could hardly part with any thing for the Lord, we are now made willing by him, to part with all things for him, and to say with good old *Ely*, "*It is the Lord, let him do what he pleaseth;*" and that in *Job*, is set before

* Crosby, vol. ii. p. 259—263.

† Jortin's Remarks on Ecclesiastical History, vol. iii. p. 247. 1754.

as for our example, upon whom the ends of the world are come: *The Lord giveth, and the Lord taketh away; blessed be the name of the Lord. In all this Job sinned not, &c.* 4thly. We have since our confinement tasted a greater sweetness in the promises of the Lord than formerly; and particularly these places following, we have sweet experience of, and we can truly say by experience, *That faithful is he that hath thus promised, for he hath also done it: it is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes.* Phil. iv. 19. 1 Pet. v. 7. Deut. xxxiii. 25. We are also brought by the power of his grace to a more watchful frame over our hearts, thoughts and actions, by these trials than formerly. One thing had almost slipped our memory, the knowledge of which will, we hope, rejoice our hearts; that our relations, that are precious to the Lord and to us, bear this our suffering with incomparable patience, rather singing for joy, than weeping for grief. Also our *Societies*, from whence we were taken, are exceeding cheerful, and a very lively spirit of faith and prayer is amongst them; and their meetings rather increase than otherwise. Sure, *That the Lord is near, his wonderful works declare; for the singing of birds is come, and the turtle is heard in our land.* And now, brethren, so much as the mercies expected and prayed for by us, are to be enjoyed in the way of righteousness, it greatly concerns us, that we cry mightily to the Lord, as did his servant of old. Isai. lxii. 1. Then shall we have that new name which God will give us, which is expressed in the last verse of that chapter. Now the God of all peace fill you with peace and joy in believing; so pray your brethren through grace.”*

In the spirit of these pious sufferers, one whose property was seized, told those who took distress, “he never sold any thing to so great advantage, for this would bring him an hundred fold.” And another on goods from his shop to the value of 50s. being seized for a fine of 30s. assured them, “that he parted as willingly with them as with any goods he ever sold.”†

When Mr. *John James* was brought to the bar to receive sentence, he was asked what he had to say for himself, why sentence of death should not be passed upon him. In a

* Crosby, vol. ii. p. 93. 4. 5.

† Ibid. p. 219.

manner very expressive of pious submission and fortitude, he answered : “ That he had not much to say, only two or three scriptures he would leave with them.” The first scripture was Jer. xxvi. 14, 15. *As for me, do as seemeth good unto you. But know ye for certain, that if ye put me to death, ye shall surely bring innocent blood upon yourselves, and upon this city, and upon the inhabitants thereof.* The second scripture was, Psalm cxvi. 15. *Precious in the sight of the Lord, is the death of his saints.* He also reminded them of that good word of the Lord : *He that toucheth the Lord’s people, toucheth the apple of his eye.*

The deportment of Mr. Keach, when he stood in the pillory, at Aylesbury, was singularly serious, devout, and undaunted. To his friends, who accompanied him, expressing their sense of his sufferings, he said, with a cheerful countenance, “ the cross is the way to the crown.” When his head and hands were fixed, he addressed the spectators to this effect : “ Good people, I am not ashamed to stand here this day, with this paper on my head. My Lord *Jesus* was not ashamed to suffer on the cross for me, and it is for his cause that I am made a gazing-stock. Take notice, it is not for any wickedness that I stand here ; but for writing and publishing his truths, which the spirit of the Lord hath revealed in the holy scriptures. It is no new thing for the servants of the Lord to suffer and to be made a gazing-stock ; and you that are acquainted with the scriptures know, that the way to the crown is by the cross. The apostle saith, *That through many tribulations, we must enter into the kingdom of heaven :* and Christ saith, *He that is ashamed of me and my words, in an adulterous and sinful generation, of him shall the Son of man be ashamed, before the Father, and before the holy angels.*” After frequent interruptions from the jailor, and standing sometime silent, disengaging one of his hands, he pulled his bible out of his pocket, and held it up to the people, saying : “ Take notice, that the things which I have written and published, and for which I stand here this day a spectacle to men and angels, are all contained in this book, as I could prove out of the same, if I had opportunity.” The jailor took it from him, and fastened up his hand again : but it was almost impossible to keep him from speaking ;

saying, "It seems I cannot be suffered to speak to the cause for which I stand here ; neither could I be suffered the other day, (viz. on his trial :) but it will plead its own innocency, when the strongest of its opposers shall be ashamed. I do not speak this out of prejudice to any person, but do sincerely desire, that the Lord would convert them, and convince them of their errors, that their souls may be saved in the day of the Lord *Jesus*. *Good people*, the concernment of souls is very great ; so great, that *Christ* died for them. And, truly, a concernment for souls was that which moved me to write and publish those things for which I now suffer, and for which I could suffer far greater things than these. It concerns you, therefore, to be very careful, otherwise it will be very sad with you, at the revelation of the Lord *Jesus* from heaven. for we must all appear before his tribunal." Here he was interrupted, but, after some time he again ventured to break silence. "I hope, (said he) the Lord's people will not be discouraged at my sufferings. Oh ! did you but experience the great love of God, and the excellencies that are in him, it would make you willing to go through any sufferings for his sake. And I do account this the greatest honor that ever the Lord was pleased to confer upon me." He was not suffered to speak much more after this, and the officers were commanded to keep the spectators at a greater distance from him. He found an opportunity, however, to say at one time, "This is one *yoke of Christ*, which I can experience *is easy* to me, and a *burthen* which he doth make *light*." and to utter, also, this sentence, "*Blessed are they that are persecuted for righteousness sake, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.*" When the time for his standing was expired, and his head and hands were at liberty, he blessed God, with a loud voice, for his great goodness unto him.*

Such sentiments, such a spirit expressed in the moment of suffering, it may be supposed, would disarm the rage of some, and possess the minds of many in favor of the pious sufferer. But the *baptists* did not leave their principles to the recommendation and support, which the conduct and temper of those who, in the profession of them endured

* Crosby, vol. ii. p. 204—205.

cruel trials, might afford. They adopted every method of softening prejudice and conciliating regard, by addresses from the press, and applications to the throne. With this view they published, in 1660, A brief Confession or Declaration, to inform all men of their innocent belief and practice. It was owned and approved by more than twenty thousand. This was presented to his majesty, and met with his approbation. It was reprinted at London, in 1691.* Petitions also, as we have noticed, were, in this year, delivered to the king, representing their pacific principles, and imploring his protection.† Three persons, of this denomination, about this time, published a declaration of their sentiments concerning opposing magistracy, in which they advanced principles to which the most zealous advocates for passive obedience and non-resistance could not object: professing that in such instances wherein they could not in conscience obey, they ought “not to resist them, but patiently suffer whatever they should inflict for non-obedience to their requirements.”‡ The persons who signed this declaration apologize for their paucity, and seemed not pleased with their brethren, because they were not of their judgment on this point. But their difference in opinion from other *baptists* shews, that an uniformity of sentiment concerning the extent of the magistrate’s authority and the right of resistance had no necessary and direct connection with an agreement on the questions concerning baptism. In the year 1661 the hardships, under which many of this profession groaned, again excited to seek mercy from the higher powers. A petition was presented to the king on behalf of themselves and others, from some confined in the prison at Dover, and another to the duke of *York*; describing their great sufferings, protesting that innocence was found in them, and that against the king and his government they had done no harm, soliciting, with much importunity, to be set at liberty, and that they might not be interrupted in their worship of the God of heaven, as they were taught it in his word, which they prized above all the world; and urging,

* Crosby, vol. ii. p. 48: and Appendix, No. iv. † Ibid. p. 19-26.

‡ Crosby, vol. ii. p. 19. Appendix, No. v. p. 93.

that it might be considered, "how disagreeable it is with christianity, to bring tribulation upon any for conscience sake, seeing all things in worship must be done in faith and love."*

But the application for redress of their grievances, which particularly deserves notice, was an address to the king, parliament and people, in a treatise entitled, "Sion's groans for her distressed; or, Sober endeavors to prevent innocent blood, &c." This was not a petition only for *toleration* for themselves, but an able and spirited defence of the rights of conscience. Its design was to prove how contrary to the gospel "of the Lord *Jesus*, and to good reason, it is for any magistrate, by outward force, to impose any thing in the worship of God on the consciences of those whom they govern; but that liberty ought to be given to all such as disturb not the civil peace, though of different persuasions in religious matters." The question is handled on liberal principles, so with copiousness and strength. The spirit and the reasoning do honor to the people from whom it came; especially, when it is recollected that the assembly at Westminster, and the ministers of London and other parts, had from the pulpit and the press opposed the principles of toleration.

It is argued, that the power of directing conscience by outward force doth not attach itself to the office of magistracy itself, because then all magistrates in all nations have the same power; the *Muhometan* to enforce the reception of the koran, the *Spaniard* to enjoin popery, and every succeeding magistrate to sanction his own religion, to the overthrow of what his predecessor established: because the apostles who command obedience to magistrates, in matters of religion, refused obedience: because all the scriptures of the New Testament, enjoining obedience to magistrates, being written when the emperors were idolators; such injunctions cannot be understood as applying to religion: because, if the commands of the magistrate in religious matters were obligatory, there could be no persecutions, and the way to heaven so far from being straight and narrow, any might be a disciple of *Christ* without *taking up the cross*. And the

* Cresby, vol. ii. p. 165—160.

conduct of *Gallio*, who declined interfering in a matter relative to God's law, and restrained the exercise of his authority to civil injuries only, is with great propriety appealed to, as a worthy example for the imitation of magistrates.

That the *christian* magistrate, as such, hath no power over conscience, nor authority to impose any thing in religion by outward force, is argued from the conduct of *Christ Jesus*, who never compelled men by force to receive his doctrine; from the conduct of the apostles, and the elders of the primitive church, who disclaimed any such power, 1 Cor. i. 24. Matt. xx. 25. 1 Pet. v. 2, 3. "Why, therefore," (say the authors of this piece) "the christian religion should be built and supported by violence, when the foundation was laid, and the work carried on during all the apostles' days, and some hundred years after, by a quite contrary means, is a question would be resolved by those whose strongest arguments for the support of their religion is, TAKE HIM, JAILOR. For such is the difference between the way which the apostles and primitive saints took, in carrying on the work of the gospel, and approving themselves to be the ministers of God, and the way now used by the *national clergy*, than which nothing is more unlike." In the prosecution of their argument, they reason forcibly from the parable of the *tares* and *wheat*, as forbidding any outward force or violence to be used upon false worshippers and heretics as such. "Hath the magistrate" (it is asked) "power to remove those out of the world, that God would have permitted to live?" The fallibility of the magistrate furnishes another argument against the exercise of his power in religion; a fallibility, which woeeful experience hath taught the world in all ages; the magistrate of one country establishing the principles and practices which that of another country condemns and persecutes; nay, the same magistrate, at different periods, reversing his own decrees; and now rejecting what he had just before defended by his pen, or supported by his laws: as was the case of *Henry VIII.* To this fallibility he is equally liable, whether he confide in his own wisdom, or rely on the authority of popes, synods, or general councils. This point is illustrated by various examples. As to national conventions and synods, so far are they from any shew of

infallibility, it is justly observed, "that the same complexion and temper the nation is of, wherein they are called, you shall be sure to find them of; because they have their dependency on the authority that calls them together."—Among other arguments, it is stated, that for the magistrate to inflict temporal punishments upon any for not conforming to those decrees which enjoin any spiritual worship or service, is a breach of the royal law, *Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them.* This is a rule, which all sorts of men, whilst under persecution, are ready to receive and plead. Nor would they who are forward to persecute, be very zealous in their proceedings, if they were sure that those whom they persecute should have power on their sides, to "mete the same measure unto them." It is well observed, that such proceedings may sometimes prove inconsistent with the very being of nations. "For, suppose any nation were wholly heathen idolaters, and the word of God coming in amongst them, should convert the chief magistrate, and one-twentieth part of the nation more; must he then with that twentieth part destroy all the other nineteen, if they will not be converted, but continue in their heathenish idolatry. It cannot possibly be supposed to be warrantable. And the reason holds good, likewise, against the rooting up and destroying *heretics* out of the world."

These just sentiments are followed by a full answer to the argument in favor of the magistrate's power in religious matters, drawn from the example of the kings of *Israel* and *Judah*. In reply to this, it is observed, that the power of those kings to punish idolaters and blasphemers was given them by God, and written in plain precepts in the *Mosaical* law; but hath the Lord *Jesus* invested magistrates with such power; if he have, where is it written? The *Jews*, all the time they kept to the law of God, had a standing oracle amongst them, the *urim and thummim*, and the councils of extraordinary prophets to assist them to judge righteous judgments. Besides, the gospel is a dispensation far different from the law in all its ordinances and administrations, under which the lord *Jesus* is the only lawgiver.

Such is the strain of this piece : the importance of the subject, the force of the argument, and the liberality of the spirit, entitle it to particular notice ; and will, it is presumed, make this review of it acceptable.* The authors of it, whose names are subscribed to the prefatory epistle, were *Thomas Monck, Joseph Wright, George Hammon, William Jeffery, Francis Stanley, William Reynolds, and Francis Smith.* While they earnestly recommend their treatise to deliberate and serious perusal, our design, they say, “in what we beg may be perused, is *general good*, in setting at liberty that which God made free, even the conscience.”

The only particulars I can find concerning these able advocates for liberty are, that Mr. *Wright*, born in 1623, was a physician : he was educated at the university, and was a man of great learning and piety ; a serious and diligent preacher, and greatly promoted the cause of the *baptists*. He was confined twenty years in the gaol at Maidstone ; in this town he died, aged eighty, in 1703.† Mr. *George Hammon*, eminent for the ardor and freedom with which he vindicated what he judged to be truth, on all occasions, and very much persecuted on that account, was pastor of a congregation at Biddenden in Kent ; and died at Haseldens-wood, in the parish of Cranbrook.‡ Mr. *William Jeffery*, born in 1616, of pious parents, in the parish of Penshurst, lived at Bradbourn, in Sevenoaks, Kent ; where he and his brother were the great supporters, if not the founders of a meeting. By his diligence, and that of several others, more than twenty congregations were formed in that county, on the principles laid down in Heb. vi. 1, 2, without entering on speculative and controverted points. As he was vigorous, unwearied and successful in his labors, so with great patience and pleasure he suffered much for his principles ; these he also often defended in public disputations. He was much valued for his steady piety and universal virtue, and died in a good old age.§ His son succeeded him in his church. Mr. *Francis Stanley* was a man noted for his zeal and piety, and was imprisoned for preaching in the gaol of

* Mr. Crosby has preserved it entire in his History, vol. ii. p. 100—144.

† Crosby, vol. iii. p. 116. ‡ Ibid. p. 103. § Ibid. p. 97, 8.

Northampton. He bore his sufferings like a christian, and died about the year 1696. He was a native of Northamptonshire, and was buried at East-Haddon, in that county.* Of the other persons Mr. *Crosby* gives no particular account.

In the same year, in which appeared the piece on 'Toleration, there were published a small piece, entitled "A Complaint of the Oppressed against Oppressors; or, the unjust and arbitrary proceedings of some soldiers and justices, against some sober, godly persons, in and near London, who now lie in stinking gaols, for the testimony of a good conscience; with some reasons why they cannot swear allegiance to obtain their liberty:" and a tract, entitled "A Plea for Toleration of Opinions and Persuasions in matters of Religion, differing from the Church of England: humbly presented to the King's most excellent majesty. By Mr. JOHN STURGEON, a baptist." The former was written by Dr. *John Griffith*, a worthy man, who suffered a long imprisonment in Newgate for non-conformity. Each piece was an affecting remonstrance on the unjust proceedings, by which many pious and innocent persons, of unblemished characters, in London, and in almost all the counties of England, were suffering; being taken out of their beds at midnight by soldiers, acting without warrant, and with drawn swords, to the great terror of their wives and children; and being thrust into prisons, in such crouds that the jailors complained they had too many guests; and detained there to the ruin of their families.†

Mr. *James Atkins*, one of those who were harassed by the magistrates of Dover, on his own behalf, and in the cause of his fellow-sufferers, addressed a letter to the mayor and justices of that town, under the name of "a poor subject;" acknowledging a submission to the civil magistrate, except in what concerned the worship of God, and intreating in the bowels of love a consideration of the evil of restraining their liberty.‡

In the year 1662, there came from the press a small pamphlet, entitled "Behold a Cry; or, a true relation of the inhuman and violent outrages of divers soldiers, constables,

* Crosby, p. 127. † Ibid. vol. ii. p. 144-48. and vol. iii. p. 120.

‡ Crosby, vol. ii. p. 151-52.

and others, practised upon many of the Lord's people, commonly, though falsely, called *Anabaptists*, at their several meetings in and about London."

An incident, which took place in Lincolnshire in 1670, called forth a vindication of their principles from this denomination in a different form from the preceding publications. Mr. *Robert Wright*, who had been a preacher amongst them, but was on account of his irregular life and conversation excluded their society, having spent his estate, applied to Dr. *William Fuller*, the bishop of that diocese, for orders and a benefice; promising to renounce his sentiments concerning baptism, and to preach against the *Baptists*. The bishop accepted his offer, he was admitted in the ministry of the church of England, and preached in support of the baptism of infants, in opposition to that of believers, with great ardor and confidence. This excited great attention, the minds of many were much impressed by it, and it was supposed that most, if not all the ministers of the *baptist* churches would be easily confuted. They, in their own vindication, at the assizes, posted up, in different parts of the city of Lincoln, four papers, addressed to the citizens and inhabitants, inviting Mr. *Wright* to a friendly conference, and offering to maintain the doctrine and baptism of repentance to be from heaven, and the sprinkling and crossing of infants to be man's tradition. They were dated the 11th day of the first month, (vulg.) *March*, 1670. Two of them were taken down in the morning, and were, it was supposed, carried to the bishop and the judge. The other two were permitted to remain till the afternoon, and were read by many, till they were removed by the clergy, who threatened the writers of them should answer for it before the council-table. But though the bishop, it was well known, was not a little moved by these proceedings of the *baptists*, no other step was taken on the occasion, than sending to them an angry paper, drawn up by Mr. *William Silverton*, the bishop's chaplain, who called them *erroneous antic baptists*. To this paper Mr. *Grantham* replied, promising Mr. *Silverton* either to hear and discuss his arguments in a free audience, if he would fix a convenient time and place for the purpose; or to reply to him, if he would defend his sentiments from the

press. Here the matter ended, as Mr. *Silverton* saw fit to be silent.*

The only publication, which remains to be noticed in this period, was, “A narrative of the late proceedings of some justices and others, pretending to put in execution the late act against conventicles; against several peaceable people in and about the town of Lewes in Sussex, only for their being quietly met to worship God: together with a brief account of the like proceedings against some at Brighthelmstone, and others at Chillington. in the same county.”—This professed to be a *faithful Narrative*, published with a view to encourage others to suffer the spoiling of their goods by the example of many, who endured it with patience and joyfulness; and with the hope, that by it the harsh proceedings against a *peaceable people*, might come to the knowledge of some in authority, who, out of pity to the distressed, and justice to their righteous cause, would redress their grievances.† Such narratives were, indeed, well adapted to each purpose, and were an affecting appeal to the sense of humanity and equity.

* Crosby, vol. ii. p. 244—244.

† Ibid. vol. ii. p. 245. 6.

SECT. II.

The History of the Quakers.

THE society of those called QUAKERS considered the restoration of *Charles II.* as a signal instance of the interposition of Providence, to restore peace and order to a distracted nation: and soon after he was placed on the throne, Mr. *Richard Huberthorne* obtained access to the king, and stated the excessive sufferings which his friends had sustained, and under which they were still smarting. The king entered into free conversation with him on the principles of the Quakers, and promised them his protection: saying, "Of this you may be assured, that you shall none of you suffer for your opinions or religion, so long as you live peaceably, and you have the word of a king for it; and I have also given forth a declaration to the same purpose, that none shall wrong you or abuse you."*

This assurance raised in their minds the encouraging expectation of not being molested in their religious worship and profession. Better times than they had hitherto experienced appeared to be opening upon them. Their meetings were large and quiet. Numbers, drawn by curiosity, or better motives, flocked to them, and embraced their sentiments: but this calm was of no long duration: and they soon found, that *the word of a king* could be a delusive ground of dependence. *Venner's* insurrection brought on them new and severe persecution; though they were, by the dying testimony of the sufferers at their execution, exculpated from all knowledge of the design. Their meetings were broken up by soldiers. Their persons were abused by the populace. Their houses were ransacked. They were forced from their employments, and cast into

* Gough's History of the Quakers, vol. i. p. 440.

gaols among felons, who rifled them of their money and clothes. And even the sick were dragged out of their beds to prisons; one of whom, Mr. *Patchen*, a man of considerable estate, being in a fever, died there.*

This persecution was not confined to the city of London, but spread with similar violence over all or most parts of the nation. They were, without conviction, without crimination, without any legal cause, violently haled to prison, and crowded together in close, damp, or unwholesome rooms, by such numbers, as almost to the danger of suffocation. In *Bristol*, near one hundred and ninety were imprisoned. In *Lancaster* were two hundred and seventy prisoners: in *Westmoreland*, one hundred and sixteen: in the *West-riding* of *Yorkshire* were not fewer than two hundred and twenty nine; and the number in the *North-riding* amounted to an hundred and twenty-six. And the treatment which they received in prison was generally as cruel as the commitment was unjust.†

When the members of this society had cleared themselves from the imputation of being parties in *Venner's* insurrection, they were proceeded against on new grounds; and old laws, made in the reigns of *Henry VIII.* and queen *Eliz.* were revived and made rules for proceeding against them; namely, the laws against the subtraction of tithes, and neglecting to resort to the parish church, or some other, on every Sunday or holy day. They were also prosecuted on an act made in the beginning of queen *Elizabeth's* reign, for administering the oath of supremacy, and on one of the third of *James*, enjoining the oath of allegiance. When there remained no shadow of reason to detain those whom they had imprisoned on account of the rising of the fifth-monarchy men, it was an usual method with the magistrates to tender them the oath of allegiance, which they knew they would not take, that their refusal might be a pretext for still holding them in confinement: though their demeanor was peaceable and unresisting, and by the most explicit declarations they solemnly expressed and pledged their allegiance.‡—By the misapplication of the law of *James*, many of them

* Gough's History, vol. i. p. 441, 445. † Ibid. vol. i. p. 446—451.

‡ Ibid. p. 457—466.

suffered the loss of personal liberty, and of all their substance, and were exposed to very hard and illicit treatment. The case of *Thomas Goodyear* and *Benjamin Staples*, at the quarter sessions at Oxford, is a striking instance of this. *Thomas Goodyear*, after receiving the sentence of præmunire, was brought into court, like a common malefactor, with bolts on his legs, and on asking, "whether the jailor had orders to fetter him?" he was answered, "The jailor may do as he will with you, for you are out of the king's protection." This man, encouraged by the example of his superior, when he brought them back to the prison, told the other prisoners, "that if they wanted clothes, they might take theirs off their backs, for they can have no law against you." But one of the prisoners humanely answered, *he would rather go naked, than strip honest men of their cloths, who were stripped of all they had beside.**

It is but candid, however, to remark that, though the justices and inferior magistrates, from their bitterness against the non-conformists, were disposed, in some cases, to put the 35th of *Elizabeth* in full force, yet the instances of enforcing this law, through the intervention of higher authority, were not many, nor equally encouraged with other modes of prosecution; as the full enforcing thereof must have terminated in public executions.†

But notwithstanding this instance of moderation, violent prejudices against the *Quakers* were so universal, that they were left unmolested in few, or no parts of the kingdom. In 1662, Mr. *George Fox* represented to the king, that since his restoration three thousand and sixty-eight of their friends had been imprisoned. A narrative signed by twelve witnesses, attested that four thousand two hundred of those called *Quakers*, both men and women, were in prison. No age or sex found commiseration. Men of seventy, or more years old, were subjected to all the rigors of a goal. In London and its suburbs, five hundred were, at this time, confined; suffering every severity, their trades ruined, and their families exposed to ruin. The treatment of this people, even in this city, resembled the French dragoonings of the *Hugonots*, rather than the con-

* Gough's History, vol. i. p. 531, 32.

† Ibid. vol. i. p. 537.

dition of those who were entitled to the privileges of a constitution limited to legal rule. They were beaten with cudgels, cut with swords, and dragged into the streets; there they lay in the kennels, senseless and helpless, besmeared with their blood: and the passengers and spectators, moved by the sight of their condition, would sometimes cry out shame upon the perpetrators, that such a resemblance of massacre should be committed in the streets of London. Some, for these expressions of compassion, had their share of the like treatment. The soldiers being asked, why they could be so cruel to their neighbors? one of them answered, "Nay, we are more merciful than we ought to be, for we have orders to kill; and that his musquet was double charged, as most of those of the party were to his knowledge." Through this treatment, some who were hauled out of the meeting at Bull-and-Mouth, 31st August, 1662, were so disabled as to keep their beds for some time: one was so wounded in the head that his brains were visible, and one died of the bruises and wounds he received. The coroner's jury, which was impanelled to view the body, broke up without giving a verdict; alledging as their reason, that if they pronounced it wilful murder, and the perpetrator could not be found, the city would be liable to a fine. The king, when an account of these barbarous transactions was presented to him by one of the society, said, "I assure you, it was not by my advice, that any of your friends should be slain; you must tell the magistrates of the city of it, and prosecute the law against them." The mayor was, by letter, duly apprized of these proceedings, but afforded no redress. The letter, accompanied by a narrative, was printed and published; for which the author was committed to Newgate by Sir *Richard Brown*, the mayor, on the charge of dispersing scandalous papers.*

After the murder we have mentioned, the meetings in the city were generally undisturbed for six weeks; then similar practices of injustice and cruelty were renewed, under the sanction of the magistrates, and continued nearly to the end of the year 1662. By this time no less than twenty persons had died prisoners at Newgate,

* Gough, vol. i. p. 538, 546.

and seven more by sickness contracted there soon after their discharge.*

The king's declaration of indulgence retarded, in 1663, the furious career of the persecuting magistrates; and few instances of sufferings in the metropolis occur in this year, compared with the preceding. Yet the quakers did not remain quite unmolested; for Sir *John Robinson*, who preceded Sir *R. Brown* in the mayoralty, ordered a guard to be placed at the entrance of the Bull-and-Mouth meeting-house, to prevent any persons from entering into it. The meetings on this were held in the streets; but those who preached or prayed were generally haled away to prison, and blows were unmercifully dealt on the heads both of men and women, who did not disperse at the command of the mayor and his officers. In this year there was also a severe persecution of this people at Colchester in Essex. Their meetings were interrupted by acts of violence: and many were disabled and bruised, and the lives of others were brought into great danger by blows with clubs, carbines and swords. One of them, when a trooper was beating him with a sword, and the blade fell out of the hilt, took it and gave it to him, saying, "I will give it thee up again; I desire the Lord may not lay this day's work to thy charge."†

The operation of the conventicle act, passed in 1664, though levelled at every body of dissenters, fell with peculiar weight on the *quakers*; numbers of them, and of them only, were condemned to transportation upon this act; and the proceedings against them were conducted with peculiar and hostile precipitancy. For, "as the penalty for the first offence was imprisonment for a term not exceeding three months, and for the second not exceeding six, at the arbitrary discretion of two justices;" it was usual for these justices to commit them for a few days for the first and second offences, not out of tenderness, but in order to subject them more speedily to the penalty of transportation for the third offence. For, from their long approved constancy, they promised themselves an assurance of finding them again at their religious assemblies, as soon as at liberty.‡

* Gough's History, vol. ii. p. 1, 2. † Ibid. vol. ii. p. 21, 24.

‡ Ibid. vol. ii. p. 112, 116.

The privileges of the subject were held, at this time, by so precarious a tenure, that the history of this society furnishes instances of the judges refusing to accept the verdict of the grand jury, when they have returned the bill *ignoramus*; and of his sending them out again with menaces and fresh instructions.* The evidence produced against them, on their trial, was sometimes so insufficient, that the jury remonstrated against it, and intreated not to be troubled any more with such evidence. When neither persuasions nor menaces could induce a jury to alter their verdict to the dictates of the court, some of them were bound in 100l. each to appear at the king's-bench-bar the first day of the following term.†

The awful visitation of Providence, by a destructive pestilence, in 1665, had no effect in softening the enmity of their persecutors. Persecution continued, and the meetings were disturbed as before. Many who were cast into the filthy holes of Newgate were released by this disease, which had infected the gaols, from a life worse than death. "But," says my author, "what must fix an indelible stamp of utter insensibility to every motive of humanity, of civility, or common decency, on the characters of the magistrates, to the disgrace of the government, and of that church with which they were so zealous to enforce conformity, was, that during the very height of the contagion, they continued to crowd the infected prisons with fresh prisoners."‡

In 1668 the *quakers* were not, in comparison with former years, much disturbed by the civil power; their sufferings were mostly by excommunications, imprisonments, and distrains, for their conscientious scruples against paying ecclesiastical demands, several of which, however, were unreasonably severe.

The third act against conventicles, which was carried into a law in 1670, opened new scenes of persecution, in which the *quakers* had their peculiar share. Many were cruelly spoiled of their property; people of considerable substance were reduced to extreme poverty; and the sick had their beds taken from under them, and were reduced to lie on the floor. When the sufferers, according to the

* Gough, vol. ii. p. 117, 118. † Ibid. p. 128, 129. ‡ Ibid. p. 139, 140.

privilege allowed by the act, appealed against the heavy fines and the exorbitant distrainments, they generally obtained little by the appeal but additional loss. The influence of the convicting justice, the partiality of the bench, corrupt juries, or a neglect in putting into due execution the decrees of the quarter-sessions, to which they appealed, left them unredressed. A misconstruction of the word *conventicles*, which the act limited to meetings for religious worship, contrary to the liturgy of the church of England, often exposed them to illegal fines; for, if they met merely to provide for their poor, or visited a sick friend, or attended the funerals of the deceased, there were not wanting informers hardy enough to swear such meetings conventicles, nor justices prejudiced against them to issue their warrants to levy the fines accordingly; of which Mr. *Gough* gives various instances.* The penalty on the preacher being 20*l.* for the first offence, and 40*l.* for the second, the desire of gain often tempted the unprincipled informer to swear against a preacher, when there was not a word spoken in the meeting. At other times, a word spoken, though not on subjects of religion, was termed preaching; and an answer to an impertinent question, extorted from some one or other present, bore the same construction. The magistrates were as ready to fine as the informer to swear; and, by this iniquitous combination, the innocent were robbed under the cover of an act of parliament.† It is a pleasure to find, and truth requires one to add, that some justices, apprized of the villainy of the informers, had too much honor to encourage their vicious disposition to plunder without mercy, and to swear without scruple. The lord-mayor of London, in particular, sitting in a court of aldermen, in the year 1670, when an informer made his appearance with such a number of informations as would have wronged the accused of 1500*l.* with abhorrence broke up the court.‡ This year affords another peculiar instance of the illegal proceedings, by which this society were harassed; which, notwithstanding the king's repeated professions of favor towards them, originated with the court. On the 29th of July an order

* History, vol. ii. p. 305—316.

† Ibid. p. 316—318.

‡ Ibid.

was issued, by the king and council, for demolishing the meeting-house at Horsly-down, Southwark.

It was grounded on a pretence that the persons assembled in it behaved in a riotous and tumultuous manner, than which charge nothing could be more repugnant to their avowed principles and uniform manners. The pulling down of the building was, by express command, committed to *Christopher Wren*, Esq. the surveyor-general of his majesty's works. After this order was affixed to the meeting-house, the members of the society continued their assemblies in it, till it was demolished; they then met upon the rubbish. By this they exposed themselves to repeated outrages and cruel abuses from the military, into whose hands was put the despotic treatment of this assembly, and who, at one assault, sorely bruised and wounded twenty, at a second thirty, and at third more than fifty persons. When the soldiers were reprehended for their cruelty; some of them answered, "If you knew what orders we have, you would say we dealt mercifully with you." Others, being asked how can you deal thus with a people that have love and good-will to all men, and make no resistance or opposition, replied; "We had rather, and it would be better for us if they did resist and oppose." This was looked upon by the sufferers, as if they sought occasion to embroil their hands more deeply in blood, and take the lives and estates of honest people for their prey. At length these military violations of the peace of the city roused the civil officers to interpose their authority; but it was too weak to protect this unarmed body, against the number of armed men let loose upon them. These proceedings of the soldiers having been represented to the king and council, a temporary cessation of these cruelties was procured, but they were not wholly discontinued. A building at Ratcliffe, belonging to this society, was subjected to the like violence with that at Horsly-down, and on the 2d of September, without any legal process, was demolished. On that day and the night following, twelve cart-loads of doors, windows, and floors, with other materials were carried away. Some of the materials were sold on the spot for money and strong drink. Thus grievous sufferings, exorbitant spoil, and illegal depredation, were the lot of an inoffensive and peaceable

class of subjects. These evils were inflicted by those whose duty it was to protect the rights and property of the subject, even by officers under government.*

While these calamities awaited the general body of this people, on account of their conscientious profession ; it is to be supposed, that the more active and distinguished members of the society were peculiar marks for prejudice and malignity. Of this the history of the *quakers* furnishes many examples, which we must not pass over unnoticed, though our limits will not allow us to go into a minute detail of each case.

George Fox, eminent for his activity and zeal in disseminating his principles, was among the first, who, after the restoration of *Charles II.* and for some years, felt the rage of bigotry. In 1660 he was apprehended by a warrant from *Mr. Henry Porter*, the mayor of Lancaster, at the house of *Margaret Fell*, at Swaithmore, and carried to Ulverston, where he was guarded for the night by fifteen or sixteen men, some of whom kept sentry at the chimney, for fear he should escape by that passage ; “so darkened,” observes the historian, “were they by superstitious imaginations.” Next morning he was escorted, with abusive and contumelious treatment, to Lancaster, and brought before the mayor, who committed him to prison ; refused bail ; and denied him a copy of the mittimus. Two friends having, however, been permitted to read it, he published an immediate reply to the charges, which they reported to him it contained.— Application was made to the king for an *habeas corpus* to remove him to London, and was obtained. In consequence of this writ, though his persecutors, for two months, obstructed the operation of it, he presented himself in the court of king’s-bench ; the justices, being dispassionate and favorable, caused the sheriff’s return of the *habeas corpus* to be laid before the king, who, when *Fox* had suffered for more than twenty weeks an unjust and severe imprisonment, gave directions for his release. His enemies, on his obtaining his liberty, were filled with vexation and fear, as they were conscious of the illegality of their proceedings ; and he was advised, by some in authority, to make the mayor and the rest examples : but he meekly replied, “I shall

* Gough, vol. ii. p. 341—352.

leave them to the Lord ; if he forgive them, I shall trouble myself no farther about them.”*

On occasion of rumors of a conspiracy set on foot in the North among the Republicans and Separatists, warrants were again issued out, in 1663, to apprehend *George Fox* ; as he was on his tour through the Northern counties, he was not met with ; but at length, finding that they continued their pursuit, he resolved to stand his ground, and was apprehended ; when no evidence could be produced to justify committing him on the pretended plot, the justices contented themselves with his engaging to appear at the sessions : he appeared at it, but finding no grounds to effect their purpose, either upon the plot, or the act against meetings, they committed him (for refusing the oath of allegiance) to a very incommodious room in Lancaster castle, where he was kept close prisoner till after the spring assizes 1665 ; after that he was removed to Scarborough castle, where he was detained upwards of a year longer ; when finding means to have his case laid before the king, he soon after obtained his release, having suffered an arbitrary and very rigorous imprisonment of more than three years.† At Lancaster, he was locked up in a smoaky tower, sometimes so filled with smoak that a burning candle was scarcely visible,‡ and so open as to admit the rain in upon his bed. The room allotted to him in Scarborough Castle was little better, if not worse ; and when, at his own expence, he had made it tolerable, he was removed into another room, without chimney or fire-place, and so open to the sea-side, that the rain, violently driven by the wind, poured into the room. A sentinel was placed at his door ; few or none of his friends were permitted to visit him, or even to bring him food ; but numbers of others were admitted in to gaze upon him, or dispute with him.§ His removal from one prison to another, when he was in a very weak condition, was attended with a treatment in many respects uncivil and rude. To the rigor and hardships of his imprisonment were added, to terrify him, the frequent menaces of his keepers. The deputy governor once told him, “ That the king,

* Gough's History, vol. i. p. 432, 439.

† Gough, vol. ii. p. 25, 29.

‡ Ibid. p. 29.

§ Ibid. p. 152, 153.

knowing he had a great interest in the people, had sent him thither, that if there should be any stirring in the nation, they should hang him over the wall." He replied to this menace, "If that was what they desired, and it was permitted them, he was ready, for he never feared death or sufferings in his life; but was known to be an innocent, peaceable man, free from stirrings and plottings, and one that sought the good of all men." His patience surmounted the hardships to which he was exposed; and his innocence pleading in his favor, his keepers at length relaxed their severity, and treated him with favor and respect. When, on obtaining his release, Mr. *Fox* offered an acknowledgment for his late civility and kindness to the governor of Scarborough castle, he refused it; adding, "whatever good he could do him or his friends, he would do it, and never do them any hurt." His consequent conduct made good this promise, for it was ever favorable to the quakers.*

Mrs. *Margaret Fell*, who had been a widow about two years, in 1660 was, in a degree, involved in the severe proceedings against *Fox*; for, that they might lay hold of him, they forcibly entered and searched her house; of this she complained in an appeal to the public, as an injury offered to herself, and a violation of the liberty of the subject.† In the year 1663 this lady, the widow of a judge and a woman of estate, was cited before the justices, and questioned about keeping meetings at her house, and the oath of allegiance was tendered to her; on which she expostulated with them, that as "they knew she could not swear, why should they send for her from her own house and her lawful affairs to ensnare her?" Adding, "what have I done?" This remonstrance, for the instant, impressed their minds, and they declared they would not urge the oath, if she would not keep meetings at her house.‡ To this proposal she magnanimously replied, "she would not deny her faith and principles for any thing they

* Gough, vol. ii. p. 150—156. † Ibid. vol. i. p. 435, 6.

‡ Mr. Gough properly remarks on this proposal, that it was a plain confession, that the tender of the oath was a mere pretext to be vexatious to the subject, an arbitrary measure assumed for the mere purpose of persecution.

could do against her, and while it should please the Lord to let her have a house, she would endeavor to worship him in it." On this the oath was tendered, and on her refusal, she was committed to Lancaster castle, a prison then crowded with numbers of the same profession, and the state of which heightened the evil of confinement. Here she was detained till next year.*

When, in the month of August, she was, at the assizes, brought to her trial on the same account, she persevered in refusing the oath, and answered the judge with good sense and pious intrepidity. Her counsel was admitted to plead an arrest of judgment, after the jury gave a verdict against her, and found several errors in the indictment, but they were not admitted by the judge, and sentence of præmunire was passed upon her. She remained in prison twenty months, before she could obtain liberty to go to her own house, which she procured for a little time, and returned to prison again, where she continued about four years, till released by an order of the king and council.†

Another of the society of quakers, whose sufferings are recorded in a distinct narrative, was their noted preacher, *Mr. Francis Howgill*. This respectable man, as he was in the market-place at Kendal, on his lawful business, was summoned before the magistrates then sitting in a tavern; who tendered him the oath of allegiance, and, on his conscientious refusal of it, committed him to prison till the next month. At the spring assizes of 1663, the oath was again administered unto him, and on his refusal, an indictment was drawn up against him, which he traversed. A bond for his good behavior till his trial came on, being required of him, he suffered himself to be recommitted to prison, rather than give it, as he apprehended it would be a tacit acknowledgement of past ill-behavior, and his attendance at meetings in the mean time, which a sense of duty would not suffer him to neglect, would be interpreted as a breach of his engagement.‡ As he was going to the prison he turned to the people, and uttered this devout wish, "the fear of God be among you all." And the people generally

* Gough, vol. ii. p. 29. &c.

† Ibid. p. 92, 96.

‡ Ibid. p. 31, 32.

appeared very affectionate to him, and pitied his hard circumstance; § while the justices of Westmoreland endeavored to prepossess the judge and court against him by invidious reflections on him and the society, and by the weight of their united influence and enmity.

At the summer assizes he was again brought to the bar. Modesty, equanimity, good sense, sober reasoning, and deep impressions of religion, marked his conduct at both assizes, and appear to have softened the sternness of his judges. The sentence which confiscated his lands to the king during his life, and his goods and chattels for ever, and consigned him to prison for the rest of his days, was, however, passed upon him; the judge, it was observed, pronounced it with a faint and low voice, as if he was sensible that this man was greatly wronged, and that himself did not entirely approve of the sentence he was passing.* “In mistaken zeal for religion,” our historian remarks, “the plainest rules of morality are violated, and in forcing uniformity in unessential points, the substantial parts, mercy, justice, and truth, are obliterated.”

The case of *Hannah Trigg*, on account of the singular severity of it, deserves particular mention. She was one of twelve quakers who received sentence of transportation, being tried and convicted on a bill of indictment preferred against them for the third offence. The circumstance, which particularly marked the tyranny and illegality of the treatment of this young woman, was, that she was not sixteen years of age, and the certificate of her birth was arbitrarily rejected by the justices. After sentence she sickened in Newgate, and died there. The unfeeling inhumanity, which was insatiate with her life, was extended to her corps. Her relations were deprived of the consolation of interring her as they desired, but she was carried to the burying-place of the felons; and when the bearers came to the ground, finding no grave made, they left the corps unburied, saying they would make a grave next morning. The girl's mother attending the funeral, had the grief and anguish to behold this treatment of her daughter's remains in silent sorrow, without the power of remedy.†

The sufferings also of *Joseph Fuce*, a man of patient

§ Gough, p. 100.

* Ibid. p. 108.

† Ibid. p. 127.

and meek spirit, and very laborious as a preacher, who died in the White-Lyon prison in Southwark, in 1665, should not pass unnoticed. In 1660, being at a meeting at Deal, he, with twenty-three others, was seized by several armed men, and being committed to Sandown Castle, they were kept there several nights and days, their friends not being allowed to bring them either food to eat or straw to lie on. He and another were afterwards removed to Dover castle, and with five others of their friends were locked up in one room, from which they were permitted no egress, not even for the necessities of nature, nor were their friends allowed any access to them; and the servant of the marshal, for shewing them some little favor, was dismissed from his place. *Joseph Fuce* remonstrating, when an opportunity offered, on the cruel usage they received, was answered with a volley of oaths and execrations. His pious ears being wounded with this profaneness, he bore his testimony against it by a serious reproof. The marshal at this, exasperated to rage, caused him to be dragged headlong down several stonesteps into a dungeon, overrun with filth and with vermin, into which no light or air could enter, but by some holes cut in the door. He was kept there two days and two nights, without fire, candle, straw, or any thing to lie on but an old blanket. When he had obtained some straw, for want of air, through the damp and stench of his dismal lodging, he fell sick; and after nine days confinement, as he seemed at the point of death, the fear of being questioned for murdering him, moved the marshal to remove him, and to permit him to return to his fellow-prisoners, with whom he continued several months till released by the king's proclamation.*

Neither the calamities to which the society of quakers were exposed, nor the sufferings which with peculiar severity were felt by some of its most eminent and worthy members, could damp the ardor of their zeal in defending their cause and disseminating their principles, but served to call forth their vigorous exertions. *Margaret Fell*, on the apprehension of *George Fox*, published a brief narrative of that violent proceeding, and took a journey to Lon-

* Gough, p. 143—145.

don to lay the case before the king, requesting his favorable interposition, "to cause him to be removed to London, and hear his cause himself:" in which suit she was heard.* When, in consequence of the insurrection of the fifth-monarchy men, many of the QUAKERS, without crimination, without conviction, were violently haled to prison, in addition to the endeavors used for their relief, by publishing and presenting to the king, a declaration from that people against all sedition, plotters, fighters, &c. the same lady several times waited personally upon the king to solicit his indulgence and protection for them: at her first admission, she signified to him, "they were an innocent, peaceable people, who did no injury, and administered no occasion of offence, except in keeping up their religious meetings, for no other purpose than worshipping God in that way they were persuaded was most acceptable to him, and edifying one another in his fear; which being to them a conscientious matter of duty to God, they could not violate it, in compliance with the ordinances or laws of man, whatever they suffered." In consequence of her applications and the declaration above-mentioned, the king sent out a proclamation, "forbidding soldiers to search any house without a constable." At length he was prevailed upon to issue out a declaration, ordering "the quakers to be set at liberty without paying the fees."†—*Burrough*, *Hubberthorn*, and *Whitehead*, among others, were active advocates for their suffering brethren. They attended parliament to solicit against the bill, brought in in 1661, passing into an act. *Burrough* presented to the king and council in the same year a paper, entitled, "A just and righteous Plea," representing their sentiments respecting oaths, and their established religious principle, "to enter into no plots, combinations or rebellion, against government; nor to seek deliverance from injustice or oppression by any such means." In this he was seconded by *Hubberthorn* and *Whitehead*, who with ability and spirit entered into a vindication of the religious meetings of their society.‡ Two letters, about this time, were addressed to the king, remonstrating on the countenance

* Gough, vol. i. p. 435—37. † Ibid. p. 455, 56. ‡ Ibid. p. 500—505.

given to profane shows and sports, and the encouragement afforded to persecutors, and boldly reproving his majesty for his personal conduct.

The one was written by *George Fox* the elder, so called for distinction, as the elder brother of the society, the other was drawn up by *George Fox* the younger. They afford a specimen, as the historian observes, “of the honest plain-dealing of men, who, with *Elihu*, knew not to flatter, lest in so doing their Maker should take them away.” When the last of the two letters was delivered to the king, he seemed considerably affected with the contents. His brother the duke of *York* whose temper was more gloomy, reserved, and vindictive, being greatly exasperated with the writer, advised the king to punish him; but with much propriety, he replied, “It were better for us to *mend our lives*.”* These epistles of the *Foxes*, however, left no permanent impression on the royal mind. In the year 1662, the universal rage against the peaceable society of the *Quakers* left them unmolested in few or no parts of the nation. On this *George Fox* again addressed the king on behalf of the suffering friends, and stated that since his restoration three thousand and sixty-eight had been imprisoned, and a narrative signed by twelve witnesses was printed, which represented that the number of men and women then in prison amounted to upwards of four thousand and two hundred. Humanity revolts at the circumstances of cruelty with which the members of this society were treated at this time; when their meetings were broken up by men with clubs, they themselves were thrown into the water, and trampled under foot till the blood gushed out.† Among other endeavors that *George Fox* used to remove suspicion and soften enmity, was a paper, which he wrote in 1663, as a testimony against all plots and conspiracies whatever; to admonish his friends to circumspection in their words and actions, and not to meddle in any civil commotions: copies of which he dispersed through the northern counties, and sent one to the king and council.‡

Others of this society, besides *George Fox*, took up their pens in the cause of their innocent and oppressed brethren. When the conventicle act was passed in 1664, *George*

* Gough, p. 510, 513.

† Ibid. p. 538.

‡ Ibid. vol. ii. p. 25.

Whitehead published a piece to expose the severity of the persecutors, to exculpate his friends from the charge of obstinacy, to strengthen their steadfastness, and to remonstrate on the unequal and arbitrary manner in which the judges enforced the act. Another remonstrance was also published about the same time, by *Josiah Coale*, against persecution, addressed to the king and both houses of parliament.*

In the year 1666, the cause of the *quakers* began to derive great support and credit from the abilities and virtues of the celebrated *William Penn*, who in that year joined their society, and became one of its most eminent advocates and ornaments. His pen was soon employed in its defence. His first piece was entitled "The Sandy Foundation shaken." This gave great offence to some powerful ecclesiastics, and it was answered by an accustomed mode of reply, namely, an order for imprisoning him. He was closely confined seven months in the Tower, and denied the visits of his friends. This precluded him from his ministerial labors: but several treatises were the fruits of his solitude, particularly one of great note, entitled "No Cross, no Crown;" in which, Dr. *Henry More* observed, "Mr. Penn has treated the subject of a future life and the immortality of the soul, with a force and spirit equal to most writers."†

The first of the above pieces was occasioned by a particular circumstance which called on the *quakers* to vindicate themselves in a public disputation. Mr. *Thomas Vincent*, a presbyterian minister of eminent piety, and who distinguished himself by his ministerial labors in the time of the plague, but whose zeal in this instance misled him, had, on two of his hearers going to the *quaker's* meetings, indulged himself in invectives from the pulpit against that people, and in a license of expression beyond the bounds of christian moderation and common decency. This reaching the ears of some of those at whom they were cast, they demanded of him a public meeting to vindicate themselves from his severe reflections, or to give him an opportunity to support them by proof, to which, after some demur, Mr. *Vincent* agreed. Before the hour appointed the house was filled with his own hearers and partisans; and

* Gough, p. 115.

† British Biography, vol. vii. p. 138.

he was accompanied by three other presbyterian ministers, as his assistants; Mr. *Thomas Dawson*, Mr. *Tho. Doolittle*, and Mr. *William Maddocks*. *George Whitehead* and *William Penn*, on the side of their friends, attended to his charges against the *quakers*. Instead of bringing them forward, Mr. *Vincent* opened the conference with this question, “*Whether they owned one Godhead in three distinct and separate persons?*” He framed on this, according to the mode of argumentation then in use, a syllogism. *George Whitehead* rejected his terms as unscriptural, and not deducible from the text he quoted, and desired him to explain them so that they might be understood; observing, “that God did not use to wrap his truths in heathenish metaphysics, but deliver them in plain language.” But Mr. *Vincent* and his co-adjutors would neither keep to scripture terms, nor allow them in their antagonists. After many insults offered to the *quakers*, and opprobrious names cast upon them, the meeting was broken up by a prayer from Mr. *Vincent*, in which these people were accused as blasphemers. Some people staying, after he and his brethren withdrew, the *quakers* found an opportunity of exculpating themselves from the invectives of their adversaries. Another debate was desired, but evaded. On this *Penn* appealed to the public.*

It falls within the period of which we are writing, to notice the remarks on the third conventicle act, which *George Fox*, being in London at the time, published in 1670, in order, if possible, to move the government to moderation. Apprehending an impending storm, he wrote also, at the same time, an epistle to his friends, to exhort them to faithfulness and stedfastness in their testimony to the truth, and to christian patience, in bearing the sufferings which might be permitted to try their faith.†

Under a successive train of severe trials, this people maintained patience, resignation, and a blameless demeanor: and, with the powers of the world against them, their numbers were continually increasing. In the year 1666 they were become a large body. This gave them courage and resolution to erect in that year a new meeting-house in White-hart court, Grace-church-street, which, from its

* Gough, p. 226, 228.

† Ibid. p. 318.

central situation, became afterwards the place for their yearly meetings.*

The affairs of this society began now to range into a regular and systematic form. *George Fox*, as soon as he was released from his long confinement, proceeded as usual in his labors; and when he was so weak and stiff, and benumbed in his joints, by a cruel imprisonment for the greatest part of three years, that it was with difficulty he could mount his horse or alight, he went from Yorkshire to London. He saw it necessary to increase the number of meetings of discipline, as the exigencies and the numbers of the society were increased. In 1660, a general meeting for church affairs had been held at Skipton in Yorkshire. The business of it was confined to the taking an account of their sufferings, and to collections for the relief of the poor. *Quarterly* meetings were afterwards established in London, which, in addition to the former subjects of attention, had the charge of the reputation of the society, to watch over the members, and admonish and exhort such as might appear disorderly and uncircumspect in their conversation, not agreeable to the strictness of their religious profession; besides the women's meetings, which had chiefly the care of poor widows and orphans. During *George Fox's* stay in London there were established, at his recommendation, five *monthly* meetings of men and women in that city, to transact the business which had before employed the *quarterly* meetings, and a general meeting once in three months, as hitherto, for mutual counsel, advice and deliberation, in relation to the common affairs and care of the whole body in the city. He afterwards procured his plan of *monthly* meetings to be adopted through all the counties, in Scotland, Ireland, Holland, and the continent of America. The business of the *monthly* meetings, was, at his advice and admonition, after this, extended to the taking cognizance of the orderly proceedings towards marriage, to see "that the parties, who proposed marriage, were clear from other engagements, that their relations were satisfied, that widows had made provision for their first husband's children before they married again, and to institute whatever other en-

* Gough, p. 157.

quiries were necessary for keeping all things clean and pure, in good order and righteousness, to the glory of God."

Some time after *monthly* and *quarterly* meetings were established, (viz. in the year 1669) it was found expedient, and agreed upon, to hold a *general* meeting in London, representative of the whole body in England, and all other parts where any of the society were settled; which has, from that time, been held annually, and is called "The Yearly Meeting in London." It is formed of deputies from each *quarterly* meeting in England, and from the *half year's* meetings in Ireland, without restraining from an attendance any member in unity with the society. Such places in Europe and America, as are too remote conveniently to send representatives, keep up a correspondence with this meeting by epistles. A committee of correspondence in London and several counties and other places, to be consulted in the intervals between the yearly meetings, upon any emergency, was also established. The members appointed correspondents in London, to meet the sixth day in every week, to consult upon such matters as may be laid before them, particularly any suffering cases of friends, from whence it is called "*The Meeting for Sufferings*," and is a meeting of record.

From the meetings of discipline no members of the society are excluded. A regular record of all their proceedings is kept by a clerk, who, at the desire of the meeting, voluntarily undertakes the office. The business of these meetings is preceded by a solemn meeting of worship. An enquiry, whether meetings for discipline and worship are duly attended, the preservation of love and unity, the religious education of youth, are some of the leading objects of these associations. Enquiries are also made, Whether a faithful and christian testimony is borne against the receiving or paying tithes, priests' demands, or those called church-rates? Whether friends are careful to avoid all vain sports, places of diversion, gaming, and all unnecessary frequenting of ale-houses or taverns, excess in drinking, and intemperance of every kind? Whether friends are just in their dealings, and punctual in fulfilling their engagements, and are advised carefully to inspect the state of their affairs once in the year? Whether early care be ta-

ken to advise and deal with such as appear inclinable to marry contrary to the rules of the society ; and whether any remove from or into monthly or two-weekly meetings without certificates ? And whether two or more faithful friends are deputed in each particular meeting to have the oversight thereof ; and care be taken, when any thing appears amiss, that the rules of their discipline be put in practice ?

This sketch of the discipline and ecclesiastical government of this society cannot fail to give us a favorable idea of the spirit and principles which actuate it. It is recommended by the method and regularity which mark it : and it is a great excellence of it, that it is directed to the encouragement and promotion of good morals, of a peaceable, upright, and blameless conduct in social life. For a more full and accurate view of its nature and design, the reader may be referred to a long and judicious disquisition on it in *Mr. Gough's History* :* which, when he has perused, he will determine for himself, whether it may not be justly extolled, as “bearing marks of a peculiar wisdom in the contrivance, and goodness of heart in the ends in view, realized in the beneficial effects it then had, and hath since continued to produce.”

The *quakers*, besides supporting a series of sufferings with patience and fortitude, disseminating their principles, through England, Wales, and Scotland, with unabating zeal, and forming their society upon a regular plan of government, traversed the Atlantic ocean, carried their sentiments into America, and established themselves in the Western continent. The undertaking was arduous ; new calamities and persecutions awaited them in new countries.† Their pious efforts, however, were eventually successful in the *transatlantic* regions. The brevity we must observe, does not allow us to go here into particulars. But two instances of their zeal, at this period, to propagate their doctrine in the foreign parts of Europe, were of so singular a nature as to call for particular notice.

About the year 1661 two women, *Catharine Evans* and *Sarah Cheevers*, moved with a religious concern to diffuse their principles, took their passage in a ship bound from London to Leghorn ; after various trials and storms they

* *Gough*, vol. ii. p. 161—198.

† *Ibid.* chap. ix.

arrived at that city; and, during their stay in it, they dispersed books, explaining the doctrines of the society, and discoursed with people of all ranks, numbers of whom curiosity daily drew after them: and here they met with no molestation. They sailed from hence in a Dutch ship bound to Alexandria, the master of which put into Malta. Going on shore, the day after their arrival, they were met by the English consul, who invited them to his house, where they continued about three months. They were visited by many, whom they found it their concern to call to repentance, and were repeatedly summoned before the inquisitors, whose interrogatories they answered in such a manner, as not to give them the advantage they sought, nor to resign their own principles by the least compliance with the superstitious and showy religion of the country. The consul, at last, overcome by flattery, menaces and bribery, gave up his guests to the inquisitors, who would not venture to take them without his consent or acquiescence. Having undergone an examination, which they supported with simplicity and firmness, they were imprisoned in a close, dark room, with only two little holes for light and air, and so extremely hot in that warm climate, that it seemed as if the intention of the inquisitors was to stifle them to death. The imprisonment lasted three or four years. They were continually beset and perplexed with the impertinence of monks and friars, to cajole or terrify them into their superstitions. But neither flattery nor menaces could pervert these innocent women from their profession. Upon this they were put into a room so exceeding hot, close, and suffocating, that they were often forced to rise out of their bed, to lie down at the chink of the door for air to draw breath; their faces were excessively stung by gnats; and such was the effect of the heat of the room and the climate, their skin was parched, their hair fell off, and they frequently fainted away. They were tempted, at times, to wish for death, to end their sorrows. *Catharine Evans* fell into a fit of sickness, and the physician said "they must have air, or else they would die." On this the door was ordered to be set open six hours in the day. Soon after they were separated, in hope that an impression might be made on their minds, if they were sepa-

rately attacked ; but each was immoveable. They not only resisted every attempt to draw them off from their religious profession to the superstitions of popery ; but, as the house of inquisition was rebuilding, or repairing in some parts, for the space of a year and a half, they embraced the opportunities which offered to incite the people to repentance, both the workmen who were obliging to them, and the citizens of better quality who came to view the building. The apartment of *Catharine* being near the street, she frequently accosted with admonitions those that passed by, many of whom would stay to hear as long as they durst, and were much affected. After enduring the severities of an imprisonment in the inquisition upwards of three years, and several unsuccessful attempts to procure their release, *George Fox* engaged the friendly and humane interposition of lord *D'Aubigny* with the magistrates, whose meditation was effectual ; and being liberated they returned to England. On their passage home, a passenger, who was a knight of Malta and the inquisitor's brother, interested himself with the captain, to secure them every accommodation the ship could afford. The merchants at Leghorn, where the vessel stopped, treated them with great kindness, and supplied them with wine and other articles for their refreshment. At Tangier, the governor courteously received them, and would have given them money, which they declined accepting, though they gratefully acknowledged his kindness. They freely addressed their admonitions to him, and exhortations to amendment of life to the people who flocked to the house where they lodged. Previously to their discharge from Alexandria, their tried integrity and blameless manners had made impressions in their favor both on the magistrates and the inquisitor, the latter of whom relaxed in his severity, and granted them the use of pen, ink, and paper, to write to their friends.*

The sufferings of these women, in the singular enterprise to which their apprehensions of duty animated them, fell short of those which befel two men in a similar undertaking : namely, *John Philly* and *William Moore*. These persons, being in Germany with other friends, in the beginning of 1662, felt a concern to proceed into Hungary, and

* Gough, vol. ii. p. 51—63.

to visit the *Hortzsche* brethren, who were a kind of *baptists*, that lived in a community, hundreds of them together in a family, having their goods and possessions in common; they also refused to swear or fight. This was a design attended with peculiar difficulties and perils: as it would lead them, on a long journey, through a tract of country unknown to them, and amongst people differing from them in language, in sentiments, and in manners. But, such were their views of the obligations lying upon them, they were not intimidated by the prospect of difficulties, and actually made a prosperous journey to the nearest body of that people, residing at Cuschart, near Presburg, where they were pretty hospitably entertained, and dispersed some religious books, which they had taken for that purpose. From hence they set off for Pattock, a city three hundred miles farther on in Upper Hungary, and accompanied each other to Comora in Schut, an island in the Danube: encompassed with dangers on all hands; on the one side of being killed by the Turks, or of being put to death at Newhausel, according to the practice of that garrison towards those who were found there, it being tributary to the Turks, without permission. At Comora, first, *Moore* was apprehended, searched and stripped, and carried to the guard with his hands and feet shackled; and an insinuation was thrown out, that he should be roasted on a spit. *Philly* was, afterwards, apprehended at his lodgings. They were committed to separate prisons; *Moore* to the stockhouse, and *Philly* to a room appropriated to the inhuman purpose of putting prisoners to the rack. On the next day they were brought before the inquisitor to be examined; by whom, among other questions, they were asked, if they did not know that *Catholics* had laws to burn and torment heretics, and such as carried such books as they had with them? To which *Moore* warily replied, "I should not have expected such dealings among good christians." They were for eight days, repeatedly, brought to examination, and ensnaring questions put to them, as, what they thought of the sacrament; to which *Moore* replied, *the flesh profiteth little, it is the spirit that quickeneth*. This inquisitor was so strangely unacquainted with the scriptures, that in a sur-

prise he applied to a priest present, "Sir, father, how is that?" Who, recollecting himself, said, "he did remember such an expression." The inquisitor next asked him if he would turn catholic? To which he made this rational reply; "If I should do so for fear or favor of you, the Lord not requiring it of me, I should not have peace in my conscience, and the displeasure of the Lord would be more intolerable than yours;" adding, "that compulsion might make hypocrites, but not christians, as it did not change the heart."

After this they were put to the torture: first, their thumbs were screwed to extort the confession of some crime, and then they were racked, with such violence in the case of *Moore*, that his chin was close to his breast, and his mouth so closed, that he was almost choked. They were then threatened with death. *Philly*, by calling out to the governor, as he was passing in his coach, obtained some redress of their calamities; and they were allowed to earn a trifle, to buy bread, by working at the wheel-barrow, though often their wages were kept back. After sixteen weeks they were conveyed in chains, by a waggon, under a guard, to general *Nadash*, the Emperor's lord chamberlain. They were examined before him and several lords of the kingdom, some of whom seemed affected with their answers, and none objected thereto. They were sentenced, however, to be burned, if they would not embrace the popish religion; but the sentence was not executed; and a priest was sent to convert them. These endeavors proving ineffectual, they were removed to a place within about five German miles of Vienna, where falling into the hands of priests, their perils became aggravated: they were again searched, their books and papers taken away, ensnaring questions were put to them, and they were threatened with the execution of various tortures and of the sentence of death. But the frauds and menaces of their persecutors were frustrated by the steadfastness of these confessors. Manacles were then put on their wrists, so small, as when locked by main force, put them to extreme pain. They were thrust into a narrow hole with some Turks, that were prisoners, where they had scarcely room to sit down. At length they found a friend in the person who

was invested with the chief civil authority in the place, whose dispositions to protect them and afford them relief, were much strengthened by the influence of one *Adam Bien*, his barber, a religious man who had been educated among the *Hortische* brethren. The priests were restrained from keeping them any longer in their hole of a prison, and using them with the cruelty they had done before. Those who had distinguished themselves by promoting malicious insults, endeavored to ingratiate themselves; and after the prospects of obtaining their liberty had been repeatedly clouded over by the sickness of the governor, or by the attention he had been induced to give to insinuations against them, and by some renewed sufferings from the priests and soldiers, by *Adam Bien's* stedfast friendship, and persevering solicitations in their favor, they were released, September 1663.*

Whatever opinion may be entertained of the prudence of these and other pious persons belonging to the society of *quakers*, in exposing themselves to such perils, without possessing ordinary or supernatural means of succeeding in their well-meant efforts; the patience, firmness, and fortitude, which they displayed under the most trying circumstances, must be allowed singular merit and praise. Patience and meekness, indeed, were general characteristics of this people. They met and supported the exertions of malicious violence and wanton despotism with resigned acquiescence, and in humble dependence upon divine protection and support, without fainting in their minds.

They were also distinguished, from the beginning, by their charitable regard towards each other. There were some among them, who were not only examples of stedfastness, but by their exhortations, in word and writing, encouraged their brethren to perseverance. In the time of the plague they were exemplary for the care and tenderness, with which they relieved the affliction of the widows and orphans of their friends, whom that calamity carried off. They held occasional meetings in the city to provide for the necessities of the poor; and when the number of objects proved too many for the men to assist by these meetings, they called upon the most grave and tender-hearted

* Gough, vol. ii. p. 63—83.

of their female friends, to aid them in the offices of humanity, who for this purpose met once a week. Not the resident inhabitants only were exercised in this care; but several, as *George Whitehead*, *Alexander Parker*, *Josiah Coale*, and others, came out of the country to London, as with their lives in their hands, supported by the sentiments of faith and resignation, to suffer with their friends there, whatever might be permitted to befall them, to strengthen and encourage them to keep up their meetings, to edify them with their gifts, and to visit and comfort the sick and imprisoned. And through all they were mercifully preserved from the infection, and from imprisonment in this season of danger.*

The benevolence of their minds was not confined to the acts of fraternal regards to one another, in the season of calamity and persecution, but took a wider scope. Their attention to their poor, that there should be no beggar amongst them, nor any sent to the parish for relief; and to afford their children instruction, and put them out apprentices to suitable trades, hath deservedly attracted notice, and commanded general approbation. They have, moreover, cheerfully paid their quota to the poor of their respective parishes, and proper objects of any denomination have been relieved by their private donations.† It frequently happened that justices and military officers, on coming to break up their general meeting at Skipton, when they saw their accounts of their collections and disbursements, and the care taken that one county should help another, as circumstances might require, have been obliged to commend their care, and have left them undisturbed in the exercise of the laudable object of their meeting. The poor of other societies frequently gathering in crowds, upon these occasions, partook of their liberality; for it was their custom, after the meeting was over, to send to the bakers for bread, and distribute a loaf to each, how many soever they were.‡

Our sketch of the history of this society will not be complete, if we do not notice some who were eminent ministers in it, and died at this period.

The first to be mentioned is *Richard Hubberthorn*, the

* Gough, vol. ii. p. 149, 150. † Ibid. p. 189. ‡ Ibid. vol. i. p. 432.

son of a reputable yeoman, in the north of Lancashire, who, after two months imprisonment, through the effect of the throng of prisoners, and the vitiated air on his tender constitution, died in Newgate on the 17th June, 1662.—He was from his youth inclined to piety, sobriety, and virtue. When he arrived to years of maturity, he obtained a post in the parliament's army; and preached occasionally to the soldiers. When he joined the society of the *quakers*, he quitted, agreeably to their principle of peace, his military employment. He was one of the first ministers of this society. His stature was low, his constitution infirm, and his voice weak; but he was powerful, able, and successful as a minister. In the exercise of this office he travelled, in different parts of the nation, for the space of nine years. He knew his season, when to speak and when to be silent; when he spoke, he delivered himself with plainness and pertinency to the subject before him. He was a man of much meekness, humility, patience, and brotherly kindness; and of distinguished equanimity, neither easily depressed in adversity, nor elated in prosperity. His life was spent in acts of righteousness and the pursuit of peace, of which his latter end exhibited the happy effects, the peaceful tenor of his conscience stripping death of all its terrors, and in the full assurance of faith, he looked forward to the near approach of future happiness.

About the same time, and in the same prison, died, in the 28th year of his age, having been ten years a zealous and powerful preacher, Mr. *Edward Burrough*. He was born in or near Underbarrow, a village in the barony of Kendal in Westmoreland, of parents in repute for their honest and virtuous conduct, and of competent substance. His puerile years exhibited proofs of manly sense and religious thoughtfulness. He was fond of the conversation of such as were in esteem for piety, and placed his satisfaction in perusing the scriptures, in which he was well versed. He was educated in the episcopal way of worship; but, about the age of twelve years, began to frequent the meetings of the presbyterians, till he was seventeen. He then became possessed with serious apprehensions of great deficiency in the knowledge of God and internal purity of heart, and felt considerable uneasiness and fear; and, dis-

satisfied with the doctrine he heard, as resulting, in his view, from mere speculation and the experience of others, and not the fruit of their own experience, he withdrew from the teachers of it. On *George Fox's* coming into the parts where he resided, he went to hear him preach, and afterwards entered into reasoning with him upon religious subjects. The consequence was, that he joined the society of the *quakers*, in which he became a most serviceable member and eminent minister. On forming this connection, his relations discarded him, his father expelled him from his house, and he felt himself exposed to many hardships, all which evils he bore with exemplary patience. His laborious exertions, both by word and writing, were indefatigable, and his religious exercises as a preacher were the whole business of his life; he allowed himself few hours of repose, and did not appropriate one week at a time, for many years, to himself or his private concerns. He travelled through England, Scotland, Ireland, and Flanders; but the principal field of his ministerial labors was London. As he was preaching at the meeting at Bull-and-Mouth, he was violently taken down by the soldiers, and carried before alderman *Brown*, who committed him to Newgate. Some weeks after he was brought to trial at the Old-Bailey, fined by the court twenty marks, and condemned to lie in prison till he paid the fine, which amounted to perpetual imprisonment, as the principles of the *quakers* led them to consider a voluntary and active compliance with the penalty as a tacit confession of guilt. A special order from the king was sent to the sheriffs for his release, and that of some other prisoners, but the magistrates of the city found means to prevent the execution of it. He met his dissolution, brought on by disease and imprisonment, with the consolatory review of a life spent in the service of his Creator. "I have had the testimony of the Lord's love unto me," said he, "from my youth; and my heart, O Lord, hath been given up to do thy will. I have preached the gospel freely in this city, and have often given up my life for the gospel sake; and now, O Lord, rip open my heart, and see if it be not right before thee." As his dissolution drew nigh, he said, "Though this body of clay must

turn to dust, yet I have a testimony that I have served God faithfully in my generation ; and that spirit that hath lived, and acted, and ruled in me, shall yet break forth in thousands."

Another zealous preacher among this people was *Wm. Ames*, who travelled in the work of the ministry not in England only, but much in Holland and Germany, where several were convinced by him, especially in the Palatinate. These Palatines, removing soon after to Pennsylvania, escaped the general devastation of their country by the French, which happened soon after. *Ames* was, at first, after his mind took a serious turn, a teacher among the *baptists* ; he was also a military officer in *Cromwell's* army in Ireland, in which post, being strict and regular in his own conduct, he exerted himself to introduce and preserve the like regularity among the soldiers under his command by a strict discipline. *Francis Howgill* and *Edward Burrough*, coming into Ireland, he went to hear them and embraced their doctrine. He and several others were afterwards taken, by two musqueteers, out of a private house in London, forced to Paul's Church-yard, where they were derided and abused by the soldiers, and afterwards taken before alderman *Brown*, who committed them to hard labor in Bridewell. Here they were so severely treated, that *Ames* grew dangerously ill ; and being an inhabitant of Amsterdam, he was discharged for fear of his dying in prison. He returned upon his release, to this city, and supported himself by wool-combing, but so injured in his health, that he never recovered, but died within the current year 1662.*

Near the close of the year 1663, *John Audland*, a native of Camsgill in Westmoreland, was taken off by a consumption in, an early stage of life. When a child, he discovered a quick understanding and retentive memory. As he approached a state of maturity, he applied the attention of his mind to religious thought and to reading the scriptures, and became an eminent teacher amongst the *Independents*, of whom he had a very numerous auditory. He was one of the principal preachers at Firbank chapel, at the time when *George Fox* had a memorable meeting there, and became a convert to his doctrine, which he afterwards zealously

* Gough, vol. ii. p. 2—15.

and ably exerted himself to disseminate, travelling through sundry parts of the nation with this view; foregoing the comforts of domestic life, and separating himself, with her consent, from his wife, who entered into his views, a virtuous and well-accomplished young woman, of a good family, to whom he was married about the twentieth year of his age. He was one of the earliest preachers of this persuasion, who visited the city of Bristol and the Western counties. The number of his hearers increased to such a degree in that place, that, for want of a house large enough, the meetings were frequently held in an orchard. He was a partaker with his brethren in repeated imprisonments and abuses of his person. His sufferings and exertions were beyond his strength, and brought on a cough, which appeared consumptive, and finally terminated in a slow fever, that put a period to his life at the age of thirty-four years. He was not only preserved in peaceful serenity of mind at this solemn season, but at times filled even with joy at the prospect of his approaching felicity; under the impression whereof his soul, under extreme bodily weakness, was raised up in the praise of the Almighty, and in prayer for the prosperity of his friends in righteousness.*

In 1667, after about fifteen years spent in acting and suffering for those doctrines he had received for truth, died *Richard Farnsworth*, exhorting his friends with affecting energy and strength of spirit, as if he were in full health, and giving evidence of his full assurance of faith. He was one of the first who embraced the principles of *George Fox*, soon after his release from his imprisonment at Derby, while the name *quaker* was but just known. He joined him in society and ministerial labors, and many were converted by him. For not pulling off his hat to a justice of peace, in the streets of Banbury, in 1656, he was, after the justice had struck it off in passion, sent for and committed to prison. Next day, when passion subsided, his release was offered him on paying the jailor's fees, and promising to leave the town that night. He would promise nothing, knowing that he had been illegally committed. The oath of abjuration was then tendered to him, and on his refusing it, he was recommitted to prison, where he lay about six months.†

* Gough, vol. ii. p. 83—88.

† Ibid. p. 222, 23.

In the latter part of the year 1668 and the beginning of the next, this society was deprived of three eminent and serviceable members; *Thomas Loe*, *Josiah Coale*, and *Francis Howgill*.

Thomas Loe was a man of fine natural temper, easy, affable and pleasing in conversation, benevolent and sympathising in his disposition. He travelled on foot through the greatest part of the nation, and visited Ireland several times. His gifts were attractive, and he had generally crowded audiences. He was several times imprisoned for his testimony, and his natural strength was impaired by his travels and labors. His convert, *William Penn*, visited him in his last sickness, whom he addressed thus: "Bear thy cross and stand faithful to God, then he will give thee an everlasting crown of glory that shall not be taken from thee. There is no other way which shall prosper than that which the holy men of old walked in. God hath brought immortality to light, and life immortal is felt. His love overcomes my heart. Glory be to his name for evermore." He accosted others with similar sentiments; and his parting breath expressed a song of praise to that Almighty Being, whose goodness preserved him through life, and deserted him not in his end.†

Josiah Coale was born at Winterborne, Gloucestershire, near Bristol, and received his impressions in favor of the *quakers'* doctrine under the preaching of *John Audland*, about the year 1655. He proved an able and zealous minister: his testimony was sharp and piercing against the workers of iniquity, while it flowed in a stream of life and encouraging consolation to the pious and virtuous. In 1656, after having been first grievously abused by the populace, and dragged bare-headed under the spouts in a time of rain, he was imprisoned in Newgate, at Bristol. In the same year, he was, with three other friends, severely abused and beaten by the mob, and then committed to prison by the mayor, at Melcomb-Regis. In 1658, a sense of duty determined him to pay a religious visit to the English colonies in America. As no master of a ship would take him to New-England, for fear of the penalties enacted in that state against such as should bring in any *quakers*, he got

† Gough, p. 329, 331. and vol. i. p. 318, 319.

a passage, in company with *Thomas Thirston*, to Virginia; from whence they made their way on foot through a wilderness of several hundred miles, till then deemed impassable for any but the Indians. By these people, of the Susquehannah tribe, they were treated with remarkable attention and hospitality, entertained with lodging and provisions, and furnished with guides to the Dutch plantations. Their journey was, however, attended with great hardships and dangers. They met with very different treatment from the lofty professors of New-England, whose tempers were embittered, whose natural tenderness and compassion were eradicated by false principles of religion. Here *Coale* was violently haled out and sent to prison, and sometime after banished to Maryland. He travelled through this state and Barbadoes; and, in Europe, through most parts of England, in Holland, and the Low Countries; going through many perils, imprisonments, and persecutions, valiant in what he regarded as the cause of truth, undaunted in danger, and borne above the fear of man by the supports of a peaceful conscience. He not only in his travels bore his own charges abroad, but was an exemplary pattern of liberality at home, and freely spent his estate in the service to which he devoted himself. His natural temper was cheerful, religion tempered it with seriousness; his unaffected affability was mixed with a circumspect and exemplary deportment; his whole conversation illustrated the purity of his religion, and was an ornament to his profession. After ministerial services of twelve years, he fell into a decline, and departed in the arms of his friends, as one falling into a deep sleep, full of consolation, exhorting others to "be faithful to God, and have a single eye to his glory," expressing his own confidence that "the majesty of God was with him, and his crown of life upon him," at the age of thirty-five years and two months.*

The last person to be noticed is *Francis Howgill*, a principal as well as early promulgator of the doctrine of the *quakers*, and a valuable member of their community. He was a native of Westmoreland, and received his education, for the priest's office in the church, at the university; but, being scrupulous of complying with the ceremonies, he with-

* Gough, vol. ii. p. 231, 235.

drew from the national church, and joined the *Independents*, and was an eminent preacher amongst them, laborious and zealous as a minister, and esteemed for his virtue and exemplary conversation. In 1652, he became a proselyte to the doctrines of *George Fox*, on hearing him at Firbank chapel. He was, soon after this, sent, with *James Naylor*, to the gaol at Appleby. In 1654, he and *Edward Burrough*, in company with *Anthony Pearson*, travelled to London, and were the first of this society who held meetings in that city, and by whose preaching many there were brought over to the same profession. While he was there, he went to court to intercede with *Oliver Cromwell*, that a stop might be put to the persecution of the members of his society, and he wrote also to the protector, on the same subject, in a plain and bold strain, but without any good effects. It does not appear, that they met with any personal molestations in the metropolis; and when they had gathered and settled meetings there, they went to Bristol. Multitudes flocked to hear them, and many embraced their doctrine. The clergy were alarmed, and they were summoned before the magistrates, and were commanded to leave the city immediately. To this order they answered: "We came not in the will of man, nor stand in the will of man, but when he shall move us to depart who moved us to come hither, we shall obey; we are free-born Englishmen, and have served the commonwealth faithfully, being free in the sight of God from the transgression of any law: to your commandments we cannot be obedient; but if by violence you put us out of the city, and have power to do it, we cannot resist." Having said this, they went out of the court, but tarried in the city, preaching as before, for some time.* In 1663, *Francis Howgill* was summoned before the justices, as he was in the market-place at Kendal on his business; and, for refusing the oath of allegiance, was committed to prison till the summer assizes, at which the oath was again tendered to him, and upon refusal an indictment was drawn up against him, which he traversed. But as he would not enter into bond for his good behavior, which he considered as a tacit acquiescence in the charge of ill-behavior, and a bar to attendance on meetings, he was

* Gough, vol. i. p. 112, 126, 144, &c.

recommitted to prison. At the spring assizes he was brought to his trial; when, under a rigorous sentence of *præmunire*, he was sent back to the prison, where he remained, till released by death, for nearly five years, deprived of every comfort and convenience his persecutors could take from him. He died, after a sickness of nine days, the 20th of January, 1683-9. During his confinement he evidenced the peaceful and even tenor of his soul by his patience; and preserved to the last an amiable equanimity, which had characterized him through life, the serenity of his conscience bearing him superior to his sufferings and to the fear of death. He wrote a copious treatise against oaths, wherein he maintained the unlawfulness of swearing under the gospel. His virtues, innocence, and integrity of life, were conspicuous. He was generally respected by those who knew him; his sufferings were commiserated; and the unmerited enmity and cruelty of his persecutors condemned. Several of the principal inhabitants of Appleby, and particularly the mayor, visited him in his sickness; and some of them praying that God might speak peace to his soul, he answered, "He hath done it." He also expressed himself thus: "That he was content, and ready to die; praising the Almighty for the many sweet enjoyments and refreshing seasons he had been favored with on that his prison bed, whereon he lay, freely forgiving all who had an hand in his restraint." A few hours before he departed, he said, "I have sought the way of the Lord from a child, and lived innocently as among men: and if any enquire concerning my latter end, let them know, that I die in the faith in which I lived and suffered for." After these words, he uttered some others in prayer to God, and so finished his life in perfect peace, in the 50th year of his age.

Mr. *Gough* has preserved a letter of useful instructions, addressed to his daughter, which he left behind him. His will, made some time before his decease, bequeathed out of his real estate, his personal having been forfeited to the king, a legacy to his poor friends in those parts where he lived, and a token of his affectionate remembrance to several of his brethren and fellow-laborers in the ministry.*

* *Gough*, vol. ii. p. 31, 96—108, and 236—241.









